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TO five generations of Missouri Newspaper men who have written day by day the live history of the Center State.

MARBLE STATU E OF JEFFERSON IN MEMORIAL HALL AT ST. LOUIS

Unveiled by descendant of Thomas Jefferson, April 30, 1913.

MISSOURI

THE CENTER STATE
1821-1915

By WALTER B. STEVENS

"The spirit of Missouri is the spirit of progress, tempered by conservatism. It rejects not the old because of its age, nor refuses the new because it is not old. It is the spirit of a community, conscious of its own secure position, somewhat too careless at times of the world's opinion, hospitable, generous, brave. The dream of the greatest statesman is a nation of useful citizens dwelling in happy homes. In Missouri the dream finds realization. The noble Latin motto of the State has ever expressed—and does—the spirit of the united citizenship: 'Let the welfare of the people be the supreme law.'"—*Walter Williams.*

ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME I

CHICAGO—ST. LOUIS
THE S. J. CLARKE PUBLISHING COMPANY
1915

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"I see here one State that is capable of assuming the great trust of being the middle main, the mediator, the common center between the Pacific and the Atlantic—a State of vast extent, of unsurpassed fertility, of commercial facilities that are given to no other railroad State on the continent, a State that grapples hold upon Mexico and Central America on the south and upon Russia and British America on the north; and through which is the only thoroughfare to the Golden Gate of the Pacific. It is your interest to bind to Missouri the young States of the Pacific of this Continent, while they are yet green and tender, and hold them fast to you. When you have done this and secured the Pacific States firmly, you will have bound the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast, and have guaranteed an empire such as Alexander failed to conquer, and Bonaparte tried in vain to reduce under one common scepter, as his predecessor, Charlemagne, had done. And it will be the glory of Missouri to see established firmly the empire of the Republican Government of America over the entire Continent of North America. And in saying what I do, I do not exclude the region which lies between us and the North Pole. And I dare not say where I would draw the line on the south."—*William H. Seward, Secretary of State, 1861-9, in an Address at St. Louis.*

MISSOURI, THE CENTER STATE

The Center State! Two States distant on the south lies the Gulf. Two States north brings the Canadian border. Five States eastward is the Atlantic. By the same count of commonwealths westward the Pacific is reached. Missouri is the geographical heart of the Union. But much more than that is Missouri the Center State.

In the garb of a national issue Missouri was received into the Union. When Robert M. Stewart was governor, in the term preceding 1861, he described Missouri as "a peninsula of slavery running out into a sea of freedom." The Missouri Compromise was a political shibboleth of two generations. For forty years Missouri was the Center State while the issue of slavery grew into an impending crisis.

In that period the growth in population, in trade relations, in development of resources, in culture, was marvelous. Then came war—Missourian against Missourian.

A battle, according to the Civil war definition, was an engagement in which ten or more soldiers were killed or wounded. Of the 2,261 battles of the Civil war 244, more than one-tenth, were in Missouri. The Center State is credited with having sent 109,000 men into the Union armies. This was a number larger than any of the other States except New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Massachusetts.

When Price was transferred to the east side of the Mississippi in April, 1862, about 5,000 Missourians went with him. Arriving at Beauregard's headquarters near Corinth, they formed the 1st and 2d Missouri Confederate brigades. With other battalions which went from Missouri these brigades numbered about 10,000 men. They fought their last battle on the day Lee surrendered in April, 1865. At that time they had been reduced to 400 men. General James Harding estimated the Missourians who fought in the Confederate armies west of the Mississippi at about 16,800, formed into six regiments of infantry, ten of cavalry and eight batteries. With all of the recruits added from time to time the Missourians who fought outside of their own State for the Confederacy numbered more than 30,000.

The 139,000 who went into the armies on both sides were fourteen per cent of the entire population or sixty per cent of all within the military age.

Of the Missourians who went into the Union Army the death losses were 13,885. The mortality of the Confederate Missourians was estimated at 12,000. These losses of 25,885 do not take into account those sustained by the bushwhacking warfare of the home guards and guerrillas within the State, which have been reported as numbering at least 12,000.

Missourians faced Missourians at Vicksburg in numbers as on no other battlefield after Pea Ridge. When the commission appointed to mark the lines and to erect a monument to those who fell consulted the records they were amazed at the magnitude of Missouri's share in the Vicksburg campaign. On the Federal side the State was represented by twenty-five organizations; on the Confederate, by seventeen.

The army of 12,000 Confederates under Price which entered Missouri in September, 1864, marched 1,434 miles, fought forty-three battles and destroyed $10,000,000 worth of property.

At the close of the Civil War in 1865 Missouri had a debt of $36,094,908.

Missouri's property losses directly from the Civil war were many millions, not counting the value of the slaves. In 1860 the taxable wealth of the State was $500,000,000. In 1868, after the State had had three years of recuperation, the taxable wealth was $46,000,000 less than it was before the war.

The incidents, the details of the conflict which went on in Missouri from 1861 to 1865, are almost incredible. They are shocking. But recalling of them is justified by what followed. Almost as quickly as the storm of war burst came the calm of peace—the perfect restoration of law and order. Nowhere else along the border, nowhere else in the country, were the wounds healed, the scars removed, so rapidly as in Missouri.

Missourians in the fullest sense accepted the result of arms. Standing beside the statues of the two great Unionists, Benton and Blair, in statuary hall at the national capitol, Vest, who had been on the opposite side in the issue of state's rights, and who had been a Confederate Senator, said solemnly and fervently:

"These men sleep together in Missouri soil almost side by side, and so long as this capitol shall stand or this nation exist their statues will be eloquent although silent pledges of Missouri's eternal allegiance to an eternal Union."

In a decade Missouri had recovered from the strife and the desolation, and was prospering. Then came to test the sturdy character of Missourians a revolution in material conditions. The great system of water transportation in relation to which Missouri held the central advantage among the States was supplanted by rails. No other State has been called upon to adapt itself in such short time to such radical changes.

The center of population of the United States is moving with singular regularity toward Missouri. Unless there should be a radical change in the growth of the country the center will be in this State, a short distance north of the mouth of the Missouri River. For more than one hundred years this center has moved in a narrow path. In 1790 it was east of Baltimore about twenty-three miles. In 1910 it was very close to the Illinois line in the western part of the city of Bloomington, Indiana. It was in approximately the same latitude as it was 120 years before. The center has moved westward each decade, varying distances from a minimum of thirty-six miles to a maximum of eighty-one miles. From 1900 to 1910 the movement was thirty-nine miles.

In population Missouri was twenty-third of the twenty-six States when admitted. In ten years Missouri took twenty-first place. In 1840 Missouri was sixteenth. In 1850 Missouri was thirteenth. In 1870 Missouri reached fifth place and held it. In the first decade of statehood, Missouri more than doubled in population. In the second decade the population nearly trebled. Between 1850

and 1860 with a great foreign immigration Missouri's population was almost doubled again. Passing 1,000,000 about 1860, the State added 500,000 to the population in the next ten years. For each of the three decades following the increase was about 500,000. From 1900 to 1910 the addition was not quite 200,000.

Even more interesting than the numbers is the character of this population. In 1860, when Missouri had about 1,200,000 people, 160,000 of them were foreign born. In 1910, a half century later, when Missouri had in round numbers 3,300,000, there were only 230,000 of foreign nativity. Fifty years ago the Missourian met one neighbor in seven who had come from other parts of the world. Today the foreigner in Missouri is as one in fourteen.

Missouri has been a mother of States. Out of the original Missouri Territory were carved twelve States. Out of the territory which lay beyond the Louisiana Purchase have been created eight States. In this winning of the West, Missourians were many and foremost. They founded a hundred cities beyond the borders of the State from which they went forth. They were factors in the making of constitutions and in the building of commonwealths. And yet the native stock was not depleted. Today three of four Missourians are Missouri born. According to the latest government census Missourians by birth were 72 per cent of the population.

From other parts of the United States there had gravitated in 1910 to the Center State 840,631 people finding Missouri more attractive than their native commonwealths. From the four points of the compass came these Missourians by adoption. Illinois has sent 186,611 of her sons and daughters of this generation to Missouri. Kentucky, Kansas, Ohio, Tennessee, Indiana and Iowa contributed each over 50,000 natives to people Missouri. From the Atlantic to the Pacific every State was well represented among the adopted Missourians of 1910.

The European revolution of 1848 stimulated migration to Missouri so that in 1860 there were 88,000 Germans in the State. The failure of the potato crops of 1846 and 1847, followed by famine in Ireland, prompted the emigration. In 1860 there were 43,000 of Irish birth in Missouri. But apart from these two extraordinary influences the foreign elements have come steadily and in such numbers that they could be readily assimilated. Nowhere else in this country has there been such complete commingling of other nationalities and of native born Americans as in this Center State. And with what results? A former Congressman of Missouri, C. M. Shartel, has recently put it in this material form:

"I have said for years that everybody in Missouri comes nearer having three square meals a day and a bed to sleep on than the people in any other State in the Union. We haven't very many rich people and scarcely any poor ones. It is a rare thing in the country districts of Missouri to hear of anybody needing financial assistance."

"Missouri," said Champ Clark, "is proud of her immeasurable physical resources, which will one day make her facile princeps among her sisters; but there is something else of which she is prouder still, and that is her splendid citizenship, consisting at this day of nearly 4,000,000 industrious, intelligent, patriotic, progressive, law-abiding, God-fearing people."

"Municipal history, or state history, or national history," George E. Leighton, one time president of the Missouri Historical Society, said, "is in its last analysis but the record of the men who have conceived and executed projects that lift the

city, or state, or nation over years and push it forward in the march of civilization."

Missouri is nearing the centennial of statehood. In the ninety-four years, much history has been made. Great industries have grown. Resources have been developed. Missouri has produced men and women who have taken rank with the distinguished in the professions and the vocations. Missouri's part in the history of the Nation has been of major character.

In forty years of going and coming through the State a newspaper man has seen, heard and read things about Missouri and Missourians of interest to him. That interest finds expression in the pages which follow.

W. B. S.

"I have said that I am glad to be here in your great State, and I am not impolite when I say that you are unappreciative of your powers here at this place. I have considered your natural resources; with you nature has been more than lavish, she has been profligate. Dear precious dame! Take your southern line of counties; there you grow as beautiful cotton as any section of this world; traverse your southeastern counties and you meet that prodigy in the world of mineralogy—the Iron Mountain married to the Pilot Knob, about the base of which may be grown any cereal of the States of the great Northwest, or any one of our broad, outspread Western Territories. In your central counties you produce hemp and tobacco with these same cereals. Along your eastern border traverses the great Father of Waters like a silver belt about a maiden's waist. From west to east through your northern half the great Missouri pushes her way. In every section of your State you have coal, iron, lead and various minerals of the finest quality. Indeed, fellow citizens, your resources are such that Missourians might arm a half million of men and wall themselves within the borders of their own State and withstand the siege of all the armies of this present world, in gradations of three years each between armistices, and never a Missouri soldier stretch his hand across that wall for a drink of water."—*Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, in an Address at St. Louis, fifty-four years ago.*

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Missouri, The Center State

CHAPTER I.

THE TRAVAIL OF STATEHOOD.

Missouri's Centennial—The Petition for Admission—More Inhabitants than Illinois—A Torrent of New Comers—John Mason Peck's Experience—Prompt Action for Illinois—Senate and House Split on Missouri—Slave or Free—The Tallmadge Resolution—Arkansas Territory Created—Missourians Resent "Gross and Barefaced Usurpation"—Indignation at Old Franklin—Sentiments of Duff Green and Others—Grand Jury Utterances—The Baptist Ministers' Memorial—Alabama and Maine Precede—The Missouri Compromise—Another Hold Up—Senator Cockrell's Historical Researches—The Henry Clay Resolution—Quick Action on the Constitution—"Manumission Men"—The Only Anti-Slavery Delegate—The State Election—Senators Chosen—Barton and Benton—Champ Clark's Graphic Narrative—Leduc's Vow—The Sacrifice of Daniel Ralls—The Restriction Clause—An Absurd "Solemn Act"—President Monroe's Proclamation—Statehood Celebrated—Bonfires and Illumination—The American Eagle and the Irish Harp—"Ring Tail Painter"—The McGirk and Duff Green Argument—Governor McNair—Capacity for Self-Government—Missouri "an American Republic."

Bear in mind, fellow citizens, that the question now before you is not whether slavery shall be permitted or prohibited in the future State of Missouri, but wheher we will meanly abandon our rights and suffer any earthly power to dictate the terms of our constitution.—*The Missouri Gazette.*

Missouri will be one hundred years old on the 10th day of August, 1921. The centennial should come earlier. In the fall of 1817, men of weight in St. Louis went up and down Rue Principal and American street with a paper. There was no lack of signatures. The paper was "a petition from sundry inhabitants of the Territory of Missouri praying that said Territory may be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States." Old Franklin, St. Charles, Herculaneum, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, all of the population centers, added names.

It was high time for Missourians to act. Across the river, Illinois, some thousands less in population, was seeking statehood. Seven States had been added to the Thirteen. Missouri was growing faster than any of them. Rev. Dr. John Mason Peck came with that wonderful flow of immigration across the Mississippi. He wrote of it in his Memoir: "The 'new comers,' like a mountain torrent, poured into the country faster than it was possible to provide corn for bread stuff. Some families came in the spring of 1815; but in the winter, spring, summer and autumn of 1816, they came like an avalanche. It seemed as though Kentucky and Tennessee were breaking up and moving to the 'Far West.' Caravan after caravan passed over the prairies of Illinois, crossing the 'great river' at St. Louis, all bound to the Boone's Lick. The stream of immigration

had not lessened in 1817. Many families came from Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, and not a few from the Middle States, while a sprinkling found their way to the extreme West from Yankeedom and Yorkdom. Following in the wake of this exodus to the middle section of Missouri was a terrific excitement about getting land. My first visit in 1818 was at this crisis; and I could not call at a cabin in the country without being accosted: 'Got a New Madrid claim?' 'Are you one of these land speculators, stranger?'"

Petition for Statehood.

On the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1818, the petition of the "sundry inhabitants of the Territory of Missouri" was presented to Congress by the Territorial Delegate, John Scott. That same month a petition was received from Illinois. Before the end of the year Congress had passed the necessary legislation, the convention had met at Kaskaskia to frame a constitution and Illinois was, in December, 1818, a State. But Missouri waited,—waited from January 8, 1818, to March 6, 1820, for the first formal answer to her prayer. In the meantime a game of national politics went on. Alabama put in a plea for admission. It was granted.

When the Union was formed there were seven free and six slave States. After that the policy was to admit a slave State and a free State alternately. Thus was preserved a kind of balance of power. Missouri's petition upset it. Senate and House wrangled long.

Representative Tallmadge of New York offered a resolution to make Missouri a free State. The provisions were that no more slaves should be taken into Missouri: that all children born of slaves then in Missouri should be free at twenty-five years of age. This would gradually abolish slavery in Missouri and make a free State. The House adopted the resolution. The Senate refused to concur. Arkansas Territory was created, but nothing more was done. The session ended with Missouri still waiting.

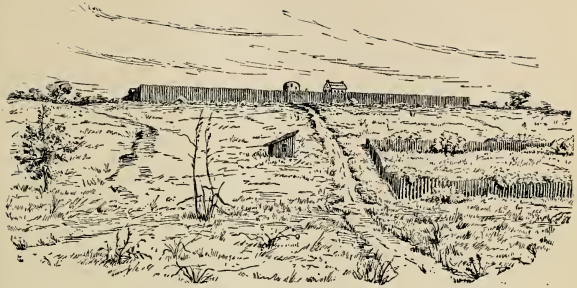
Week after week the one-horse mail brought the news of the heated debate and the deadlock. Along the Mississippi and up the Missouri resentment spread. The prominent men of the Boone's Lick country gathered at Franklin when the first steamboat arrived. To celebrate the event a banquet was given. It was turned into an indignation meeting. One after another the speakers arose and proposed sentiments in condemnation of Congress. Duff Green, who later became the editor of the administration organ at Washington, led off with: "The Union—it is dear to us but liberty is dearer."

Others followed, the expressions encouraged by the vigorous applause which greeted them:

By Dr. James H. Benson—"The Territory of Missouri—May she emerge from her present degraded condition."

By Stephen Rector—"May the Missourians defend their rights, if necessary, even at the expense of blood, against the unprecedented restriction which was attempted to be imposed on them by the Congress of the United States."

By Dr. Dawson—"The next Congress—May they be men consistent in their construction of the Constitution; and when they admit new States into the Union, be actuated less by a spirit of compromise, than the just rights of the people."



THE OLD FORT AND STOCKADE ON THE HILL

FIRST GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT ST. LOUIS

By N. Patton, Jr.—"The Missouri Territory—Its future prosperity and greatness cannot be checked by the caprice of a few men in Congress, while it possesses a soil of inexhaustible fertility, abundant resources, and a body of intelligent, enterprising, independent freemen."

By Maj. J. D. Wilcox—"The citizens of Missouri—May they never become a member of the Union, under the restriction relative to slavery."

Missourians' Protests.

The St. Louis grand jury put forth a declaration "that the late attempt by the Congress of the United States to restrict us in the free exercise of rights in the formation of a constitution and form of state government for ourselves is an unconstitutional and unwarrantable usurpation of power over our inalienable rights and privileges as a free people."

The Missouri Gazette, which had inclined to the emancipation side, was outspoken in condemning Congress: "It has been reserved for the House of Representatives of the present Congress to commit the most gross and barefaced usurpation that has yet been committed. They have engrafted on the bill for our admission into the Union a provision that 'the state constitution shall prohibit the further introducing of slavery; and that all children born of slaves shall be free at the age of five and twenty years.' Bear in mind, fellow citizens, that the question now before you is not whether slavery shall be permitted or prohibited in the future State of Missouri, but whether we will meanly abandon our rights and suffer any earthly power to dictate the terms of our constitution."

The grand jury of Jefferson County returned to the court a protest against the action of Congress which said: "We have beheld with equal surprise and regret the attempt made in the last Congress to dictate to the people of Missouri an article in their constitution prohibiting further introduction of slavery in their State, or debar them from the rights of state sovereignty if they would not submit to such restriction. That slavery is an evil we do not pretend to deny, but, on the contrary, would most cheerfully join in any measure to abolish it, provided those means were not likely to produce greater evils to the people than the one complained of; but we hold the power of regulating this, or applying a remedy to this evil, to belong to the States and not to Congress. The Constitution of the United States which creates Congress gives to it all its powers, and limits those of the States; and although that Constitution empowers Congress to admit new States into the Union, yet it neither does, by express grant nor necessary implication, authorize that body to make the whole or any part of the constitution of such State."

Even the ministers joined in the general protest. A memorial was adopted by the Baptist Association "at Mt. Pleasant Meeting House" in Howard County: "We have all the means necessary for a state government, and believe that the question of slavery is one which belongs exclusively to the people to decide on."

Jefferson's Apprehensions.

Very seriously this issue over the admission of Missouri was taken by the whole country. In December, 1819, Thomas Jefferson wrote to John Adams: "The banks, bankrupt law, manufacturers, Spanish treaty, are nothing. These

are occurrences which, like waves in a storm, will pass under a ship. But the Missouri question is a breaker on which we lose the Missouri country by revolt and what more God only knows. From the battle of Bunker Hill to the treaty of Paris, we never had so ominous a question."

Two months later, in February 1820, while Congress was still wrestling with the problem, Mr. Jefferson in a letter to Hugh Nelson, said: "The Missouri question is the most portentous one which ever yet threatened our Union. In the gloomiest moment of the Revolutionary war I never had any apprehensions equal to what I feel from this source."

When Congress reassembled in December, 1819, the Territory of Maine was there asking admission as a free State. The Senate offered to pair Maine and Missouri and admit them together. In the House the determination that Missouri should be a free State had grown stronger. Northern men outnumbered Southern men in the House. The sectional line had become sharply marked. Missouri was not in the cotton-growing region the Northern Congressmen urged. While the early settlers were largely from slave States, there were comparatively few slaves in the territory,—not one-sixth of the population. The Senate argued that Congress could not impose conditions on admission to statehood; that the House resolution would violate the treaty of purchase of Louisiana. In March, 1820, the first Missouri Compromise was reached. It was the proposition of Senator Thomas of Illinois. Maine was admitted as a free State. Missouri was given permission to frame a state constitution without restriction as to slavery. But the compromise provided that from all of the rest of the Louisiana Purchase north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, which was the western extension of the southern boundary of Missouri, slavery was foverer excluded.

In the course of the discussion Henry Clay took a position which Missourians never forgot: "A State in the quarter of the country from which I come, asks to be admitted into the Union. What say the gentlemen who ask for the admission of Maine? Why, they will not admit Missouri without a condition which strips her of one essental attribute of sovereignty. What, then, do I say to them? That justice is due to all parts of the Union. Equality is equality, and if it is right to make the restriction of slavery the condition for the admission of Missouri, it is equally just to make the admission of Missouri the condition for that of Maine."

The vote on the compromise was taken in the House on the 2nd of March, 1820. It was ninety to eighty-seven. Passage was made possible by three members absenting themselves and four changing their votes. Frederick W. Lehmann, late solicitor-general of the United States, addressing the Missouri Historical Society in 1914, said the compromise "did not draw all of the Representatives of the South to the support of the measure, and it was bitterly antagonized by the radical element, among whom was Randolph, who characterized the eighteen Northern members supporting it, and without whose votes it must have failed, as 'doughfaces,' a name from that time applied in our politics to Northern men with pro-slavery principles. On the morning following the adoption of the report of the conference committee, Randolph moved a reconsideration of the vote on the Missouri bill, but was held by the Speaker, Clay, to be out of order until the regular morning business was disposed of. While the morning business was on, Clay signed the bill, and the clerk took it at once to the Senate. When at

the close of the morning hour, Randolph again rose and moved a reconsideration he was told that he was too late as the bill was no longer in the possession of the House. The relations between Randolph and Clay were already strained and what Randolph felt was a trick on Clay's part did not serve to improve them."

The enmity between the two statesmen grew until it led to a duel of which Benton was a spectator and of which he wrote a fascinating description Northern Congressmen who voted for the bill were denounced and burned in effigy by their angry constituents. President Monroe had his doubts about the constitutionality of the measure. Much had been brought out in the debate on that point. Mr. Lehmann said, "When the bill came to President Monroe for signature, he submitted to his cabinet the question whether Congress had constitutional authority to prohibit slavery in a Territory. And they all, Adams, Crawford, Calhoun and Wirt, answered yes. He asked further whether the provision interdicting slavery 'forever' applied to the territorial status alone or was binding as well on the State formed out of the territory. The Southern members, Crawford, Calhoun and Wirt, held that it applied only to the territorial status, while Adams held it was binding on the State. To preserve the appearance of unanimity, the question was changed to, 'Is the eighth section of the Missouri bill inconsistent with the Constitution.' Each of the Secretaries having in mind his own construction of the bill answered yes." Monroe decided to sign.

Senator Cockrell's Researches.

Two years and two months had passed since the petition was laid before Congress. But admission was still a year and four months in the future. Francis M. Cockrell traced the devious legislative way to Missouri statehood. He went to original sources for his information. He did it in the thorough, painstaking manner which characterized him throughout the thirty years of his United States senatorship. Thereby he rendered signal service to Missouri history:

"Congress, by act of March 6, 1820, authorized the inhabitants of that portion of the Missouri Territory therein described 'to form for themselves a constitution and state government, and to assume such name as they shall deem proper,' for admission into the Union upon an equal footing with the original states, fixed the first Monday of May, 1820, and the two next succeeding days for the election of representatives to form a convention, and the second Monday of June, 1820, for the meeting of the convention, and by section 8 prohibited slavery in all the rest of that territory north of 36 degrees, 30 minutes north latitude, which was called the 'Missouri compromise' and adopted after a prolonged and bitter controversy.

"The representatives to the convention were elected on the first Monday of May and the two succeeding days, being the first, second and third days, and met in St. Louis on the second Monday in June, being the twelfth day of June, 1820, and completed their labors on July 19, 1820, and passed an ordinance declaring the assent of Missouri to the five conditions of the enabling act of March 6, 1820, contained in the sixth section of said act and transmitted to Congress a true and attested copy of such constitution.

"The constitution so adopted on July 9, 1820, required the president of the convention to issue writs of election to the sheriffs directing elections to be held on the fourth Monday—the 28th day—of August, 1820, for the election of a governor, lieutenant-governor, Representative in Congress, state senators and representatives, and county officers.

"It required the general assembly to meet in St. Louis on the third Monday—the 18th day—of September, 1820, and on the first Monday in November, 1821, and on the first Monday in November, 1822, and thereafter every two years.

"Section 26 of the constitution, referring to the general assembly, declared: 'It shall be their duty as soon as may be to pass such laws as may be necessary to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in this state under any pretext whatever.'

"The election for state and other officers was held in August and the first general assembly met in St. Louis September 18, 1820, and the governor and lieutenant-governor elected were duly inaugurated and entered upon their duties, and the senate and house of representatives were duly organized and proceeded with their business, and on October 2, 1820, elected David Barton and Thomas H. Benton Senators from that state, Benton being elected by one majority. The whole machinery of state and county governments was completed and put in operation before the state was admitted into the Union.

"On November 14, 1820, the day after Congress convened, the President of the United States sent to the Senate a copy of the constitution so adopted.

"On motion of Senator Smith, it was ordered that 'a committee be appointed to inquire if any, and if any what, legislative measure may be necessary for admitting the State of Missouri into the Union.' And a committee of three was appointed, and the copy of the constitution was referred to the committee and ordered printed. On November 16, 1820, in the House of Representatives, Mr. Scott, who was the delegate in Congress from the Territory of Missouri elected to the Sixteenth Congress and who had been elected the Representative to the Seventeenth Congress beginning March 4, 1821, presented a manuscript attested copy of the constitution to the House, and it was referred to a select committee of three.

"A long and heated controversy arose in the House and in the Senate over the clause in the constitution which I have quoted.

"Many measures were proposed and discussed from time to time.

"Finally on the 22nd day of February, 1821, Mr. Clay moved the adoption by the House of a resolution as follows:

"'Resolved, That a committee be appointed on the part of this House, jointly with such committee as may be appointed on the part of the Senate, to consider and report to the Senate and House, respectively, whether it be expedient or not to make provision for the admission of Missouri into the Union on the same footing as the original states, and for the due execution of the laws of the United States within Missouri; and if not, whether any other, and what, provision adapted to her actual condition ought to be made by law.'

"This resolution was passed by the House on the same day by yeas 101 and nays 55.

"Mr. Clay moved that the committee consist of 23 members, to be elected by ballot, which was agreed to.

"On February 23 a ballot was had, and 17 members were elected on the first ballot. Mr. Clay then moved the rescinding of the order as to the selection of the remaining six members, which was agreed to, and the six remaining members were appointed by the Speaker.

"On February 24 the resolution of the House was reported to the Senate, taken up, and passed by yeas 29, nays 7, and a committee of seven appointed on the part of the Senate.

"On February 26 Mr. Clay, from the joint committee, reported to the House a joint resolution, which was read the first and second times and laid on the table; and afterwards, on same day, considered and passed by yeas, 109; nays, 50.

"On February 27 the resolution was reported to the Senate and read twice by unanimous consent, and was ordered read a third time by yeas 26, nays 15.

"On February 28 the resolution was read the third time in the Senate, and passed by yeas 28, nays 14, and was approved by the President, March 2, 1821, as follows:

"'Resolution providing for the admission of the State of Missouri into the Union on a certain condition.

"'Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Missouri shall be admitted into this Union on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatever upon the fundamental condition that the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the constitution, submitted on the part of said State to Congress, shall never be construed to authorize

CHARLES GRATIOT

FREDERICK BATES

Second governor of Missouri

GEN. DANIEL BISSELL

Commander of Fort Bellefontaine before 1812

the passage of any law, and that no law shall be passed in conformity thereto, by which any citizen of either of the States in this Union shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizen is entitled under the Constitution of the United States:

"'Provided, That the legislature of said State, by a solemn public act, shall declare the assent of the said State to the said fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the President of the United States on or before the fourth Monday in November next an authentic copy of the said act; upon the receipt whereof the President, by proclamation, shall announce the fact; whereupon, and without any further proceeding on the part of Congress, the admission of the said State into this Union shall be considered as complete.'

"The governor of Missouri called the general assembly in special session on June 4, 1821, which passed 'A solemn public act declaring the assent of this State to the fundamental condition contained in a resolution passed by the Congress of the United States providing for the admission of the State of Missouri into the Union on a certain condition,' which was approved June 26, 1821, and transmitted to the President.

"On August 10, 1821, President Monroe issued his proclamation announcing the fact, and Missouri was on that day a State in the Union.

"The credentials of Barton and Benton were dated October 9, 1820, certified their election on October 2, and were for the first time presented to the Senate—Barton's on December 3, 1821, and Benton's on December 6, 1821—were read, and the oath administered to each on said days, respectively, when each took his seat.

"While they were elected October 2, 1820, before the State was admitted to the Union, on August 10, 1821, and their credentials never presented to the Senate till December 3 and 6, 1821, and no oath previously administered to them, and no record made in the journals of the Senate of their names or presence, the records of the secretary of the Senate, dated March 3, 1821, and signed by John Gaillard, president pro tempore, show that they were certified to have attended, Barton from November 14, 1820, and Benton from November 18, 1820, each, to March 3, 1821, and they were paid their regular per diem salary and mileage, just as other Senators were."

Dating back the pay roll and giving Missouri Senators their salaries from the date of their election nearly a year before the admission of the State was small reparation for the injustice done. Before Congress attempted to dictate, there was considerable anti-slavery sentiment in Missouri. But it was swamped for the time by the general feeling of indignation. The "manumission men," as those who opposed slavery were called, presented several candidates for the constitutional convention. They were beaten badly at the polls. The only anti-slavery delegate elected was Benjamin Emmons of St. Charles, the tavern keeper. A St. Louis ticket of candidates who were "opposed to the further introduction of slavery into Missouri" was nominated but failed of election. The persons on this ticket were J. B. C. Lucas, Cash Bowles, Robert Simpson, William Long, Rufus Pettibone, John Brown and John Bobb.

The forty-one members of the constitutional convention elected in May were authorized to frame and adopt. It was not necessary to submit the constitution to a vote of the people. The convention met in St. Louis on the twelfth of June and adjourned on the nineteenth of July,—a session of five weeks. The first state election was held in August. Governor William Clark who held the office during the eight years of territorial government was a candidate. He received only 2,656 votes. The successful candidate was Alexander McNair, a Pennsylvanian, with 6,576 votes. McNair had been an officer in the war of 1812. He owned a carriage at a time when there were only nineteen pleasure vehicles in the City of St. Louis.

State government was fully organized under the new constitution. The first legislature with fourteen senators and forty-three representatives met in St. Louis the third Monday in September. On the 26th of September it adjourned one day in respect to the memory of Daniel Boone who died that day. On the 28th of November the legislature passed an act making St. Charles the capital of the State until October, 1826, when a new capital to be called Jefferson City was to be established in Cole County, Missouri.

Champ Clark on Benton's Election.

Missouri, although not yet a State, went on doing business as a State. Senators were elected. When Champ Clark was made Speaker of the House of Representatives his constituents in Ralls County sent him a gavel. The wood was from the old Matson mill. The first Matson miller in Ralls was one of Washington's soldiers. The mill was a famous industry of the pioneer period. Speaker Clark was reminded of the time when he had "ridden astride of a horse on a sack of corn to an old-fashioned grist mill." In accepting the gavel from the hands of his colleague, Representative Lloyd, the Speaker gave the House this chapter from Missouri's early political history:

"The first legislature of the State of Missouri did two remarkable things. The first was to elect David Barton United States Senator unanimously. That performance has been repeated a few times, notably in Michigan on one occasion. Then there was a prolonged deadlock for the other senatorship. Col. Thomas Hart Benton, one of the greatest of all American statesmen; Judge J. B. C. Lucas, whose son Benton had killed in a duel, and several other distinguished men were competitors for that place.

"The fight was intensely bitter. At last the legislature did a thing that has never been duplicated and in all human probability never will be duplicated. They asked David Barton, the senator-elect, to pick his senatorial mate. He chose Colonel Benton, but the fight was so bitter that even after Barton picked him there was a prolonged struggle.

"The legislature was holding its sessions in the lower story of the old Missouri hotel, the upper stories being used for hotel purposes. Daniel Ralls, one of the representatives of Pike County, the county in which I live, was sick unto death in one of the rooms upstairs. In the legislature they lacked one vote of having enough to elect Benton on the last ballot they took on Saturday. That night they got a French representative, by the name of Philip Leduc, out and agonized with him all night to induce him to vote for Benton. He had sworn that he would have his arm cut off at the shoulder before he would do it. They induced him to vote for Benton by stating to him that Benton represented all the French land claimants out there, and Leduc was one of them.

"At about sun-up on Sunday morning he finally agreed to vote for Benton. That would elect Benton, provided Daniel Ralls lived until noon on Monday, and the question uppermost in the public mind of St. Louis that day was to inquire after Daniel Ralls' health. He lived until noon on Monday. Four colored men carried him down into the legislative hall on a mattress. The last act of his life was to vote for Benton. They carried him back upstairs and he was dead within an hour. That legislature, out of gratitude for his services, cut a slice out of Pike County nearest her heart and constituted it into a new county, named Ralls County, in honor of Daniel Ralls.

"David Barton and Colonel Benton came to Washington and drew straws for the six-year and four-year terms. Benton drew the six-year straw, was re-elected four times, and was the first man who ever served 30 years in the Senate of the United States. Senator Barton drew the four-year term, was re-elected for six years, quarreled with General Jackson, and that was the end of him, as it was of most men who quarreled with General Jackson.

"Benton had nothing to do with promising Leduc assistance about the French land grant claims, knew nothing about it, and so soon as he was elected called his clients together,

TYPE OF THE ROBIDOU HOUSE IN WHICH THE FIRST NEWSPAPER WAS PUBLISHED IN 1808

RUFUS EASTON
The First postmaster

GOVERNOR ALEXANDER McNAIR'S HOUSE

retired from the cases, and refused even to nominate an attorney to succeed himself, on the ground that he might have to vote in the Senate on the subject; so jealous was he of his honor and reputation."

An Absurd Solemn Act.

Notwithstanding the organization of the state government and the election of Senators, admission to the Union was hung up by Congress until the passage of the "Clay Formula" in 1821. This required Missouri, as a further condition to admission to pass "a solemn act," that the "restrictive clause" excluding free negroes and mulattoes from settling in the State should not be construed to affect any citizen of any other State, in the rights guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States. Missourians thought this was ridiculous.

Frederick W. Lehmann said the legislature "passed what it called a solemn public act by which it declared in effect that the fundamental condition was contained in the constitution of the State; that it was a piece of impertinence on the part of Congress to require this express assent; that it made no difference whether the assent was given or withheld and so the State solemnly gave it. The State observed the condition in the spirit in which the assent was given. Free persons of color, citizens of other States were not forbidden entry to Missouri. But such conditions were imposed upon their living here, that few, if any, cared to come."

The preamble of the "solemn act" in its entirety was a wonderful document charged with satire. Mark Twain could not have done better.

"Forasmuch as the good people of this State have, by the most solemn and public act in their power, virtually assented to the said fundamental condition, when their representatives in full and free convention assembled, they adopted the constitution of this State, and consented to be incorporated into the federal Union, and governed by the Constitution of the United States, which among other things provides that the said Constitution and laws of the United States, made an pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything to the contrary, or the law of any state to the contrary notwithstanding. And although this general assembly do most solemnly declare that the United States have no power to change the operation of the constitution of this State, except in the mode prescribed in the constitution itself, nevertheless, as the Congress of the United States has desired this general assembly to declare the assent of this State to said fundamental condition, and forasmuch as no such declaration will neither estrain nor enlarge, limit nor extend, the operation of the operation of the Constitution of the United States or of this State; but the said constitution will in all respects remain the same as if the said resolution had never been passed, and the desired declaration was never made; and because such declaration will not divest any power or change the duties of any of the constitutional authorities of this state or of the United States, nor impair the rights of the people of this State, or impose any additional obligation upon them, but may promote an earlier enjoyment of their vested federal rights, and this State being, moreover, determined to give to her sister States and to the world the most unequivocal proof of her desire to promote the peace and harmony of the Union, therefore,—

"Be it enacted and declared that the general assembly of the State of Missouri, and it is hereby solemnly and publicly enacted and declared, that this State has assented and does assent that the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the constitution of this State shall never be construed to authorize the passage of any law, and that no law shall be passed in conformity thereto, by which any citizen, of either of the United States, shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizens are entitled under the Constitution of the United States."

A copy of this "solemn act" was delivered to President Monroe, who, on the 10th of August, 1821, proclaimed that Missouri had been admitted to the Union—making the twenty-fourth State. The fundamental condition applied to "the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article." As a matter of fact the clause to which Congress objected is the first clause of the third division of the section according to the printed copy of the constitution. The explanation of this apparent mistake is that a manuscript copy was sent to Congress and that the printer who subsequently published the constitution for use in Missouri made a different subdivision of the text.

Missouri, a State.

In an address at the Old Settlers' Reunion on the Keytesville Fairgrounds in 1877, Charles J. Cabell told of Missouri's birthday: "The celebration at night of the admission of Missouri as a State in the Union, excelled all that I had ever seen or heard. Bonfires blazed on the hills and in the street. Houses were lighted and windows sparkled. Music floated in grand accord, and the hills sent the echoes westwardly to gladden the hearts of our people that Missouri was a sovereign State."

According to the newspaper account, St. Louis "was generally and splendidly illuminated. Several transparencies were displayed, among others a very handsome one displaying the American eagle surmounting the Irish harp, and another representing a slave in great spirits, rejoicing at the permission granted by Congress to bring slaves into so fine a country as Missouri."

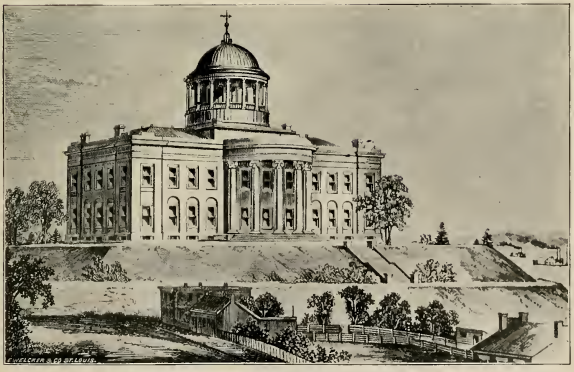
There was a man in that first Missouri legislature who called himself the "Ringtail Painter." His name was Parmer. To this member from the interior of the Territory the routine procedure of legislation was a great surprise. Parmer could not understand why it was necessary for the bills to pass one house and then the other, and yet not become law until the governor approved. He thought it was undemocratic to place such power in the hands of one man. During a session of the senate Andrew S. McGirk and Duff Green got into a quarrel. McGirk threw a pewter inkstand at Duff Green. Green and McGirk began to fight. Governor McNair came forward and tried to part them, but as soon as he seized Green to pull him away, Ringtail Painter grabbed the governor, pushed him aside and shouted: "Stand back, Governor, stand back; you are no more in a fight than any other man. I know that much law. I am at home in this business. Give it to him, Duff, give it to him."

The legislature included several members who up to that time had never seen a steamboat. One day when a boat was about to start down the river a motion was made to adjourn in order that the members might go to the bank and see the boat leave. The captain had been fully impressed with the honor about to be shown him. He ran the boat upstream, turned around and came down at full speed past the legislators assembled on the bank. As the boat went by, the cannon, which was part of the equipment on all steamboats in that day, was fired. The legislators raised their hats and swung them, but Ringtail Painter let out a series of yells.

In his maiden speech before the legislature, Martin Parmer, or Palmer, as his name was sometimes written, introduced himself in this picturesque language: "Ringtail Painter from Fishin' river, wild and woolly, hard to curry. When I'm

ALEXANDER McNAIR
First Governor of Missouri

MISSOURI HOTEL
Where First Legislature Sat



STATE CAPITOL, JEFFERSON CITY, IN 1876

mad I fight, and when I fight, I whip. I raise my children to fight. I feed 'em on painters' hearts fried in rattlesnake grease."

Ringtail Painter, by tradition, was the first white settler in the Grand river country. His cabin home was about five miles east of the present City of Brunswick and gave the name to Parmer's creek. General W. Y. Slack was a leading lawyer of the Grand river country. He went with Doniphan to Mexico. He was chosen by Governor Jackson to organize and command one of the divisions of the State Guard of Missouri at the outbreak of the war and fell at Pea Ridge. With a taste for local history, General Slack wrote sketches of the Grand river valley which were preserved in manuscript. The subject of one of these sketches was Ringtail Painter.

"His habits were as rude as his cabin, and, like all other pioneers, he was a rude disciple of Esau, and lived by hunting. There were, however, but three kinds of game, Ring Tail Parmer cared to expend ammunition upon, and these, as he expressed it, were 'deers, bar and Injuns.' The last named, in his judgment, were not the least worthy of his deadly aim. His warfare with the red men was not manly and open, but on the contrary was stealthy and murderous.

"The traveler who called at Parmer's cabin and claimed his hospitality was furnished with dry deerskins for his bed, and venison and wild honey for his repast. The ceiling of the cabin was lined with dried venison; one corner of the room was filled with green hams; another was occupied with a number of deerskins sewed up tight into sacks and filled with honey-comb, and another contained a pole scaffold fitted up as a bedstead. On two hooks over the rude fireplace hung his rifle, the most esteemed article of furniture about the household. Thus fitted up in life, and with such paraphernalia started the first settler in this great valley; and when the reader is introduced to Parmer's cabin and made acquainted with its arrangements and fixtures, he has been introduced to the domicile and its appointments of every early poineer that first felled the forests and plowed the virgin soil of the Great West. Parmer's cabin, on Parmer's creek, formed the nucleus of a settlement which, in the course of a dozen years, extended along the hilly or bluff lands as far northwest as Salt creek and as far north as the 'great prairie' to which then even the hunters knew no limit."

In a few years the Grand river country became too civilized or, perhaps, better, too thickly settled for Ringtail Parmer. Not long after his service in the Missouri legislature Parmer moved to Texas.

Governor McNair was not a man to be disturbed by occasional unparliamentary practice or the anomalous condition of the State that was not yet a State. He was at college in Philadelphia when his father died. On his return home an issue arose between a younger brother and himself as to the head of the family and the control of the estate. The Spartan mother decided to leave it to a test of physical superiority. The younger won. Alexander McNair went into the army, served a short time and came west to grow up with the country.

When, after the three and one-half years of waiting, Missouri became a State, Governor McNair was not deterred by the McGirk-Green incident from congratulating Missourians on the capacity for self-government they had shown in the interim. "Since the organization of this government," the governor said in his message to the legislature, "we have exhibited to the American people a spectacle novel and peculiar—an American republic on the confines of the federal Union, exercising all the powers of sovereign government, with no actual political connection with the United States, and nothing to bind us to them but a reverence for the same principles and an habitual attachment to them and their government."

CHAPTER II.

THREE ORGANIC ACTS.

Missouri's Constitutions—The Framers in 1820—Three Bartons and Two Bates Brothers—Their Effective Activities in State Making—Personal Characteristics—"Little Red"—David Barton's Marriage Ceremony—Missouri Follows Kentucky—Benton's Explanation—The Cloth Ineligible for Office—An "Immortal Instrument"—The Second Constitutional Convention—The Framers in 1845—Their Work Rejected by a Decisive Vote—Proposition to Make St. Louis the National Capital—"A Ridiculous Blunder"—First Plan of Constitutional Emancipation—Too Slow for the Radicals—Convention of 1865—Slavery Abolished—Dr. Eliot's Prayer of Thanksgiving—The "Oath of Loyalty"—Charles D. Drake—Wholesale Disfranchisement of Southern Sympathizers—Educational Test of Suffrage—"Girondists" and "Jacobins"—Senator Vest's Description—Blair's Denunciation—Supreme Court Decision—The Test Oath Unconstitutional—Rapid Reaction from the Policy of Proscription—Political Downfall of Drake Planned—How Schurz Became a Candidate—"The Feeler" Worked—An Oratorical Trap Which Settled a Senatorship—Convention of 1875—An Able Body—Colonel William F. Switzler's Distinction—The "Strait Jacket Constitution."

No person while he continues to exercise the functions of a bishop, priest, clergyman, or teacher of any religious persuasion, denomination, society or sect whatsoever, shall be eligible to either house of the general assembly; nor shall he be appointed to any office of profit within the State, the office of justice of the peace excepted.—*First Constitution of Missouri.*

Missouri has had three organic acts. Missourians lived under their first constitution forty-five years. The third constitution has worn fairly well through forty years. Between these two the State struggled with a misfit. David Barton was president of the first constitutional convention. Edward Bates was a member. He had so much to do with the framing that in after years the instrument was called "the Bates constitution." It is tradition that many of the sections of the original draft were in the handwriting of Barton. Three Bartons and two Bates brothers had a great deal to do in various ways with the making of Missouri, the State. Their activites even in the territorial period were notable.

Constitution Framers.

Edward and Frederick Bates were from Goochland County, Virginia. The Quaker descent did not restrain their father from serving under Washington in the Revolution. Neither did it stand in the way of the son of Edward Bates, Lieutenant General John C. Bates, choosing the profession of a soldier and rising to the highest rank in the United States army. When not of age Edward Bates enlisted as a private soldier and served in the war of 1812. After his discharge from the army he came to St. Louis, following his brother, Frederick, who had come some years earlier. It is one of the traditions that Frederick Bates was given one of the earliest Federal appointments at St. Louis and was sent here by Thomas Jefferson to watch Aaron Burr and to report confidentially what he was accomplishing in the new territory.

Edward Bates was a seventh son. There were twelve children in his father's family. The genealogical tree of the Bates family in this country went back to the colony at Jamestown. Edward wanted to go into the navy. His mother opposed him. He compromised with her by serving six months in the army during the war of 1812. When he was twenty he came to St. Louis. With a good academic education obtained at Charlotte Hall, with but little means, he went into a law office, Rufus Easton's, on Third street, and studied law. His rise to distinction after his admission in 1816 was very rapid. In 1823 Judge Bates was married to Miss Julia D. Coalter. He had seventeen children. Within a short time after his admission to the bar he was district attorney for Missouri. Among the positions he filled while a young man were delegate to the constitutional convention, attorney general for the state, member of the legislature, United States district attorney, and member of Congress. He held other official positions afterwards, but he refused many, preferring to practice his profession. President Millard Fillmore nominated Edward Bates to be his secretary of war and the Senate unanimously confirmed the appointment but it was declined. Devotion to the cause of the Union prompted acceptance of the place in the Lincoln cabinet. Missouri had presented the name of Edward Bates for the Presidential nomination at Chicago in 1860.

The manners of Edward Bates were most pleasing. In stature the great advocate was not large. He wore ruffles, blue broadcloth and brass buttons in the days when that style of dress was fashionable in the legal profession. He was smooth shaven, had bright black eyes and made friends who were devoted to him. With all of his years at the bar and in politics, Edward Bates never fought a duel nor was challenged. When he was in Congress, Bates was the recipient of attention which seemed insulting from McDuffie, the South Carolinian. He sent a demand for an explanation and was given one that friends deemed entirely satisfactory.

David, Joshua and Isaac Barton were three of the six sons of a Baptist minister of North Carolina. The Rev. Isaac Barton was an associate of John Sevier's patriots who won the victory at King's Mountain, a battle of the Revolution which impressed the British government more than almost any other engagement with the invincible courage of the Americans. David Barton became the first judge of the circuit court of St. Louis; Joshua the first United States district attorney of St. Louis; and Isaac the first clerk of the United States district court of St. Louis. David was elected to the United States Senate. Joshua Barton was killed in the duel with Rector. Isaac Barton continued clerk of the United States district court more than twenty-one years. The brothers had read common law and were acquainted with the English system. When they arrived in St. Louis they found themselves disqualified to practice under the civil law which had been continued in force. A territorial legislature was elected. The Bartons with the half a dozen other American lawyers who had come to St. Louis had influence enough to wipe out the old code. They got through an act which was made the basis upon which the statutes of Missouri are founded. What they did was to pass an act making the common law of England and certain British statutes not inconsistent with the Constitution and statutes of the United States, the law of Missouri Territory. That was done in 1816. The American lawyers were then ready for clients.

RESIDENCE OF JOHN P. CABANNE, BUILT IN 1819

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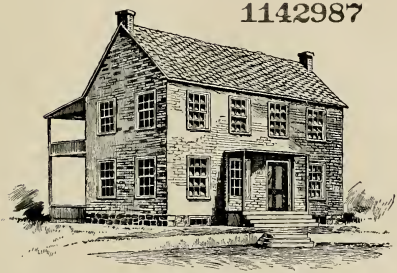
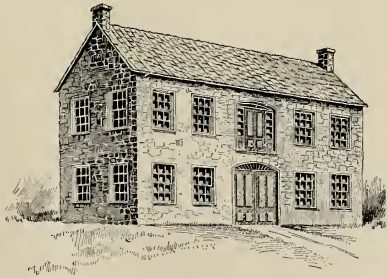


RESIDENCE OF THOMAS F. RIDDICK, 1818



RESIDENCE OF MAJOR WILLIAM CHRISTY, BUILT OF STONE, 1818

Circuit judges were authorized to perform the marriage ceremony when the courts were established under American authority. David Barton, the first circuit judge, had a form which was marvelously brief. The parties stood up.

The judge—"—— ——, do you take —— —— to be your wife?"

The man—"I do."

The judge—"—— —— do you take —— —— to be your husband?"

The woman—"I do."

The judge—"The contract is complete. I pronounce you man and wife."

David Barton came to St. Louis just about the time the rangers, who were the rough riders of the war of 1812, were being organized. He joined the command and served with it. Barton was chosen without opposition the first United States Senator. The legislature deadlocked on the second place. Barton was allowed to name his associate and chose Benton. Thus it occurred that, although there were several strong men from other States, the two United States Senators chosen at St. Louis were from North Carolina.

Barton was known as "Little Red." He got the name when he delivered a speech which made him famous throughout the country. The Senate chamber was crowded. Barton had taken sides against the Jackson policies. His arraignment and condemnation of the administration for years ranked as one of the greatest speeches heard in the Senate. The audience became intensely excited. At the close, while people were crowding out of the gallery, there came a mighty shout, "Hurrah for the little red!" This was repeated again and again in the corridors of the capitol by the Missouri frontiersman who had been a listener. When the man became calm enough to explain he said the original "little red" was a game rooster he owned which could whip any fighting cock pitted against him. When he heard Senator Barton "putting his licks" in the Jackson crowd and "bringing them down every flutter" he couldn't help thinking of the victories of his "little red." The newspapers took up the application. Barton went by the name of "Little Red."

The First Constitution.

In the general provisions of its first constitution Missouri followed closely Kentucky which State had been admitted in 1792. Universal suffrage was one of the provisions of the Missouri constitution. The purpose of the framers to maintain strictly the separation of church and state was shown in the disqualification of clergymen for offices. The legislature was prohibited from granting a charter for more than one bank. St. Louis had just passed through an uncomfortable experience resulting from the competition of two banks in the issue of paper currency and the extension of credit. Both the Bank of Missouri and the Bank of St. Louis had been compelled to suspend. The issue of slavery was not raised seriously in the constitutional convention. The members seem to have taken position unanimously against restriction of slavery. Previous to the presentation of Missouri's petition for statehood in 1818 there had been some sentiment against slavery. When the petition was delayed by Congress and the "Tallmadge" resolution sought to impose conditions on admission, Missourians quite generally resented that action. The framers inserted in the constitution a declaration that the legislature should have no power to emancipate slaves without the consent of the owners. The constitution further stipulated that the legislature

might provide for emancipation with the consent of the owners, but if this was done it became the duty of the State to insure humane treatment of the freed slaves. Furthermore the legislature was directed to provide by necessary legislation that all free negroes and mulattoes be excluded from the State.

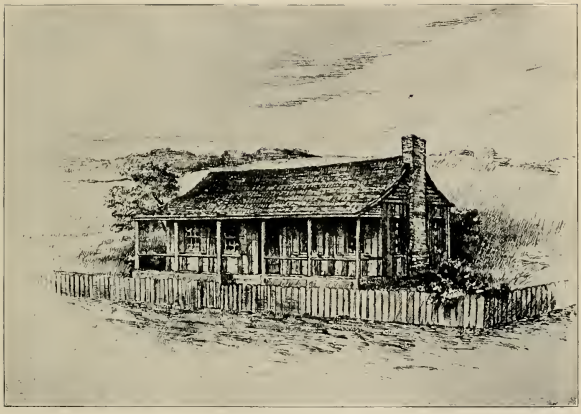
Half a score of sections were devoted to slavery. One of them provided for jury trial in case a slave was charged with a serious crime. Another forbade any more severe penalty for a convicted negro than for a convicted white man. A third section required the legislature "to oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity and abstain from all injuries to them extending to life and limb."

Benton afterwards held that the clause in the constitution depriving the legislature of any power to emancipate slaves without the consent of their owners had its origin in the purpose of the framers to keep the slavery question out of state politics. Resentment on the part of the Missourians toward Congress had considerable influence upon the framers of the constitution. When Congress refused to accept the constitution and to admit the State, the indignation increased and was general throughout the State. The St. Louis Inquirer, Benton's organ, pronounced the constitution "immortal."

Second Constitutional Convention.

In 1844 many Missourians thought the State had outlived the work of Barton, Bates and their associates. Under the old, each county was entitled to one member in the lower house. One of the chief arguments for a new instrument was that the populous counties ought to have more than one representative. The legislature provided for the election of delegates by districts. The convention sat in 1845. Among the framers were Missourians who had held or were to hold high official station. The roll included James H. Green, Thomas L. Anderson, Hancock Jackson, Uriel Wright, Claiborne F. Jackson and Trusten Polk. Two of the younger members, James O. Broadhead and B. F. Massey, were to participate in the making of another constitution just thirty years later. Robert W. Wells was president. When the proposed constitution was submitted in 1846 it was beaten by 9,000 adverse majority. The total vote polled was only 45,000. Walter Williams said this was "an excellent instrument. The rejection was largely the result of the objection of William Campbell and his newspaper, the New Era, of St. Louis. Mr. Campbell was opposed to the section of the constitution which changed the plan of the choice of supreme judges from appointment by the governor to election by the people. Though they rejected the new constitution, the people at the next election ratified an amendment to the old constitution making the supreme judges elective."

Some Missourians began to talk "national capital removal" as early as 1845. The suggestion to cede the site of St. Louis to the United States with that object in view led to what the newspapers called "a ridiculous blunder." St. Louis sent delegates to the constitutional convention. A proposition was made to offer certain described territory in Missouri "for the purpose of locating and keeping thereon the seat of government of the United States." In the debate it was given out that the proposed cession included St. Louis and considerable contiguous territory. But, when the language was examined carefully it appeared that St. Louis, as then bounded, was not included in the territory to be ceded. The northern boundary



THE BOUGENOU HOME

Where first marriage in St. Louis was celebrated

of the proposed cession was about where Arsenal street is now. The framers had, as a matter of geographical definition, offered the present workhouse site, Carondelet and the ground north of Jefferson Barracks for a new District of Columbia. One of the St. Louis papers commenting upon the "ridiculous blunder" said:

"The nearest approach to our city is the township line which strikes the United States arsenal tract below the city. The section of country ceded takes in the ancient and renowned city of Vide Poche, otherwise denominated Empty Pocket, and reaches nearly to Jefferson Barracks. What effect this strange blunder may have upon the two towns we leave to those interested to find out, certain of one thing only, that Vide Poche and not St. Louis is to be the future seat of the national government if the terms of our constitution are to be regarded."

Third Constitutional Convention.

The state convention which had created the provisional state government met in the summer of 1863 and passed an ordinance to provide for amendments to the state constitution emancipating slaves. Under this ordinance slavery in Missouri was to cease on the 4th day of July, 1870. Those over forty years of age were to remain subject to their late owners the rest of their lives. Those under twelve years of age were to remain subject to their owners until they arrived at the age of twenty-three. Those of all other ages were to be emancipated on the 4th day of July, 1870. After the 4th of July, 1870, no Missouri slave could be sold to a non-resident or removed from the State. The proposed ordinance was attacked in mass meetings held in different parts of the State. On the 13th of February, 1864, the legislature, in response to petitions, passed an act authorizing the assembling of a convention on January 6, 1865, to deal with the emancipation question. The act provided for the election of delegates to the convention from each congressional district. These delegates were "to consider, first, such amendments to the constitution of the State as may be by them deemed necessary for the emancipation of the slaves; second, such amendments to the constitution of the State as may be by them deemed necessary to preserve in purity the elective franchise to loyal citizens; and such other amendments as may be by them deemed essential to the promotion of the public good."

At the November election the delegates were chosen. They were with very few exceptions new men in Missouri politics. Most of them had come to the front with the growth of the Radical party and the disfranchisement of Southern sympathizers. But of the sixty-nine delegates it was a rather curious fact that more than half had been born in slave States. Several of the most radical of the Radicals had been originally pro-slavery men. Lawyers did not predominate in this as in the Unconditional Union convention which had given Missouri the Hamilton Gamble government. There were more farmers than lawyers. Merchants and doctors were well represented. Ten of the delegates were of European birth. It was a young man's convention. Twenty-five were under forty. The issue on which most of these delegates were elected was immediate emancipation. Among those chosen were Chauncey I. Filley, Gustavus St. Gem, and W. F. Switzler.

The convention met in Mercantile Library Hall at St. Louis on the 6th of January. Arnold Krekel, an able lawyer and a leader among the German Radicals, afterwards appointed United States district judge, was chosen president. Before the end of the first week the convention adopted the following:

"Be it ordained by the people of the State of Missouri, in convention assembled:
"That hereafter, in this State, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free."

There were polled on the roll call only four votes in the negative. As soon as the result was announced there was a great demonstration. The cheering spread from the crowded hall to the throng gathered on Fifth street. As soon as order was restored Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot was escorted to the platform. He delivered this prayer of thanksgiving:

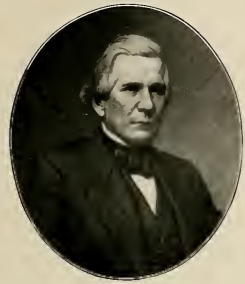
"Most merciful God, before whom we are all equal, we look up to Thee who hast declared Thyself our Father and our helper and our strong defense, to thank Thee that Thou art no respecter of persons, to thank Thee that Thou didst send Jesus Christ into the world to redeem the world from sin and that he was the friend of the poor, that he came to break the manacles of the slaves, that the oppressed might go free. We thank Thee that this day the people of this state have had grace given them to do as they would be done by. We pray that Thy blessing may rest upon the proceedings of this convention, that no evil may come to this State from the wrong position of those who do not agree with the action of today, but that we, all of us, may be united to sustain this which is the law of the land. We pray, O God! but our hearts are too full to express our thanksgiving! Thanks be to God for this day that light has now come out of darkness, that all things are now promising a future of peace and quietness to our distracted state. Grant that this voice may go over the whole land until the ordinance of emancipation is made perfect throughout the States. We ask through the name of our dear Lord and Redeemer. Amen."

Encouraged by the popular approval of the emancipation act the delegates proceeded to draft not amendments to the constitution of 1820, but an entirely new constitution. They incorporated an ironclad "Oath of Loyalty." A minority in the constitutional convention led by Dr. Linton fought the test oath. They assailed it as not only a political blunder, but as unjust to thousands of Missourians who had at first sympathized with the South and who had, when hostilities came, taken sides with the North and continued loyal to the end. Charles D. Drake, a Southerner by birth, led the majority in favor of the test oath.

The convention was in session seventy-eight days. The constitution was submitted to vote on the 6th of June. The total number of votes cast was 85,878, not much more than one-half of those polled in 1860. The majority for the constitution was only 1,862. The ironclad provisions, intended to ostracise for all time not only Confederates but all who had sympathized with the South, were imposed by fewer than 45,000 voters.

The Drake Constitution.

Some of the provisions of the Drake constitution were highly commendable. No man who could not read and write could be a voter. The provisions for public education of all grades were strongly expressed. Not all of the sweeping, stringent suggestions made during the convention found place in the instrument as finally



WILLIAM G. PETTUS

Secretary of first Constitutional Convention of Missouri

HENRY SHAW

Founder of the Missouri Botanical Garden

JOHN O'FALLON

Manager Missouri branch of United States Bank

JOHN MULLANPHY

The first Missouri millionaire

adopted. For example, there was at one time offered an amendment under which any citizen of the State, white or colored, male or female, would be eligible to the office of governor. This amendment was rejected only by a tie vote. Similarly it was proposed to make white or colored, male or female, eligible to legislative election, but this failed. The argument of those who supported the Drake constitution was that Missourians who had attempted to destroy the government either by open acts or by encouragement, sympathy and aid given to the Confederates in any form or manner had forfeited all right to participate in the affairs of state.

Not until the provisions were put in force did the people realize what had been done. No official of State, city or county, no judge of any court, no teacher of either sex, no attorney, no preacher, could perform official duty or practice the profession without taking the oath. To refuse the oath and to preach, or teach, or practice law, or perform any official duty made the offender liable to $500 fine or six months in jail or both. To take the oath and then have it proven that in some of the ways set forth in the third section there had been false swearing meant perjury with a penitentiary term of not less than two years. The protest against this "persecution" went up from all parts of the State. Ministers of the Gospel took the ground that the test oath was a blow at religious liberty. And it was. Arrests and indictments followed many refusals to abide by the oath requirements. The "Oath of Loyalty" as the constitution titled it was this:

"I, A. B., do solemnly swear, that I am well acquainted with the terms of the third section of the second article of the constitution of the State of Missouri, adopted in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-five, and have carefully considered the same, that I have never, directly or indirectly, done any of the acts in said section specified; that I have always been truly and loyally on the side of the United States against all enemies thereof, foreign and domestic, that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States, and will support the constitution and laws thereof, as the supreme law of the land, any law or ordinance of any State to the contrary notwithstanding; that I will, to the best of my ability, protect and defend the Union of the United States, and not allow the same to be broken up and dissolved, or the government thereof to be destroyed or overthrown, under any circumstances, if in my power to prevent it; that I will support the constitution of the State of Missouri; and that I make this oath without any mental reservation or evasion, and hold it to be binding on me."

The "Oath of Loyalty" became known immediately as the "test oath." Speedily the qualifying adjective of "infamous" was prefixed. The words of the oath give no adequate impression of what a test it was designed to be. In Section 3, referred to at the beginning of the oath, was the interpretation and application. As the people of Missouri coupled the section with the oath they realized that sweeping political disfranchisement was only one of the consequences. The convention had handed out a Pandora box of trouble. Section 3 must be given in its entirety for the understanding of the full meaning of the test oath.

"Section 3. At any election held by the people under this constitution, or in pursuance of any law of this State, or under any ordinance or by-law of any municipal corporation, no person shall be deemed a qualified voter, who has ever been in armed hostility to the United States, or to the lawful authorities thereof, or to the government of this State, or has ever given aid, comfort, countenance, or support to persons engaged in any such hostility; or has ever in any manner adhered to the enemies, foreign or domestic, of the United States, either by contributing to them, or by unlawfully sending within their lines, money, goods,

letter, or information; or has ever disloyally held communication with such enemies; or has ever advised or aided any person to enter the service of such enemies; or has ever, by act or word, manifested his adherence to the cause of such enemies, or his desire for their triumph over the arms of the United States, or his sympathy with those engaged in exciting or carrying on rebellion against the United States; or has ever, except under overpowering compulsion, submitted to the authority, or been in the service of the so-called 'Confederate States of America,' or has left this State and gone within the lines of the armies of the so-called 'Confederate States of America,' with the purpose of adhering to said States or armies; or has ever been a member of, or connected with, any order, society, or organization, inimical to the Government of the United States, or to the government of this State; or has ever been engaged in guerrilla warfare against loyal inhabitants of the United States, or in that description of marauding commonly known as 'bushwhacking'; or has ever knowingly and willingly harbored, aided, or countenanced, any person so engaged; or has ever come into or left this State for the purpose of avoiding enrollment for or draft into the military service of the United States; or has ever, with a view to avoid enrollment in the militia of this State, or to escape the performance of duty therein, or for any other purpose, enrolled himself, or authorized himself to be enrolled, by or before any officer, as 'disloyal, or as a Southern sympathizer, or in any other terms indicating his disaffection to the Government of the United States in its contest with rebellion, or his sympathy with those engaged in such rebellion; or, having ever voted at any election by the people of this State, or in any other of the United States, or in any of their territories, or held office in this State, or in any other of the United States, or in any of their territories, or under the United States, shall thereafter have sought, or received, under claim of alienage, the protection of any foreign government, through any consul or other officer thereof, in order to secure exemption from military duty in the militia of this State, or in the army of the United States; nor shall any such person be capable of holding, in this State, any office of honor, trust, or profit, under its authority; or of being an officer, councilman, director, trustee, or other manager of any corporation, public or private now existing or hereafter established by its authority; or of acting as a professor or teacher in any educational institution, or in any common or other school; or of holding any real estate, or other property, in trust for the use of any church, religious society, or congregation. But the foregoing provisions in relation to acts done against the United States shall not apply to any person not a citizen thereof, who shall have committed such acts while in the service of some foreign country at war with the United States, and who has, since such acts, been naturalized, or may hereafter be naturalized, under the laws of the United States, and the oath of loyalty hereinafter prescribed, when taken by such person, shall be considered as taken in such sense."

There are forty-five different offenses in the foregoing article. The Missourian who wished to vote, to hold office, to teach, to practice law, to preach was required to swear he had not been guilty of any one of them. Under the ninth section of Article XI, which was entitled the "Right of Suffrage," it was declared that no person shall be permitted to practice law "or be competent as a bishop, priest, deacon, minister, elder or other clergyman of either religious persuasion, sect or denomination to teach or preach unless such person shall have first taken, subscribed and filed said oath."

Section II prescribed that "Every court in which any person shall be summoned to serve as grand or petit juror, shall require him, before he is sworn as a juror, to take said oath in open court; and no person refusing to take the same shall serve as a juror."

Senator Drake.

Carl Schurz in his "Reminiscences" drew this pen picture of the man who dominated the convention and who dictated the spirit of the constitution of 1865: "Senator Drake was an able lawyer and an unquestionably honest man, but nar-

RENE PAUL
First city engineer of St. Louis

WM. CARR LANE
First mayor of St. Louis

THE MARKET HOUSE AND LEVEE AT ST. LOUIS ABOUT 1840

row-minded, dogmatic and intolerant to a degree. He aspired to be the Republican 'boss' of the State—not, indeed, as if he had intended to organize a machine for the purpose of enriching himself or his henchmen. Corrupt schemes were absolutely foreign to his mind. He merely wished to be the recognized authority dictating the policies of his party and controlling the federal offices in Missouri. This ambition overruled with him all others. His appearance was not imposing, but when you approached him, he made you feel that you had to do with a man full of the consciousness of power. He was of small stature, but he planted his feet upon the ground with demonstrative firmness. His face framed with gray hair and a short stubby white beard, and marked with heavy eyebrows, usually wore a stern, and often even a surly expression. His voice had a rasping sound, and his speech, slow and peremptory, was constantly accompanied with a vigorous shake of the forefinger which meant laying down the law. I do not know to what religious denomination he belonged; but he made the impression as if no religion could be satisfactory to him that did not provide for a well-kept hell fire to roast sinners and heretics. Still he was said to be very kind and genial with his family and in his circle of intimate friends. But in politics he was inexorable."

Senator Vest described the situation in Missouri vividly: "The Girondists, under the leadership of Hamilton R. Gamble, had disappeared, and the Jacobins, under the leadership of Charles D. Drake, were in possession of the State. The Drake constitution had been enacted—the most drastic, the most cruel, the most outrageous enactment ever known in a civilized country. No man could practise law, teach school, preach the Gospel, act as trustee, hold any office of honor, trust, or profit, or vote at any election, unless he swore he had never sympathized with the cause of the Confederacy or any person fighting for it. The father who had given a drink of water or a crust of bread to his son who belonged to the Confederate forces was ostracised and put under the ban of the law. Blair came back and went to the polls, dressed in his major-general's uniform, and demanded the right to vote without taking the oath. It was denied, and he immediately commenced suit against the election officials. Pending the suit, a Catholic priest named Cummings, who had instituted a similar proceeding, had his case adjudicated by the supreme court, and it was decided that the Drake constitution violated that of the United States and was a bill of attainder and ex post facto law. General Blair, not satisfied, attacked the Drake party throughout the commonwealth, and canvassed it from one end to the other, denouncing the men who were perpetrating these iniquities upon the people of the State."

In reversing the decision of the supreme court of Missouri and in declaring the test oath in violation of the Constitution of the United States, the court of last resort said: "The counsel from Missouri closed his arguments in this case by presenting a striking picture of the struggle for the ascendency in that State during the recent revolution between the forces and the enemies of the Union, and the fierce passions which that struggle raised. It was in the midst of the struggle that the present constitution was framed, although it was not adopted by the people until the war was closed. It would have been strange, therefore, had it not exhibited in its provisions some traces of the excitement under which the convention held its deliberations. It was against the excited action of the States, under such influences as these, that the Federal Constitution was intended to guard."

The section applying to ministers, lawyers and teachers aroused the earliest and greatest opposition. While the constitution went into effect on the 4th of July, 1865, Carl Schurz, B. Gratz Brown and other prominent Republicans formally started a movement for universal amnesty and enfranchisement in Missouri. So widespread was the opposition to the ninth section that Governor Fletcher, in January, 1867, recommended the constitution be amended to strike out these obnoxious provisions. Reaction from the test oath was rapid. Its first practical effect was the political downfall of Drake. That came within three years. Missouri went Republican in 1868, but the legislature refused to accept Drake's candidate, Ben F. Loan, for the Senate and elected Carl Schurz, who was the editor of the Westliche Post and had been a resident of the State a short time.

How Schurz Became Senator.

In his "Reminiscences" Carl Schurz tells the story of his candidacy for the Senate: "I was a member of a little club consisting of a few gentlemen of the same way of thinking in politics and who dined together and then discussed current events once or twice a month. At one of those dinners, soon after the Presidential election of 1868, the conversation turned upon the impending election of Senator Henderson's successor and the candidacy of Mr. Drake's favorite, General Loan. We were all agreed in heartily disliking Mr. Drake's kind of statesmanship. We likewise agreed in disliking the prospect of seeing Mr. Drake duplicated in the Senate—indeed fully duplicated—by the election of Mr. Loan. But how to prevent it? We all recognized, regretfully, the absolute impossibility of getting the legislature to re-elect Mr. Henderson. But what other candidate was there to oppose Mr. Loan? One of our table-round turned to me and said: 'You!' The others instantly and warmly applauded. The thought that I, a comparatively newcomer in Missouri, should be elected Senator in preference to others who had been among the leaders in the great crisis of the State only a few years ago, seemed to me extravagant, and I was by no means eager to expose myself to what I considered almost certain defeat. But my companions insisted, and I finally agreed that a 'feeler' might be put out in the Democrat, the leading Republican journal in St. Louis, of which Colonel William M. Grosvenor, a member of our little table company, was the editor-in-chief."

The "feeler" took well. Newspaper notices of Schurz were favorable. Assurances of support came from the interior of the State. The legislature met in January, 1869. Schurz went to Jefferson City with a few friends. Senator Drake came on from Washington full of confidence that Loan would be elected when the caucus was held. He freely expressed his opinion that there was nothing in the candidacy of Schurz. When the suggestion was made that the caucus hear the two candidates and himself, Senator Drake readily agreed. The arrangement was made that two evenings should be given to the speeches. By the program Schurz was to open and Loan was to follow. Then Senator Drake was to speak. The argumentative tournament was to be closed by Schurz. This program was carried out to the great interest of the legislators. It was opened rather indifferently. Some who had been told much of the German's oratorical power were disappointed. When the Senator's turn came, he made a strong appeal but it was in a more liberal and conciliatory spirit than might have been

THE HOME OF MADAME CHOUTEAU, MOTHER OF ST. LOUIS

expected from the author of the test oath. In closing Schurz was at his best. He captivated the caucus. He sprung a trap on Senator Drake in one of the most dramatic incidents of Missouri politics. He read what he said was formerly the position of Drake on state issues. He contrasted those drastic opinions with the more conciliatory utterances just heard by the caucus. Charles E. Weller, one of the veteran stenographers of Missouri, has well described how the trap which determined a senatorship was set and sprung:

"L. L. Walbridge had reported the constitutional convention of 1865, but by reason of lack of state funds it was never ordered written out, and the notes were finally consigned to the junk pile as a 'dead horse' with no hope of ever being called upon to write it up. The senatorial contest waxed warm, and in the midst of it somebody who was present at the constitutional convention called Schurz's attention to the fact that Drake had made a certain speech in that convention in which he took a stand on an important question which was totally at variance with his later attitude. It became very important for Mr. Schurz to obtain a transcript of that speech and he called on Walbridge and asked him to make a thorough search for his notes, which Walbridge proceeded to do, with little hope of finding it among a mass of old note books covered with the soot and dust of past years, but, fortunately for Mr. Schurz, Walbridge found the notes of the speech and wrote it out for him. Two months later, after the usual preliminary caucuses, the legislature met in joint session, at which they were to be addressed at length by each candidate in his own behalf. It was a battle royal. Drake, who had for years been the autocrat of his party in Missouri, with his ponderous utterances, his dogmatic demeanor, which was characteristic of the man: Schurz, on the other hand, always cool and collected, polite and courteous to his opponent, which gave him a decided advantage over his fiery antagonist.

"During Schurz's speech, which closed the debate before the legislative caucus, he drew from his pocket Walbridge's transcript and began reading therefrom. Drake started up, as the fatal words fell upon his ear, and his former utterances rose before him like Banquo's ghost, and harshly demanded of Schurz, 'What are you reading, sir?' 'From a report of your speech delivered at the constitutional convention in 1865,' blandly replied Schurz. 'Reported by whom?' demanded Drake. 'Reported by Mr. Walbridge, who sits at the table here, and is reporting the proceedings of this meeting,' replied Schurz. Drake looked despairingly at Walbridge, whom he knew too well to question his accuracy as a reporter, and sank back into his chair, and shortly afterwards the legislature proceeded to ballot, resulting in the election of Carl Schurz to the United States Senate. It was an embarrassing position for Walbridge, who was a personal friend of Drake's, and regretted to have been the means of inflicting the final blow which resulted in his downfall."

When Schurz ended his speech, Drake recognized his defeat. He left Jefferson City that night. Before his senatorial term expired he resigned and accepted the appointment of chief justice of the court of claims at Washington. Missouri knew him no more.

The Constitution of 1875.

Even with the test oath eliminated "the Drake Constitution" could not get rid of its bad name. In 1874 a movement in favor of another constitutional convention, the fourth in the history of the State, was inaugurated. It was carried by a popular vote. The delegates constituted probably the ablest body of men ever assembled in Missouri. Among them were Washington Adams of Cooper, De Witt C. Allen of Clay, A. M. Alexander of Monroe, F. M. Black of Jackson, James O. Broadhead of St. Louis, Henry C. Brockmeyer of St. Louis, L. H. Davis of Cape Girardeau, James C. Edwards of St. Louis, Thomas T. Gantt of St. Louis, A. M. Lay of Cole, B. F. Massey of Newton, Elijah H. Norton of

Platte, Henry T. Mudd of St. Louis, Joseph Pulitzer of St. Louis, John F. Rucker of Boone, Thomas Shackleford of Howard, George H. Shields of St. Louis, William F. Switzler of Boone, Amos R. Taylor of St. Louis, Albert Todd of St. Louis and Henry C. Wallace of Lafayette.

One man who sat in the convention of 1865 was elected to that of 1875—Mr. Switzler.

When the convention had completed the draft the delegates unanimously approved it. The constitution was carried by the remarkable vote of 91,205 to 14,517. In later years some of the provisions have been criticised even by courts as too restrictive. The name of "the strait jacket constitution" has been applied by those who thought sufficient power was not given to the legislature to encourage industrial development.

CHAPTER III

SLAVERY AND AFTER.

Immigration Influenced—Illinois Envious of Missouri Prosperity—The Secret Emancipation Movement—Benton in It—Thomas Wilson's Letter—Coming of Lovejoy—St. Louis Observer—Attacks on the Peculiar Institution—A Raid on the Printing Office—The Alton Tragedy—Treatment of St. Louis Slaves—What Kossuth Saw—Madame Chouteau's Consideration—A Colonial Problem—The Spanish Policy—Slave Importation a Concession—Thomas Shackleford's Reminiscences—Dred Scott—Five Years of Litigation—The Missouri Compromise Unconstitutional—The Blair Slaves Manumitted—Growth of Emancipation Sentiment—William Hyde's Graphic Analysis—Missourians in the Forefront—Blair and Lincoln Confer—Slavery Issue in 1860—Auctions Made Odious—The Proposition to Pay Missouri Slaveholders—President Lincoln's Interest—Shadrach, Meschach and Abednego—John B. Henderson's Recollections—Elijah H. Norton's Argument—Charcoals and Claybanks—An Election in 1862—The First and Second Plans of Emancipation—Negro Education—Lincoln Institute—Manual Training—Samuel Cupples' Interest—Vest on the Ex-Slave—Negro Farmers—Their Holdings Estimated at Nearly $30,000,000—Premium for "the Highest Yield of Corn on One Acre" Won by a Negro—Calvin M. Woodward's Monument.

We can't get through this terrible war with slavery existing. You've got sense enough to know that. Why can't you make the border States' members see it? Why don't you turn in and take pay for your slaves from the government? Then all your people can give their hearty support to the Union. We can go ahead with emancipation of the slaves by proclamation in the other States and end the trouble.—*President Lincoln to Senator John B. Henderson in 1862.*

No sooner was Missouri admitted to the Union than there was a renewal of the slavery issue in the new-made State across the Mississippi. Ford in his History of Illinois, said: "A tide of emigrants was pouring into Missouri, through Illinois, from Virginia and Kentucky. In the fall of the year every great road was full of them all bound for Missouri, with their money, and long trains of teams and negroes. These were the most wealthy and best educated emigrants from the slave States. Many of our people, who had lands and farms to sell, looked upon the great fortune of Missouri with envy, whilst the lordly emigrant, as he passed along with his money and droves of negroes, took a malicious pleasure in increasing it, by pretending to regret the shortsighted policy of Illinois, which precluded him from settlement amongst us, and from purchasing the lands from our people. In this mode a desire to make Illinois a slave State became quite prevalent." When the Missouri question was before Congress the two Illinois Senators, Ninian Edwards and Jesse B. Thomas, voted to admit as a slave State, while the single Representative, Cook, was on the other side. Whether Illinois should follow Missouri and become a slave State was one of the chief issues in the election of 1822. There were four candidates for governor. Edward Coles, who had come out from Virginia and had freed his slaves, was elected by a plurality over Chief Justice Joseph Philips, who divided the pro-slavery vote with Judge Thomas C. Brown.

A Secret Conference.

After the admission of the State, Missourians who disliked slavery began to plan for gradual emancipation. Benton was among those who counselled such a course. Missouri was not a cotton State. It had comparatively a small population limited to certain sections. It looked to free labor for its development. In 1828, Missourians held a secret conference to consider what could be done to bring about emancipation. The two United States Senators, John Wilson and others were in the conference. Wilson at the time lived in Fayette. He was a lawyer and political leader. Years afterwards he removed to San Francisco, living there to the ripe old age of eighty-seven. A letter from Wilson, written to Thomas Shackleford and preserved by the Missouri Historical Society, gives his recollections of the movement and of what led to the abandonment of it:

"In 1827 (I believe it may have been in 1828), I was one of those who attended a private meeting in that good old State, of about twenty of us claiming at least to be party leaders, about equally representing every district of the State, of about equal numbers of Democrats and Whigs. Colonel Benton and Judge Barton were present, the two latter, however, not being on speaking terms. One object that brought us together was to consider how we should get rid of slavery in Missouri. We unanimously determined to urge action upon all candidates at the approaching election. Resolutions were drawn up and printed (in secret) and distributed amongst us, with an agreement that on the same day these resolutions, in the shape of memorials, were to be placed before the people all over the State, and both parties were to urge the people to sign them. Our combination, too, then had the power to carry out our project. Unfortunately, before the day arrived, it was published in the newspapers generally that Arthur Tappan of New York had entertained at his private table some negro men, and that, in fact, these negro men had rode out in his private carriage with his daughters. Perhaps it was not true, but it was believed in Missouri, and raised such a furor that we dare not and did not let our memorials see the light. And, as well as I can call to mind, of the individuals who composed this secret meeting, I am the only one left to tell the tale; but for that story of the conduct of the great original fanatic on this subject we should have carried, under the leadership of Barton and Benton, our project, and begun in future the emancipation of the colored race that would long since have been followed by Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, etc. Our purpose further, after we got such a law safely placed on the statute books, was to have followed it up by a provision requiring the masters of those who should be born to be free to teach them to read and write. This shows you how little a thing turns the destiny of nations."

The Lovejoy Tragedy.

Elijah Parrish Lovejoy came to Missouri in the latter part of 1827. He was twenty-five years of age, a native of Maine, the son of Rev. Daniel Lovejoy, a Congregational minister. He had graduated at Waterville College in 1826 and after teaching school in Maine several months he caught the western fever. In St. Louis, Lovejoy became first a school teacher. He was an industrious reader and in a short time began writing for the newspapers. One of his first articles was a poem addressed to his mother. It appeared in the Missouri Republican.

The next year after taking his residence in St. Louis, Lovejoy became connected with the Times, the first of five newspapers which have borne that name in St. Louis. The Times was supporting Henry Clay for the presidency. Young Lovejoy rapidly obtained a reputation in his writing which made him popular with the Whigs. He might have become prominent in politics, but in the winter of 1831-32 he was converted in a religious revival. This experience changed his

views of life. He united with the First Presbyterian Church, of which the Rev. Dr. W. S. Potts was the pastor. Young Lovejoy believed that it was his duty to become a minister. On the advice of Dr. Potts he went to the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey, in 1832, and stayed until April, 1833, when he was given a license to preach by the Second Presbytery at Philadelphia. In the autumn of 1833 he was back in St. Louis for the purpose of establishing a religious weekly newspaper at the request of a number of church people who had known him as a writer on the Times. The capital was raised by St. Louis business men. The editorial and business management was given over to Lovejoy. The first number of the St. Louis Observer appeared November 22, 1833. Besides getting out his weekly paper, Mr. Lovejoy visited communities in the vicinity of St. Louis on week days as well as Sundays and conducted religious meetings. It was not until the summer of 1834 that he formally declared himself against slavery and began the aggressive course which cost him his life at Atlon on the 7th of November, 1837.

Citizens of St. Louis appealed to Lovejoy to stop when he began the discussion of slavery in the Observer. They told him that his views caused resentment on the part of the pro-slavery people and would lead to trouble. Editor Lovejoy replied to the protests in an address calling attention to the clause of the constitution of Missouri declaring that "the free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the inalienable rights of man, and that every person may freely speak, write and print on any subject—being responsible for the abuse of that liberty." The deliberate determination is announced in one of the closing paragraphs of the appeal: "I do, therefore, as an American citizen and Christian patriot, and in the name of liberty, law and religion, solemnly protest against all these attempts, howsoever and by whomsoever made, to frown down the liberty of the press and forbid the free expression of opinion. Under a deep sense of my obligations to my country, the church and my God, I declare it to be my fixed purpose to submit to no such dictation. And I am prepared to abide by the consequences. I have appealed to the Constitution and laws of my country; if they fail to protect me, I appeal to God, and with him I cheerfully rest my cause."

The Observer continued to print attacks on slavery. The man who had provided the capital concluded that it would be safer to remove the plant to Alton. Before the transfer a group of men went to the Observer office one night, broke some of the furniture and material and threw the fragments into the river. The press was not seriously damaged. It was shipped to Alton but was seized by pro-slavery men and thrown into the river. At a public meeting in Alton this act of violence was denounced in resolutions which at the same time declared the meeting not in sympathy with Mr. Lovejoy's views on slavery. A new press was bought. The publication of the Observer continued from September, 1836, to August, 1837. In the summer of 1837 another public meeting was held. Resolutions were adopted which condemned the course of the Observer. A committee was appointed to present the expression of the meeting to the editor. Lovejoy replied that he intended to continue the publication. On the night of August 21st a mob entered the office of the Observer and wrecked the plant. In September the third press was delivered and placed in a warehouse. The same night it was taken out and thrown into the river. Lovejoy ordered a fourth press. The excitement increased. An indignation meeting of citizens was held on the 3d of November. Very strong

resolutions against the continuance of the Observer were passed. Lovejoy was given an opportunity to express his sentiments. His address to the meeting was put in writing by him. In the course of it he said:

"Mr. Chairman, what have I to compromise? If freely to forgive those who have so greatly injured me, if to pray for their temporal and eternal happiness, if still to wish for the prosperity of your city and State, notwithstanding all the indignities I have suffered in it; if this be the compromise intended, then do I willingly make it. My rights have been shamefully, wickedly outraged; this I know, and feel, and can never forget. But I can and do freely forgive those who have done it. But if by a compromise is meant that I should cease from doing that which duty requires of me, I cannot make it. And the reason is, that I fear God more than I fear man. Think not that I would lightly go contrary to public sentiment around me. The good opinion of my fellow-men is dear to me, and I would sacrifice anything but principle to obtain their good wishes; but when they ask me to surrender this, they ask for more than I can—than I dare give. Reference is made to the fact that I offered a few days since to give up the editorship of the Observer into other hands. This is true. I did so because it was thought or said by some that perhaps the paper would be better patronized in other hands. They declined accepting my offer, however, and since then we have heard from the friends and supporters of the paper in all parts of the State. There was but one sentiment among them; and this was that the paper could be sustained in no other hands than mine. It is also a very different question whether I shall voluntarily, or at the request of friends, yield up my post; or whether I shall forsake it at the demand of a mob. The former I am at all times ready to do, when circumstances occur to require it, as I will never put my personal wishes or interests in competition with the cause of that Master whose minister I am. But the latter, be assured, I never will do. God, in his providence—so say all my brethren, and so I think—has devolved upon me the responsibility of maintaining my ground here; and, Mr. Chairman, I am determined to do it. A voice comes to me from Maine, from Massachusetts, from Connecticut, from New York, from Pennsylvania; yea, from Kentucky, from Mississippi, from Missouri, calling upon me in the name of all that is dear in heaven or earth, to stand fast; and by the help of God I will stand. I know I am but one and you are many. My strength would avail but little against you all. You can crush me if you will; but I shall die at my post, for I cannot and will not forsake it.

"Why should I flee from Alton? Is not this a free State? When assailed by a mob at St. Louis, I came hither, as the home of freedom and of the laws. The mob has pursued me here, and why should I retreat again? Where can I be safe if not here? Have not I a right to claim the protection of the laws? What more can I have in any other place? Sir, the very act of retreating will embolden the mob to follow me wherever I go. No, sir; there is no way to escape the mob but to abandon the path of duty, and that, God helping me, I will never do."

The fourth press was received and placed in a warehouse. Friends of Lovejoy divided into squads of six to maintain guard over it. On the night of the 7th a mob proceeded to the warehouse. Lovejoy's friends were armed. Authority had been given by the mayor, John M. Krum, afterwards mayor of St. Louis, to defend the property. There was firing on both sides. A man named Bishop was killed. Lovejoy and two others of his party ventured outside of the building. The mob had fallen back after an attempt to set fire to the roof. Several shots were fired from ambush. Lovejoy was struck by five bullets. He was mortally wounded but was able to enter the warehouse and reach the second story before he fell and almost immediately expired. The others who had been on guard escaped with wounds by running down the levee. The mob entered the warehouse and destroyed the press.

Treatment of Missouri Slaves.

The slave population of St. Louis was never large. Evils of slavery were mitigated by the humane, gentle, even affectionate care which the wives of St. Louis slave owners bestowed upon their dependents. The traveling companions of Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, came to St. Louis expecting to find material for criticism of slavery. They wrote about a close view they had of the institution.

"Today I visited a large American establishment belonging to Colonel O'Fallon. The place reminded me of a Hungarian house, a large solid stone building on a hill, in the midst of a park with stately trees, surrounded by cottages. But here the likeness ceased, the inmates were black slaves. As far as I saw, they are well fed and well clothed. When we arrived at the door a negro woman opened it: it was the former nurse of Mrs. Pope, the lady who accompanied me, the daughter of the proprietor. Black Lucy seemed delighted to see her young mistress, and brought all her children and grandchildren to greet her—a numerous band of woolly haired imps, by no means handsome, but Mrs. Pope petted them, and genuine affection seemed to exist on both sides. Tomorrow we leave St. Louis. On the whole it has left me the pleasant impression of young and expansive life."

Tradition tells of the consideration which Madame Chouteau bestowed upon her slaves. There were free negroes in St. Louis long before the American occupation. They received concessions of land. The wills filed in the colonial records show that freedom was given the faithful servants. To the Spanish governor petitions, such as the following, were addressed: "Louis Villars, lieutenant of infantry, in the battalion of Louisiana, humbly prays you that he is the owner of a negress named Julie, about thirty years of age; that she has rendered him great services for a number of years, especially during two severe spells of sicknesses your petitioner has undergone. The zeal and attachment she exhibited in his service having completely ruined her health, he desires to set her at liberty with a view to her restoration."

The Slave Trade in Colonial Days.

In 1801 and 1802 a subject of considerable correspondence between the Spanish governor at St. Louis and his superior at New Orleans was the importation of negro slaves into St. Louis and into other settlements of Upper Louisiana. The Spanish representative at New Orleans was Juan Ventura Morales. In 1801 he sent to the Spanish governor at St. Louis, Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, a copy of royal orders "that His Majesty does not wish for the present to have any negroes introduced into that Province." The reason assigned is that the King "has allowed 5,000 negroes to be introduced free under a concession given to a French firm, Cassague, Huguel, Raymon and Company.

"For your information," writes Morales, "I send you copy of the royal orders." And he adds, "May the Lord keep you many years." About ten months later Intendant Morales wrote at considerable length about this order against importation of slaves into St. Louis. The inference might be drawn that Governor Delassus had found difficulty in the enforcement of the royal orders and had questioned the wisdom of the orders. It seems evident that Don Carlos felt the need of advice or instruction from his superior. Morales wrote in May, 1802, in this way: "It is not the place of the subordinate chiefs or of any good subject to inquire or investigate the causes which may help the King in his determinations. The duty of these chiefs is to obey and comply blindly with whatsoever is

ordered to them and what is prescribed in the royal laws unless by so doing they see there is some danger. In such cases the subordinate chiefs can delay the compliance with such orders until the King shall learn of this and may resolve what His Royal Majesty shall consider agreeable. Under this principle, the introduction of negroes being considered, it is my duty to obey and comply with the orders of His Majesty."

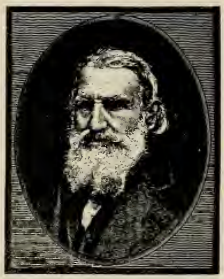
Morales told Delassus that he had been denying the applications of planters to import slaves and that this policy must continue until the French firm had brought in the 5,000 under the concession. He pointed out to Delassus the argument which might be used in defense of the royal orders and suggested the course of action against the violators of the King's instructions: "The King, perhaps, had strong political reasons for the concession given to the mentioned French citizens. It might compromise his royal authority if this Intendance should not watch for the introduction of negroes. To refuse the introduction of negro slaves we have an excuse in the revolution attempted not many years ago in Virginia and Carolina by that class of people. There is no doubt that the American government and the owners of slaves wish to get free of these people at any sacrifice. What, then, would become of this Province if its chiefs, with closed eyes to such an important matter, should permit the introduction of such a dangerous people?"

Intendant Morales proceeded with real diplomacy to make a fine virtue of the necessity to enforce the royal orders: "The unfortunate example of the French islands and the knowledge of what was attempted in the North colonies, which was not effected because the plot was discovered in time, must persuade not only the sensible men, but also those who are interested in an imaginary prosperity caused by this dangerous people, that it would be against public tranquility and law and justice if this Intendance does not see the wise order prohibiting introduction of negro slaves is not ignored. Therefore, I request you to exercise the most exact watchfulness without accepting any permission but the one from the King. In the event there shall be any introduction of negro slaves you will make verbal process of the case and apprehend the negroes. You will forward everything to this Intendance."

Negro Taxpayers in St. Louis.

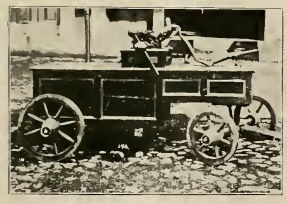
The first list of taxpayers of St. Louis is not a long one but it contained the names of several people of color who owned real estate. Geoffrey Camp was listed as a mulatto and Marie Labastille as "negresse libre." Suzanne, "negresse," owned a house and lot which was assessed at $250, quite a comfortable homestead for 1805. Laveille, "free negro;" Flores, "free negress;" were among these first taxpayers in St. Louis. Esther Morgan, "a free mulatto," owned valuable property on South Third street.

During one of the cholera epidemics Maj. Richard Graham, living at his country seat, Hazelwood, in St. Louis county, wrote to a friend: "The cholera made its appearance and was followed by a congestive fever which carried off sixteen of my negroes. It has shattered me a good deal, Marshall, and I have not as yet recovered from the shock of melancholy feelings in seeing so many human beings dying around me and looking up to me as their only hope in their despair and their agonies. My place was a perfect hospital and Mrs. Graham and



SAMUEL HAWKEN

Inventor of the Hawken rifle used by Missouri pioneers



PIONEER FIRE ENGINE

FIRST MARKET HOUSE OF ST. LOUIS

myself constant attendants and nurses amidst the thickest of the cholera. We escaped as well as our children." Mrs. Francis D. Hirschberg, who was Miss Mary Frost, a granddaughter of Major Graham, wrote in comment on this letter: "A sidelight, this, upon the position of master and slave—since so often misunderstood. The kindly Virginia traditions were held to: no slaves were sold; no corporal punishment was allowed. The family ties were held as sacred and respected accordingly."

When Robert Lewis went to California in the rush of 1849 he took with him Jesse Hubbard, a slave who belonged to his wife. Lewis and the colored man came back with $15,000. The master divided fairly with the slave. Hubbard took his share to his mistress, who in turn divided with him and gave him his freedom. The negro bought a farm and settled in St. Louis county.

Thomas Shackleford's Recollections.

In his address before the Missouri Historical Society in 1901, Thomas Shackleford gave some personal recollections of slavery in Missouri:

"John Harrison was a large hemp grower in Howard county. He had many slaves and was kind to them. To illustrate that the spirit of liberty is inherent in the human heart, I recall that I was at his home (he was the father of my wife), in the early 50's, when a poor wayfaring man and his wife called to stay all night. He was a sorry specimen of humanity, traveling with a poor horse hitched to a rickety old chaise. In the morning one of the slaves was directed to get the poor man's horse, which he hitched up. The slave was named Smith, and as he passed his mistress she said to him: 'Smith, how would you like to be that man? Aren't you better off?' 'Ah, Missus,' he replied, 'he has nobody to hinder him.' This poor slave, although well-treated and well-fed, yet longed to be situated where no one hindered him.

"Slavery had many dark phases, but it was always a pleasure to consider only the bright side, where there was such a natural attachment between master and slave, as in the case of this man. Let me illustrate by two incidents. He had a slave named Brown who was a member of the same church, and attended the same class meetings, of which I was leader. Brown had a wife who belonged to a neighbor, who had failed, and the wife of Brown and all her children were about to be sold to a negro trader. Her master was a kind man and had permitted his slave to hire her own time. The law did not permit the slaves to be emancipated and live in the State. Brown came to me and said he was about to be separated from his wife and children. He said his wife had money enough to pay for herself and children. I told him to send her to me. She came with silver to the amount of $1,000 in her handkerchief. I took the money, purchased her, and had the bill of sale made to me. I indorsed the fact on the bill of sale, and kept it among my secret papers. Publicly she was recognized as my property, but kept, as before, her own earnings. When it was apparent that the federal troops were going to occupy Missouri, many persons sent their slaves South in the vain hope of saving them. Mr. Harrison made preparations to send his South, prepared his tents for the journey. Brown came to me to intercede against being sent away. I told him to go to his master and say to him that he and his associates would be faithful until legally set free. I came upon them just as they were having the interview, and found both in tears. It is needless to say that the tents were folded up and stored in the garret. All save one remained faithful, and Mr. Harrison provided homes for all. Such incidents were common, but Northern men read only of the dark side of the picture. You would hardly believe it when I tell you I never read 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' I was satisfied the picture was overdrawn.

"My father had died when I was about fourteen years of age. My mother was left a widow and had the charge and management of many slaves. We had a law in our statutes that a slave should be punished with forty lashes save one, who insulted a white man. One day the constable came to arrest a slave for insulting a white man. My mother told me to

go to the trial. The evidence was that when the white man was trading with the slave an altercation took place, and the white man cursed the slave, and the slave cursed the white man in return. A great crowd was present. The magistrate heard the evidence and condemned the slave to be lashed. He then took me aside and said: 'Your slave is not guilty, but to satisfy this crowd of angry men, I had to pass this sentence.' I was indignant. 'What,' said I, 'whip an innocent man?' 'Yes,' said the magistrate. While he was talking the constable came and asked if he was to be whipped publicly. 'No,' said the magistrate, 'Take him to the smoke house.' The slave was stripped and taken into the house, and the crowd counted the lashes. When the officer came out he said to the negro, 'You must not tell what occurred.' 'No,' said the negro, 'I will not.' Then said the officer to me: 'You must not tell. I only lashed the post.' I said I would only tell my mother. When I came home I then asked my mother what it meant that the innocent negro was to be whipped. She said to me: 'Ah, my son, I cannot well explain these things to you, but before this evil of slavery is righted, this land will be deluged in blood.' She then called my attention to the fact that sons in good families, as well as husbands, were having children by the slave women, that this social evil was bad enough among free parties, but among bond women was terrible. My mother died before the cloud burst, but her precepts were so indelibly impressed on my young mind that when the secession of the States began, I looked anxiously in fear of the fulfillment of her prophecy."

Dred Scott and His "Case."

About 1858 people on the streets of St. Louis called attention to a man of striking appearance and said: "That's Dred Scott." Other people, especially strangers in the city, looked a second time and with evident interest at the stout-built figure, the whiskers and the military bearing. Dred Scott was then about fifty years old. He was of pure negro blood, born in Virginia, and might have passed for an African king. In that period the most military looking man in St. Louis was Thornton Grimsley. He had invented and manufactured the favorite saddle of the United States dragoons. For two generations he was in demand for grand marshal of processions. Physically Dred Scott was "another Thornton Grimsley done in ebony," as a newspaper reporter described him.

For five years the Dred Scott case had been in the courts. It had been the most talked of litigation. It had brought from the United States Supreme Court a decision that the Missouri Compromise was of no force. The papers were full of it.

Dred Scott was the slave and body servant of Dr. Emmerson, a surgeon in the United States Army, stationed in St. Louis. When the surgeon was ordered to the post at Rock Island he took his slave with him. There Dred Scott made the acquaintance of a colored girl named Harriet. The girl belonged to Major Taliaferro of the army and had been brought from Virginia. Dred Scott and Harriet were married. When Dr. Emmerson was ordered to Fort Snelling in what is now Minnesota he was induced by his slave to buy Harriet. Two children were born, one of them on the "Gypsy," during a steamboat trip in free territory. Surgeon Emmerson came back to Jefferson Barracks, bringing the Dred Scott family. He died in 1852. The Scotts passed to the possession, by sale as it was supposed, of John F. A. Sanford. Here was an unusual opportunity to test the Missouri Compromise, by which Congress had declared slavery should not exist north of parallel 36:30, except within the limits of Missouri. Not only had Scott and Harriet been taken into the free territory, but one of the children, Eliza, had been born there. In 1853 suit was brought in the St. Louis circuit court. The first decision freed the family. But Sanford took the case to the supreme

DRED SCOTT

court which reversed the lower court. There was another trial in the St. Louis court. One of the charges was that Sanford had unlawfully laid hands on "the said Dred Scott, Harriet Scott, Eliza Scott and Lizzie Scott." Sanford won. By this time the interest of anti-slavery people in the East had been aroused. Money was supplied in considerable quantities to carry on the case. One newspaper account had it that enough was contributed to "buy a hundred slaves." The best lawyers in St. Louis were retained to carry the case to the United States Supreme Court on a writ of error. On the side of the Scotts, Montgomery Blair, afterwards postmaster general, headed the counsel. Senator Henry S. Geyer and others represented Sanford.

The main question was whether the Missouri Compromise was in accordance with the Constitution of the United States; whether Congress had the power to provide as follows: "That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana which lies north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than the punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited."

The case was argued in 1854. The Supreme Court decided against Dred Scott. But it held up the decision over a year. Horace Greeley, in his "American Conflict," said the delay was deliberate on the part of the majority, the purpose being to postpone the announcement until after the Presidential election of 1856. He added, "It is quite probable that its action in the premises, if made public at the time originally intended, would have reversed the issue in that Presidential election." Buchanan defeated Fremont, who carried a number of Northern States.

The decision of the court was announced in March, 1857, two days after Buchanan's inauguration. It was rendered by Chief Justice Taney, in whose honor a Missouri county, which gave Republican majorities after the war, was named. The views of the court filled 125 pages. Briefly, the court held that no slave or descendant of a slave could sue in a United States court because such person was not and could not be made a citizen. From the foundation of the republic and previously slaves had been regarded as inferiors and had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. The view had been held in both England and the United States. Therefore, the act of Congress in prohibiting slavery north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes was not warranted by the Constitution. "Neither Dred Scott himself, nor any of his family, was made free by being carried into this territory."

There was widespread sympathy for the Scotts as soon as the court's decision was known. A movement was started to purchase freedom for the family. But when the title of Sanford was looked into, it appeared that he was holding the family as executor of the Emmerson estate. The surgeon had made a will bequeathing a life interest in the Scotts to his wife, the property eventually to go to a daughter, Henrietta Emmerson. The real owner was discovered to be a lady living in Boston, whose husband was a Congressman. And Boston was the anti-slavery center where was the greatest sympathy for the Scotts and whence had come funds for the prosecution of the case. Very promptly was set in motion the procedure to manumit Dred Scott and family. A non-resident could not act. Therefore, the Boston lady transferred the slave property to Taylor Blow of

St. Louis and Mr. Blow at once filed the deed of freedom in court. Dred Scott was offered liberal inducements to tour the country and exhibit himself and family in museums. He was in demand for lectures. But with a mental dignity which matched his physical he declined all offers and accepted only local fame.

Blair Emancipated His Slaves.

At the time he was advocating gradual emancipation and for practical colonization, Frank Blair was a slave owner. But in 1859 he removed himself from this classification. It was an interesting fact that just three months after U. S. Grant freed his slave in St. Louis by going into court and making affidavit to the act, Frank Blair similarly freed his four slaves. This took place on the 28th of June, 1859. Blair had previously freed Henry Dupe, owned by him. He now emancipated Sarah Dupe, the wife of Henry, and her three daughters. The document he filed was as follows:

"I, Francis P. Blair, Jr., of the City of St. Louis and the State of Missouri, in consideration of faithful services to me rendered and for divers other good and sufficient reasons moving me thereto, do by these presents emancipate and set free my negro slave woman, Sarah, wife of Henry Dupe (heretofore emancipated by me). Said Sarah is about 42 or 43 years of age, light-colored and about medium-sized. Also negro girl, Courtenay, daughter of Sarah, who is about 18 years of age; also negro girl, Caroline, daughter of said Sarah, about 12 years of age, and Sallie, daughter of Sarah, about 9 years of age. And I do hereby grant Courtenay, Caroline, Sallie and Sarah as perfect freedom as if they had been born free. In testimony whereof, I hereunto set my hand and seal this, the 28th day of June, 1859, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses. (Signed) FRANK P. BLAIR."

Emancipation Movement in Missouri.

William Hyde saw the evolution of the emancipation movement of Missouri in the decade before the Civil war. From close range as a newspaper man he measured its growth and character. His impressions were given to the Globe-Democrat in 1892:

"Mr. Francis Preston Blair, who became the universally recognized leader of the emancipation party, together with Messrs. Edward Bates, B. Gratz Brown, Dr. Linton, Henry T. Blow, John D. Stevenson, John How, O. D. Filley and other conspicuous members, were not believers in immediate emancipation. They proposed and advocated a gradual system—a fixed time after which children born of slave parents would be free and a further fixed time in the lives of each slave when all should be free. Deportation and colonization was a dream of this utopia, involving compensation to slave owners who might demand the same for the term of service cut off by the act of emancipation as nearly as it could be calculated. In view of the fact that from the organization of the American Colonization Society up to twenty years ago, the whole number of colored persons emigrating from this country was but 13,598, the futility of the scheme appears amazing. But on the other hand, it is recorded that long after the Southern war had itself freed thousands, President Lincoln was ready to negotiate for peace with emancipation, on the basis of a money compensation for the slaves.

"It was, indeed, a most difficult and perplexing problem with which the courageous gradual emancipationists, deporters and colonizationists of Missouri had to deal. What to do with the freedmen when they should be set at liberty; what should be their social status; how should they be educated and prepared for the duties of citizenship—these and cognate questions staggered the most thoughtful promoters of the movement, and stagnated even those who in their hearts were more than willing to let slavery go. In a city like St. Louis the question of antagonizing the cheap labor of slaves against the labor of free white men

was susceptible of being worked to great advantage, and it was so worked. 'Free labor' was one of the rallying cries of the anti-slavery party. Even after the organization of the Republican party, in 1856, in which Francis P. Blair, jr., was one of the prime movers, the junior Blair hesitated to adopt the name for the Missourians. 'Free Democratic ticket' was the caption swung out at the head of the list of Blair candidates for local offices in the Democrat. But it was scarcely a disguise. The columns of the Democrat bristled with elaborate emancipation articles. Henry Boernstein, who conducted the Anzeiger des Westens, was not particular as to hair-splitting names, and, indeed, the word Republican conveyed to his readers, many of whom were German exiles of 1848, a meaning which was itself a rallying cry. In point of fact, the *Anzeiger* and its followers were the radicals of the day, much more advanced in their anti-slavery views than Blair and his coterie, who endured undeserved disparagement on their account. For it was not cowardice or timidity which induced the latter to hesitate to adopt the Republican title at once. The dubitation was whether that name expressed the objects of the organization in its primary form. However, there was no beating behind the bush relative to the fact that this organization meant anti-slavery, emancipation and free soil. There was no occasion for concealment. Liberty of thought and speech was as secure in St. Louis as in Boston."

During a part of the time when emancipation sentiment was growing in Missouri, Mr. Hyde was the correspondent of the Missouri Republican at Springfield, Illinois, while the legislature was in session. Blair visited Springfield and held conferences with Lincoln. Mr. Hyde held to this view of the relations between the two:

"It was a sufficient indorsement of Frank Blair, in a partisan sense, that the political career of Abraham Lincoln, from the time of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, was patterned on his model. In all their public discussions both were anxious that the agitation of the slavery question should not imperil the Union. They had no part or lot with those who, like N. P. Banks, would 'let the Union slide,' or with those who, like William Lloyd Garrison, regarded the Union as 'a league with hell and a covenant with death.' Both opposed 'conceded disunion or constrained emancipation,' as a dreaded and unnecessary alternative. Adopting the view made prominent in Blair's speeches, Mr. Lincoln, in one of his earliest messages, advocated a system of colonizing the blacks freed by the war, and even hinted at the deportation of those who were free before. In his first cabinet were Montgomery Blair and Edward Bates, who held identical views with Francis P. Blair. In his opposition to Fremont's administration in Missouri, Blair was heartily sustained by the President. But, by this time, Judge Bates had quarreled with the Blairs about the administration methods in Missouri, their differences dating back, in fact, to the time when General Harney was superseded by Captain Lyon, just previous to the capture of Camp Jackson."

Slave Auctions Made Odious.

The slave traders had no social recognition in St. Louis. One of them was stoned by boys shortly before the Civil war. St. Louis parted with slavery willingly. What pro-slavery sentiment had existed was largely because of sympathy for the south, where family ties bound and trade relations existed. New Year's Day, 1861, brought a curious revelation of sentiment in St. Louis on the slavery question. In the settlement of estates not infrequently there were negroes to be disposed of. Like other property, to be distributed to heirs, these slaves were put up at partition sales. The sheriff or his deputy appeared at the front door of the courthouse, announced the terms and called for bids. While estates were in progress of settlement, the slaves were held in the custody of the court officers and were boarded for safekeeping in the county jail. It had become the custom of the court to set the 1st day of January as the date to clean up slave property

left by estates. Encouraged by the election of Lincoln in the preceding November, a secret organization was formed to put an end to these auction sales of slaves by court procedure. On the 1st day of January, 1861, the sheriff had seven slaves to sell for the benefit of certain heirs of the deceased owners. In the usual legal form the sale was announced. Rev. Galusha Anderson, at the time pastor of the Second Baptist Church, tells in his book, "A Border City in the Civil War," the story of this last slave auction by order of court in St. Louis:

"About 2,000 young men had secretly banded themselves together to stop the sale, and, if possible, put an end to this annual disgrace. The auctioneer on his arrival at the court-house found this crowd of freemen in a dense mass waiting for him. The sight of bonds-men about to be offered for sale, and that, too, under the floating folds of their national flag, crimsoned their cheeks with shame and made their hearts hot within them. Yet they scarcely uttered a word as they stood watching the auctioneer and the timid, shrinking slaves at his side. At last he was ready and cried out, 'What will you bid for this able-bodied boy? There's not a blemish on him.' Then the indignant, determined crowd in response cried out, at the top of their lungs, 'Three dollars, three dollars,' and without a break kept up the cry for twenty minutes or more. The auctioneer yelled to make himself heard above that deafening din of voices, but it was all in vain. At last, however, the cry of the crowd died away. Was it simply a good-natured joke carried a little too far? The auctioneer seemed to be in doubt how to take that vociferating throng. 'Now,' he said, in a bantering tone, 'gentlemen, don't make fools of yourselves; how much will you bid for this boy?' Then, for many minutes, they shouted, 'Four dollars, four dollars,' and the frantic cries of the auctioneer were swallowed up in that babel of yells. His efforts were as futile as if he had attempted to whistle a tornado into silence. To the joy of that crowd of young men the auctioneer was at last in a rage. It had dawned upon him that this was no joke; that the crowd before him were not shouting for fun on this annual holiday, but were in dead earnest. When their cries once more died away, he soundly berated them for their conduct. But they answered his scolding and storming with jeers and catcalls. At last he again asked, 'How much will you bid for this first-class nigger?' This was answered by a simultaneous shout of 'Five dollars, five dollars'; and the roar of voices did not stop for a quarter of an hour. And so the battle went on. The bid did not get above eight dollars, and at the end of two hours of exasperating and futile effort, the defeated auctioneer led his ebony charges back to the jail. Through the force of public opinion freedom had triumphed. No public auction of slaves was ever again attempted in St. Louis."

Lincoln's Border States Policy.

President Lincoln wanted to pay the loyal slaveholders of Missouri $300 apiece for every man, woman and child slave in the State. He chose Gen. John B. Henderson to champion this policy in Congress, and he used his influence as far as he felt he consistently could to press the measure. This policy the President adopted before he had been in the White House a year. His desire was to have Congress reimburse the loyal slaveholders of the border States for their slaves, and then to emancipate by proclamation slaves in the other States. Missouri was selected for the first application of the policy. John B. Henderson entered the Senate by appointment of the governor, taking the place of Trusten Polk, who had gone into the Confederate army. He was but little beyond the age which made him eligible. When the Missouri legislature met Senator Henderson was elected for the unexpired term, and when the term ended he was elected for the new term. Within three months after he became senator, in 1862, General Henderson had been taken into the confidence of Mr. Lincoln and was urging the policy of payment for the slaves of the border States. There was great pressure

being brought to bear upon the President to emancipate. Delegations of ministers from the North came to Washington to demand such action. The Republican leaders were very insistent. Senator Zach Chandler of Michigan, Senator Ben Wade of Ohio, and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, called almost daily at the White House to tell Mr. Lincoln what he ought to do. General Henderson was sent for frequently to report how the border states policy was progressing.

"As I went in one day," General Henderson said, "I noticed that the President looked troubled. He was sitting in one of his favorite attitudes—in a rocking chair with one leg thrown over the arm. I knew that he suffered terribly from headaches, and I said:

" 'Mr. President, you must have one of your headaches; you look so gloomy.'

" 'No,' said he, 'it isn't headache this time. Chandler has been here to talk again about emancipation, and he came on the heels of Wade and Sumner, who were here on the same errand. I like these three men, but they bother me nearly to death. They put me in the situation of a boy I remember when I was going to school.' "

General Henderson noted the brightening of Mr. Lincoln's face. He recognized the signs that a story was coming. Mr. Lincoln leaned forward, began to smile, and clasped his hands around the knee of the leg resting on the arm of the chair.

"The text-book was the Bible," Mr. Lincoln went on. "There was a rather dull little fellow in the class who didn't know very much. We were reading the account of the three Hebrews cast into the fiery furnace. The little fellow was called on to read and he stumbled along until he came to the names of the three Hebrews—Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego. He couldn't do anything with them. The teacher pronounced them over very slowly and told the boy to try. The boy tried and missed. This provoked the teacher and he slapped the little fellow, who cried vigorously. Then the boy tried again, but he couldn't get the names. 'Well,' said the teacher impatiently, 'never mind the names. Skip them and go on.' The poor boy drew his shirt sleeve across his eyes two or three times, snuffed his nose and started on to read. He went along bravely a little way, and then he suddenly stopped, dropped the book down in front of him, looked despairingly at the teacher and burst out crying. 'What's the matter now?' shouted the teacher, all out of patience. 'H-h-here's them same darn three fellers agin,' sobbed the boy.

"That," said the President, "is just my fix today, Henderson. Those same darn three fellers have been here again with their everlasting emancipation talk."

The President stopped a few moments to enjoy the story, and becoming serious, continued:

"But Sumner and Wade and Chandler are right about it. I know it and you know it, too. I've got to do something and it can't be put off much longer. We can't get through this terrible war with slavery existing. You've got sense enough to know that. Why can't you make the border States members see it? Why don't you turn in and take pay for your slaves from the government? Then all your people can give their hearty support to the Union. We can go ahead with emancipation of slaves by proclamation in the other States and end the trouble."

As early as May, 1862, President Lincoln told General Henderson of his intention to issue the emancipation proclamation. Action was not taken until six months later, and the proclamation was announced, to take effect January 1, 1863. The President held out as long as he could in the hope that he might be able to carry out his border States policy. The introduction of the bill to pay loyal owners in Missouri was the beginning. It was followed by bills to pay for slaves in Kentucky, Maryland and other border slave States.

"I do not remember," said General Henderson, "whether Mr. Lincoln drafted the bill or I got it up, but the inspiration came from him. I did all in my power to press it. The proposition went through the House and Senate, but it was passed in somewhat different forms. The Senate increased the amount, and this difference had to be adjusted in conference. There was a good majority for the Missouri bill in both branches of Congress and there was not much trouble about compromising the difference of opinions on the amount to be appropriated, but the session was almost at an end and a small minority in the House was able, by filibustering and obstructing, to prevent the final action there. If the bill could have been brought before the House in its finished form it would have passed finally as easy as it did in the Senate.

"President Lincoln watched the progress of the legislation with a great deal of interest," continued General Henderson. "He could not understand why the border States members should not be for it. And I could not, either. It was perfectly plain to me that slavery had to go. Here was a voluntary offer on the part of the government to compensate the loyal men in the border States for the loss of their property. I talked with the members from Missouri and from Kentucky and with the others who were most interested, but I couldn't make them see it as I did. They had exaggerated ideas of the results which would ensue from a free negro population. They took the position that slavery must not be touched. It was their determined opposition to the end that deferred the bill to give the Missouri slaveholders $20,000,000 for their slaves. If the Missouri bill had gone through the others would have followed undoubtedly and the loyal slaveholders in all of the border States would have received pay for their slaves."

President Lincoln and General Henderson were so confident the bill to disburse $20,000,000 for Missouri slaves would become law that some figuring was done on the amount which would be paid per capita.

"I recollect quite distinctly the calculations I made at the time," General Henderson said. "I found that the amount which the government would have distributed to Missourians under the terms of the bill finally agreed upon in conference would have given the loyal owners in my State $300 for each slave—man, woman and child. That I considered a pretty good price, for while we were legislating the emancipation proclamation had become assured, and it was very evident to my mind that slavery was doomed, even among those slaveholders who had remained loyal."

Missouri Opposition to Payment.

Elijah H. Norton, who represented the Platte District in Congress, opposed the bill to pay the loyal slaveholders of Missouri for emancipation. He fought the measure from the time of its introduction and was one of a small number who prevented it becoming a law, even after it had passed both Senate and

House by large majorities. The disagreement between the two branches over certain minor details prevented the bill reaching the President. One point which Judge Norton made was that Missouri could not free her slaves without paying the owners the full equivalent for them. He said:

"According to the census of 1860, there were of slaves in Missouri about 120,000. According to the report of the auditor of the State, founded upon returns made for the year 1862 by the assessors of forty odd counties, there can not now be less than 100,000 slaves in the State. In my judgment not over 5,000 of them are subject to confiscation under the confiscation law, leaving 95,000 to be bought and paid for. Before the legislature can emancipate them, they must first pay a full equivalent for them. Not an equivalent which Congress by an arbitrary legislative act fixes; not an equivalent which legislative enactment declares, but the worth, the value of the slave as ascertained from the market rate by a proceeding, not legislative, but judicial in its character. I notice sales recently made in Howard county, in the district of my colleague, at $900; in other counties at from $600 to $700, for negro men. These figures and the former value of slaves lead me to conclude that the average value of slaves in the State would not fall below $450. Thus, sir, we have the price, being $450, and the number 95,000 to be bought. The value of these slaves would be $42,750,000. By this bill you place at the disposal of the governor $20,000,000 of bonds; and if the legislature, out of the state treasury, could also appropriate $22,750,000, then the legislature could, in twelve months, pass a valid and constitutional law for the emancipation of slaves according to the terms of the bill. But, sir, this is impossible."

Judge Norton took the position that the general government had no authority to carry out the proposed plan of emancipation. He said:

"The citizens of Missouri are willing to acknowledge their proper and just allegiance to the government of the United States, but they have always held and hold to-day that under the obligations of that allegiance, fixed and defined by the Constitution of the United States, they are not required to give up their state rights and bow down in the dust like serfs and slaves to federal dictation, or the dictation of any one or more States of the Union. Missouri has rights as a State of the Union. Missouri has rights as a State of this Union which you dare not invade without disregarding your oaths and trampling in the dust the Constitution watered with the blood of your Revolutionary sires. You can not abolish our state courts, nor our legislature; nor can you deprive us of two Senators or our proper number of Representatives upon this floor. You can not make local laws for our local internal police government conflicting with the reserved rights of the State and the people. While you can not do any of these things, either directly or indirectly, neither can you by direction or indirection, as you propose by this bill, abolish slavery. That is as much their concern as is the election of their legislature. The people of that State are a brave, magnanimous, patriotic and just-minded people; and whenever in the exercise of their virtues they determine that it is for their interest and to the interest of the State and country generally that the institution of slavery should be abolished in a legal and constitutional mode, all citizens of the State will agree to their verdict and sanction their action. You do not propose to have it accomplished in this way, but are for stepping in and settling the matter at once."

In conclusion Judge Norton pictured the horrors as he foresaw them of a free negro population in Missouri:

"Under this bill you propose to turn adrift upon the people of the State 100,000 persons without a dollar, without homes or provision made for them to get homes, persons of all ages, sexes and conditions, the old and infirm, the halt, lame and blind, the young and defenseless, in one promiscuous mass. Is this humanity? Humanitarians on the other side of the House may answer. The original bill pledged the faith of this government to take

the emancipated slaves out of the State; the substitute adopted by the Senate, and now here for action, strikes this provision out, thus converting Missouri into a free negro State. You can not inflict a greater injury on Missouri than thus to fill up her communities with this kind of worthless population. A free negro population is the greatest curse to any country."

Charcoals and Claybanks.

The Union men of Missouri divided sharply in 1862 upon the question of freeing the slaves in this State. The Charcoals were for immediate emancipation; the Claybanks favored what Frank P. Blair, in a letter to Rudolph Dochn called a "gradual, peaceful and just measure of emancipation." Missourians recognized the fact that freedom of the slaves of the disloyal was coming as an act of war. The issue for this State was the course to be pursued regarding the slaves of the Union men. In the spring of 1863 there were held two local conventions in St. Louis, one called the Republican Emancipation Convention by the "Charcoals," and the other the Union Emancipation Convention by the "Claybanks." The "Charcoals" nominated Chauncey I. Filley for mayor; the "Claybanks" nominated his cousin, O. D. Filley, for mayor. The Democrats nominated Joseph O'Neill. The Charcoals resolved in their convention "Emancipation in Missouri should be sought in the most speedy manner consistent with law and order." The resolutions endorsed the President's proclamation of January 1, 1863, freeing the slaves in the Confederate States. The Claybanks resolved "That we regard slavery as an evil and believe that our State ought to adopt some constitutional mode of getting rid of an institution which has been a clog upon the wheels of her prosperity and the fruitful source of trouble and disaster." The Charcoals were successful, electing Chauncey I. Filley over the Claybank and the Democratic candidates.

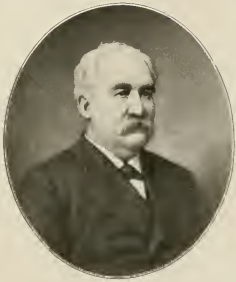
In 1863 a plan of gradual emancipation was offered to the people of Missouri in the form of a constitutional amendment. But in 1865 a constitutional convention declared for immediate freedom of all slaves. Negro schools were started in St. Louis by voluntary contributions, the laws at that time forbidding use of public money for such a purpose.

Negro Education in Missouri.

A negro regiment, composed in the main of former Missouri slaves, started the fund which bought the site of Lincoln Institute at Jefferson City. The first contribution was $20, given by Maj. Samuel A. Love, for many years a leader among the negro Baptists of Missouri. The time was pay day for the colored troops; also it was Sunday. J. Milton Turner, afterwards Minister to Liberia by appointment from General Grant, addressed the soldiers. He told them that education was the great need of their people now that freedom had been obtained. He explained that colored teachers must be trained. To accomplish that there must be a normal school. The fund thus started grew with contributions from another negro regiment. It was sufficient to buy the site. The legislature was asked for help. An understanding was reached by which the State was pledged to recognize and support the Institute when the contributions from individuals reach $15,000. Capt. R. B. Foster who had been in the movement from the beginning went East with Turner. Anti-slavery people contributed freely. The guarantee fund was raised. The state administration redeemed its

Mayor Washington King

Mayor Nathan Cole



Mayor Henry Overstolz

Mayor John M. Krum

Mayor John D. Daggett

A GROUP OF ST. LOUIS MAYORS

promise and Missouri inaugurated one of the earliest training schools for colored teachers. Turner established, as he believed, the first negro school in Missouri outside of St. Louis. He said one of his supporters was Jesse James, who on several occasions contributed from $10 to $25. "But for Jesse James," said Turner, "I could not have kept up the school."

Samuel Cupples and Dr. Woodward.

The introduction of colored teachers for colored schools was one of the innovations which St. Louis tried with admirable results. It came about after Samuel Cupples and Dr. Calvin M. Woodward had become active in the public school board. For a number of years the teachers of the colored schools were white. When a young white woman was assigned to teach a colored school there followed an indignant protest from her friends. White teachers failed to arouse the interest among their pupils necessary for best results. Mr. Cupples was a trustee of the Lincoln Institute at Jefferson City. He made inquiries as to the capabilities of the students who were being educated at the institute and proposed the trial of colored teachers in the St. Louis colored schools. Dr. Harris, Dr. Woodward and others favored the experiment. At that time the enrollment of children in the colored schools was about two thousand. Mr. Cupples, Dr. Harris and Dr. Woodward visited the colored schools, invited the parents to a conference, had refreshments and explained the purpose to better the educational facilities for the children. They urged that they must have the cooperation of the parents to obtain the improvement desired. Children must attend regularly, must not be kept out on Mondays to go after the laundry and at other times to run errands, but must be present five days in the week. In a year the enrollment of the colored schools of St. Louis had doubled. The improved conditions under colored teachers has been so marked and gratifying that it brought the public school board to the conclusion to build a colored high school to cost $350,000, the best equipped high school for colored pupils in the United States.

A few years ago Sir William Mather, accompanied by Lady Mather, visited St. Louis to observe the progress made in manual training. From the white schools they went to the colored and saw the boys and girls receiving the same practical instruction in the use of their hands as well as their minds.

"I am surprised," exclaimed the lady. "Wasn't this a slave State? I am surprised that you are doing so much for the negroes."

"Madame," said Mr. Cupples, "the only people who understand the negroes and who know how to make good citizens of them are those who lived in the former slave States."

Then Lady Mather insisted upon having some pictures of the colored school children of St. Louis at their studies and especially engaged in the manual training and domestic science work.

"When we go up to Khartoum," she said to Sir William, "I want to show what these people are doing for the little Africans in St. Louis."

The Missouri Negro.

When the bill to reimburse the depositors of the Freedman's Savings Bank was before Congress, Senator Vest opposed it. He said that the bill was in the interest, not of the original depositors, but for the benefit of claim agents. And

then he paid this touching tribute to the negro as he had known him in Missouri: "I have nothing to say to any man who thinks that I would grind the African race out of one cent. If any man in this world has reason to be their friend, I am that man—raised with them, nursed by one of them, an humble owner of them as inherited property. I never bought or sold one for gain in my life. They are a docile, gentle, inoffensive race, and the Southern man who would wrong them deserves to be blotted from the roll of manhood. When our wives and children were in their hands during the war they acted so as to make every man in the South their friend who had one particle of manhood about him."

According to Commissioner Fitzpatrick, of the state bureau of labor statistics, there were in 1913 nearly 3,800 Missouri farms owned by negroes and these farms were worth $27,768,000, taking the average value of a farm in the State as a basis. Investigation by the bureau showed that these farms, as a rule, were well kept and well stocked and productive, growing wheat, corn, oats, grasses, watermelons, strawberries, peaches, apples and all other food necessities. Negroes raised poultry for the market, sold eggs, milk and butter, had bee hives and plenty of honey, produced sugar cane, which, in fall, they boiled out for sorghum molasses. Their daily menu was made of the best things they produced. Nearly every negro farmer in Missouri, the commissioner stated, had a bank account.

In 1913 the sweepstakes premium for "the highest yield of corn on one acre," awarded at the University of Missouri, went to a negro farmer. It was given to N. C. Bruce, connected with the Bartlett Farm and School for negroes at Dalton in Chariton county. Bruce raised 108 bushels on a single acre. The average for a field of sixty acres at the Dalton institution where negroes are taught agriculture and other useful branches, was between sixty-five and seventy-five bushels an acre. One of the chief promoters of the Dalton school was the late Professor Calvin M. Woodward, father of manual training.

CHAPTER IV.

JACK AND GALENA.

Missouri's Mineral Prodigies—Uncle Sampson Barker's Bullets—Revelation of Zinc—Granby's Awakening—Burton's Bear Hunt—Tom Benton, the Reporter—Moses Austin's Arrival—How the Connecticut Man Smelted—Renault, the Pioneer Miner—A Century Old Claim—Mine La Motte's Vicissitudes—The Golden Vein—Lead for Washington's Soldiers—The Valles and the Roziers—Dry Bone Turned to Account—The Flat River Country—La Grave and the Disseminated—Bonne Terre's Beginning—Evolution of the St. Joe Enterprise—Parson's Policy—Gophering at Valle Mines—Dr. Keith's Reminiscences—Matrimony Under Difficulty—The Granby Company—Herculaneum's Era of Prosperity—The Maclot Shot Tower—Missouri Lead for Jackson's Army—The City that Jack Built—Joplin's Site a Cattle Ranch—Moffett & Sargent—Some of the Lucky Strikes—A Show and a Fortune—Bartlett's Invention—White Lead from Smelter Fumes—Early Prospectors—Ten O'Clock Run—Webb City and Carterville—The Story of Two Farms—Morgan County's Fame Before the War—How Oronogo Got Its Name—"The Chatter."

When I examine the statistics of the mineral fields of the world I find there is not another country on the globe embracing as it (Missouri) does so many varieties of minerals in such great abundance.—*Firman A. Rozier.*

Nature was profligate in the distribution of lead in Missouri. When Uncle Sampson Barker was a boy he went out in a hollow of Taney County almost anywhere and picked up some fragments of lead ore. He selected a stump, white oak preferred. The hole he filled with lightwood. He struck a flint or touched a match, if he happened to have one of those new fangled things called lucifers. He piled on the ore and went away. When the home-made smelter had cooled off, Sampson went back, raked the lead out of the ashes and molded his bullets. Uncle Sampson Barker lived to be one of the oldest hunters in the White River region. He never thought of going to the store for cartridges, even when fixed ammunition became cheap, but down to the end of the century smelted his lead and molded his bullets. And the lead seemed to be about as plentiful as in his boyhood. There is today almost no part of the South Missouri country where "float" lead, as it is called, cannot be found. With every heavy rain fragments are washed out of the soil.

The production of zinc became a Missouri industry fifty years ago. The Civil war was over. The spirit of enterprise was abroad in the State. Several residents of Carondelet, not then a part of St. Louis, organized a company and built a small smelter at Potosi, the old mining center in Washington county. They opened the new industry with speech-making. George D. Reynolds, later to become presiding justice of the Court of Appeals, then fresh from admission to the bar, had settled in Potosi; he was selected for the orator of the occasion. The smelter was to be supplied with zinc ore from pockets ten or fifteen feet deep in the surrounding country. A relative of one of the investors in the enterprise

was pursuing a mineralogical course in a German university. He was induced to come to Missouri and take employment with the smelter company. His first work was to tramp through the counties of Washington and St. Francois, find indications of ore, and induce the country miners to dig. Lead miners, born and bred in Southeast Missouri, were numerous. They were descendants of the pioneer miners who had come to Missouri in the early years of American occupation and even before, when there were Spanish governors. They knew lead, but zinc ore had been thrown aside as worthless. They had to be coaxed to mine it.

The Potosi smelter languished. The promoters, in time, learned it was cheaper to carry the ore to the coal than to haul the coal to the ore. Three carloads of coal to one carload of ore was the proportion. On advice of their mineralogist, the smelter people moved the plant to Carondelet, the mineralogist having a narrow escape from harsh treatment at the hands of the indignant citizens of Potosi.

About the time he was leaving for his post as American minister at Rio Janeiro, Henry T. Blow, whose home was in Carondelet, visited the zinc smelter. He had long been interested in the lead business and had been a pioneer manufacturer of white lead. He examined the process of zinc smelting and handled the ore. "We've got stuff that looks like this down in Southwest Missouri," Mr. Blow said to the mineralogist. "We've never done anything with it. We didn't think it was worth saving. I wish you'd go down to Granby some time, look at what we have there and tell me what you think of it."

The Discovery of Jack.

Granby had been a wonderful lead camp for years. As soon as the mineralogist saw the dumps he reported that there were thousands of tons of good zinc ore heaped up about the shafts, left there as worthless. He traveled through Southwest Missouri and found zinc ore of the finest quality in inexhaustible quantities.

The railroads were headed toward these zinc fields, but had not reached them. For some time the mineralogist went among the lead mines reaping his harvest. "Jack" and sometimes "black jack" were the scoffing names which the lead miner had bestowed upon this zinc, which added so much to the work of mining galena and which he considered of no value. The representative of the Carondelet smelter bought for trifling sums the privilege of helping himself to the "jack" on the dumps. He said little and paid little, but he accumulated zinc ore in great quantities. He trained a few buyers who selected the very richest of the zinc ore, loaded it upon wagons and hauled it to the nearest railroad stations for shipment to Carondelet. Some of the best of this ore was not dug. It had been gathered from the surface. One day the mineralogist, traveling along a road in the zinc country of Southwest Missouri, came to a farm, the "home lot" of which was walled in with rugged, massive chunks. After a brief examination the mineralogist opened negotiations with the farmer. He acquired the wall of "jack" which the farmer had picked up on the ground. He built the farmer a better wall of smooth stone and gave a few dollars in addition. The original wall of chunks was loaded in the ore wagons and hauled away. It was a great joke on the city crank in the estimation of the farmer until the latter learned that the mineralogist had made a clear profit of $1,750. The chunks

HILDERBRAND'S BLUFF FROM WHICH THE GUERRILLA LEAPED HIS HORSE

THE OLD STYLE LEAD SMELTER

were zinc ore of exceptionally high grade. The black jack, which had been accumulating on dumps throughout the Ozarks for generations, was bought up and shipped for reduction. Down at Granby there was an industrial revolution. There the black jack lay already mined in small mountains. The company transformed it into dividends and began to dig for more. Lead ore was the by-product. The zinc field spread. Joplin became the center..

Lead Mining Nomenclature.

In the early times when the enterprising Frenchmen were dominant in Southeast Missouri, they had a pleasant way of naming their mines. When one of them discovered valuable mineral, obtained a grant and began to work it, everybody knew the place by the name of the discoverer or owner, to which was prefixed "Mine-a." Thus Mine-a-La Motte received its name, which has been contracted into Mine La Motte. In the heart of the Flat River district of St. Francois county is Mine-a-Joe, so called after the pioneer Joe Bogy, who obtained the grant and gathered in royalties from the miners who searched for nuggets of galena on his land. And Mine-a-Burton, now Potosi, got its title from a famous pioneer, M. Burton, who discovered this rich field while pursuing a bear. The name of this Frenchman was Breton, but with the American occupation it was anglicized into Burton.

Before he entered upon his "Thirty Years in the American Senate," Thomas H. Benton was not above working up an item for the newspapers. In 1818 he furnished a sketch of Burton for the St. Louis Enquirer, and this is what he wrote:

"Burton is a Frenchman, from the north of France. In the fore part of the last century he served in the low countries under the orders of Marshal Saxe. He was at Fontenoy when the Duke of Cumberland was beaten by that marshal. He was at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, and assisted in the assault of that place when it was assailed by a division of Saxe's army under Count Luvesdahe. He had also seen service upon the continent. He was at the building of Fort Chartres, on the American bottom, and was present at Braddock's defeat. From the life of a soldier Burton passed to that of a hunter, and in that character, about half a century ago, while pursuing a bear to the west of the Mississippi, he discovered the rich lead mines which have borne his name ever since. The most moderate computation will make him at the present writing (1818) 106. He now lives in the family of Mr. Micheaux, at the Little Rock ferry, three miles above Ste. Genevieve, and walks to that village almost every Sunday to attend mass. He is what we call a square-built man, of 5 feet and 8 inches in height, full chest and forehead. His senses of seeing and hearing are somewhat impaired, but free from disease, and apparently able to hold out against time for many years to come."

The name of the hotel is all that Potosi has preserved as a reminder of the man who hunted bear and found galena. Near the Burton Hotel is the Micheaux Spring, called after the pioneer whom Mr. Benton speaks of as entertaining Burton in his old age. Micheaux is said to have been the first white man who drank of this spring.

About 1797 the Spanish Government granted to Moses Austin a tract of land a league square. Austin was a practical miner. The consideration for the grant was that Austin should erect furnaces and other works for mining and smelting the lead, and should build a shot-tower. Austin became the nabob of Mine-a-

Burton. He built a residence which was the most magnificent private structure in Missouri for many years. It stood the pride of Potosi until the great fire of 1871, which swept through the town.

Austin worked his grant on the same scale that he built his house and did everything. He was a man of business methods, and left a statement showing exactly what he accomplished with the property. From this it appears that he manufactured lead as follows:

"From 1798 to 1804, an average of 360,000 pounds per annum, or a total of 2,160,000 pounds.

"From 1804 to 1808, an average of 800,000 pounds per annum, or a total of 3,200,000 pounds.

"From 1808 to 1816, an average of 500,000 pounds per annum, or a total of 4,000,000 pounds."

Thus in eighteen years Austin turned out what for that time was an extraordinary product, 9,360,000 pounds. This lead was transported to Ste. Genevieve either on pack animals or in great wooden carts without tires. The Indians used to call these carts "barefooted wagons."

Moses Austin's Invention.

The first notable improvement in lead mining methods was introduced by the adventurous Connecticut man—Moses Austin. He visited the lead mines and saw at once the opportunity for improvement. It is tradition that until Austin came sheet lead was unknown. The New Englander smelted ore and poured it on a flat rock to produce the first sheet. Governor Trudeau was impressed with Austin's shrewdness. He was encouraging American settlers. On conditions, the governor granted Austin a league which included about one-third of the Mine-a-Burton lead field. In accordance with the proviso, Austin built a furnace and sunk a shaft. He increased the production largely. His home was an imposing stone castle, which was one of the wonders of the lead country. It was called "Durham Hall." Ostensibly the fortifications were for protection against the Indians. Subsequent events rather indicated that Austin never forgot that he was an American, and looked forward to the time when the American flag would fly west of the Mississippi, forcibly, if not peaceably. He borrowed Spanish cannon from the commandant at Ste. Genevieve, and failed to return them when the Spaniards evacuated Upper Louisiana. Austin seems to have entertained the hope of silver, although he didn't waste time looking for it, but turned out lead for several years. When the American occupation took place, Austin told Captain Stoddard that the ore of Mine La Motte carried fifty ounces of silver to the ton. The Mine La Motte, up to 1804, had produced 8,000 tons of lead, but it had not shown enough silver to pay for the extraction. Austin grew tired of his lead mining and smelting soon after the American occupation. He went to Mexico and got a grant in Texas for colonization purposes. On his way back to Missouri to raise his colony he was killed. His son, Stephen Austin, took up his father's prospect and led the colony to Texas. Stephen Austin was one of the pioneers in the movement for Texas independence, and the capital of the State was named after him.

MOSES AUSTIN

TOMB OF MOSES AUSTIN AT POTOSI

Renault, the Explorer.

Fourche-a-Renault is one of the best-known streams of Southeast Missouri. It obtains its name from the man who probably did the earliest mining, on any extended scale, in Missouri. Philip Francis Renault was a native of Picardy, France. Renault sailed from France in 1719 with 200 mechanics, miners and laborers to engage in mining. He stopped in the West Indies and bought 500 negroes to do the rough labor of the mines. With this force he came up the Mississippi and worked the large grants of mineral lands made to him in Southeast Missouri. This importation of slaves was the first made into Missouri, or, indeed, into the Mississippi Valley. The ruins of the furnaces in which Renault smelted lead are to be seen today along the banks of the Fourche-a-Renault. Descendants of the miners and mechanics who came over in 1719 are still living in and around Potosi. They speak a patois of their own, and the relationship to the French is easily recognized. The 500 slaves bought in the West Indies have disappeared without leaving a trace. Renault shipped his product down the river to New Orleans.

As late as 1894 a committee of Congress was called upon to investigate a claim for the relief of the heirs of Philip Francis Renault. These heirs produced what purported to be a record of ancient French grants made between 1722 and 1740. Under the grant made to Renault they claimed title to Mine La Motte. Thomas T. Gantt of St. Louis made an investigation of this claim many years ago. He found that the heirs of Renault, eighty-five years after the grant was alleged to have been made and after three changes of government and after forty-five years of adverse possession of Mine La Motte by Pratte and his associates, had appeared by attorney in 1808 and had laid claim to the property. The claim was a subject of repeated investigation by commissions and by Congress. In 1828 Congress confirmed the title of Pratte and his associates. In 1834 a committee reported against the claim of the Renault heirs. In 1844 a claim was presented in the United States court at St. Louis. That went to the Supreme Court of the United States and was decided against the heirs. Under all these circumstances the committee of Congress in 1894 reported against the claim of the Renaults.

Mine La Motte.

The lead which defeated Braddock's army came from Mine La Motte. That is an historical fact for which Judge Allen, of Fredericktown, was willing to be held responsible. The first correspondent who wrote up the mine was Moses Austin. He made this famous place the subject of a letter in 1804. The letter was short, but it wasn't published until half a dozen years after it was written. This is what Correspondent Austin learned at that early day:

"Mine a la Motte was discovered by Mr. Renault about the year 1723 or 1724, who made an exploration, but, finding no silver ore, he abandoned it. About the year 1725 a man by the name of La Motte opened and wrought the mine, after whom it was called. About the years 1738-40 the Mine a la Motte was considered a public property, and the people in general were allowed to work it. At that time it furnished almost all the lead exported from the Illinois. But soon after the discovery and opening of the Mine a Burton (at Potosi) the Mine a la Motte was in a great measure abandoned, the mineral at Mine a Burton being much easier melted. The Mine a la Motte is at this time (1804) claimed as private property:

in consequence the inhabitants in general are denied the privilege of working. Therefore the quantity of lead is greatly reduced. For the years 1802 and 1803 the quantity of lead made at Mine a la Motte did not exceed 200,000 pounds weight, although about thirty men were employed from four to six months in each year."

Up to 1804 Mine La Motte had yielded, according to the best information obtainable, 16,000,000 pounds of lead. Up to 1876 the total product had been 110,571,436 pounds.

The same year that Laclede came up the river to found St. Louis and that Burton found Mine-a-Burton, Francis Valle of Ste. Genevieve was developing Mine La Motte. This was the first of four generations of Francis Valles. The founder of the Valle family, Francis Valle, came out from Canada, where he was born, to Kaskaskia in 1730. Made commandant at Ste. Genevieve, he turned his attention to the lead industry. Mine La Motte took its name from M. de la Motte Cadillac. Like Renault, la Motte was seeking a silver mine. He located the wonderful deposit of galena, which was afterward called "the golden vein," and carried away some specimens. He was not a lead miner. Whatever Francis Valle may have thought about the silver tradition, he applied himself to the production of lead. The Indians brought in the metal rudely smelted and traded it. They resented the efforts of the white men to mine. Francis Valle and his sons built a block house to protect the mines. The Indians attacked it. One of the sons was killed. Operations were suspended, but there was demand for lead. Mining was resumed. Again the Indians attacked. Again occurred a suspension. It was only temporary Ste. Genevieve flourished on the trade. Spanish governors exercised a rather lax authority over the lead fields. The American Revolution created a more than normal demand for lead. Shipments of lead which were started down the river never reached New Orleans. The boats which had been loaded at Ste. Genevieve were found empty and adrift below the mouth of the Ohio.

The Valles were of the sturdy French pioneer stock which could not be daunted by disaster. They applied to the lead industry the same courage and persistence which gave to Missouri supremacy in many industries. With the Valles were associated in the early lead mining the Prattes and the Beauvais families. One of the Valles had three lovely daughters, who were wooed and won by three gallant Rozier brothers, Felix, Francis and Firmin. Good lead land went to the daughters for dowry. The Roziers acquired more lead land and were interested in mining enterprises.

Carbonate of lead was not known to be ore of lead until in the thirties. It was called "dry bone," and was rejected as worthless. In 1838 a Prussian named Hagan came to Mine La Motte, entered into an agreement with the Valles, bought up a lot of dry bone and smelted it. About that time forty lots of forty acres each were leased for ten years, and at the conclusion of the term an extension of three years was granted. Various parties mined and smelted under the leases. Janis was probably the largest producer. He turned out 5,000 pigs a year. There were four other furnaces which produced 3,000 pigs a year each. In the thirteen years the product amounted to 19,000,000 pounds. Then came ten years of litigation between the Flemings and the Valles. The Flemings were Philadelphians and had bought at a partition sale. During the fight over the title there was little

RENAULT DIGGINGS IN WASHINGTON COUNTY

WOODEN SHOVEL

Used by pioneer lead miners

mining done. In 1861, about the time the case was getting out of court, United States troops burned and tore down the works. The mine was altogether too favorably situated to give aid and ammunition to the Confederates.

In 1868 the property passed into the hands of the La Motte Lead Company for a consideration of something more than $500,000.

The Beginning of Disseminated.

"The Flat River Country" was famous seventy-five years ago. Long before the Civil war miners burrowed all over the district seeking the pure galena. They didn't go down and disturb the lead disseminated in limestone underneath. They did what was called surface mining, giving one-tenth of what they found to the owners of the land. There were fortunes, according to the estimate of those days, made out of the Flat River diggings. Some men accumulated from $40,000 to $50,000. Galena was currency. The stores took it in trade and heaped it up until called for. Jake Bower built a furnace at Mineral Point, and later John Evans built one at Hopewell. They had wagons which made regular trips through the Flat River district collecting the ore, for which they paid cash, and transporting it to their furnaces. Most of the ore from this district went to those two furnaces until La Grave built a furnace at Bonne Terre, which was nearer.

La Grave began to make the lead business hum about a year before the war. He was the pioneer of the St. Joe and Desloge enterprises. The best of the disseminated ore at Bonne Terre lies in the two old Spanish grants, each of a thousand arpents. One of these grants was ceded to Andrew Pratte about 1800, and the other to Buron Pratte, Andrew's younger brother, about the same time. The Bonne Terre settlement consisted of two houses when La Grave bought the Andrew Pratte grant and commenced operations. He made the investment and established his plants with the idea of working the disseminated ore, which up to that time had received almost no consideration. Neither La Grave nor anybody else knew of the vast deposits of this ore underlying Bonne Terre, but there was a bluff on the edge of the creek where a stratum of disseminated ore outcropped.

La Grave went to work on this ledge. His process was rude, indeed. After getting out the ore he laid up heaps of poles, much after the fashion of children's cob houses, piled the lead-carrying lime-rock on top, and set fire to the wood. This gave the ore a roasting and made it brittle. Then he put it into hoppers with an old-fashioned grinding apparatus, something like a coffee-mill, run by mule power. This broke the rock from the galena, and washing by hand power completed the separation. The smelting was equally primitive. La Grave carried on this treatment of disseminated ore for several years, and he got the name of extracting a great deal of lead from the hitherto ignored deposit. But, to tell the truth, disseminated ore was the source of only a fraction of La Grave's output. He sent his wagons through Flat River and collected the pure galena from the surface diggings. His product was hauled to the Iron Mountain railroad and shipped to St. Louis. About the close of the war, or a year after, the magnitude of his shipments began to attract attention. Mr. Barlow, who was for a considerable period an officer of the Iron Mountain railroad, became greatly interested in La Grave's work. He knew from the transportation records just what

had been shipped, and he got the impression, which was general, that La Grave was making a fortune out of the treatment of disseminated ore. There were some negotiations. Mr. Barlow came down, looked over the property, and thought he saw a fine opening for capital.

The conclusion was that La Grave turned over what had cost him $900 for $80,000. Mr. Barlow brought the property to the notice of the New Yorkers and the St. Joe Lead Company was formed. The same capitalists who went in originally and paid such a big price for the land stuck to it with commendable grit, and after twenty years were reaping rewards in the form of dividends of from 10 to 15 per cent on a capital stock of $1,500,000, to say nothing of the extensive additions and improvements which made up a property that several millions of dollars would not buy. The enterprise had something of a struggle at first. The purchasers from La Grave thought they had bought all of his land, but when they began to cut some wood on what is known as "the pen diggings," he stepped in with legal proceedings and stopped them. Then it was discovered that La Grave had transferred to Barlow the Andrew Pratte grant of 1,000 arpents, and had retained about three hundred acres, which he had purchased at a different time, adjoining the Pratte grant. The manner in which the misunderstanding came about was this: When Mr. Barlow visited Bonne Terre to look over the place, La Grave was sick, and delegated an old Frenchman, who was familiar with the locality, to show the visitor around. The Frenchman followed the boundaries of all the land owned by La Grave, and Mr. Barlow thought he was getting all that had been shown him when the deed of transfer was made. Afterwards La Grave sold the 300 acres to Chicago men, who opened a shaft and found they had the disseminated ore in abundance. Nothing further was done toward working the deposit, and after some bargaining over the price the Chicago company sold to the St. Joe Company.

When La Grave was making the most of his venture at Bonne Terre, and Mr. Barlow was talking up the advantages of that investment as he understood them, Flat River experienced a boom. The district lies south of Bonne Terre, over a road that no man in those days traveled the second time for pleasure. It has the disseminated ore in great quantities, and the existence of the deposits was generally known. The mineral district lies in the heart of St. Francois county, about equally distant from the towns of Bonne Terre and Farmington. Half a dozen companies were formed to develop various tracts, and among them all a good deal of money was spent, but the investors either hadn't the grit or the deep pockets of the New Yorkers, for one after another the companies relapsed into a moribund state, and for nearly twenty years there was nothing done in the district. Buildings which had been erected rotted down. Flat River lost its place on the map. Land in the vicinity fell back to its legitimate value for the cordwood that could be cut from it or for the crops it would return to the industry of the farmer. Seventy-five years ago the Flat River country was famous. Forty years ago it became famous again. Today it is more famous than it ever was. It is sending out millions, where during former periods of fame it sent thousands of dollars in pig lead.

Bonne Terre.

Before Missouri fairly realized it Bonne Terre had become the largest lead producing works in the world, a community of ten thousand souls. It was mining and milling one thousand pigs of lead a day. A railroad, five engines and one hundred cars constituted the transportation part of the plant. The title deeds to 24,000 acres of land vested in the corporation. This land included eleven farms under a high state of cultivation stocked with blooded cattle and enclosed by sixty to seventy miles of fence. All of this had been achieved as early as 1887. What was possible in the disseminated lead district of Southeast Missouri had been demonstrated. The man to whom credit for success in detail must be given was C. B. Parsons. Coming from New York about 1867, Mr. Parsons was made the superintendent of the St. Joe Lead Company. In 1883 the plant was burned with little insurance. President J. Wyman Jones came from New York by the first train. In four months the works were up and running again.

The relations between this company and its employes well merited mention. The company maintained a store carrying a stock of $50,000, but there was no compulsion to trade there. The employes were paid twice a month, not in scrip, but in cash. They were permitted to organize in their own way. They voted freely without dictation. This was Mr. Parsons' policy. Everybody knew where he stood on the political issues, but when election day came he walked to the polls, voted and walked away without trying to influence, as an employer, his labor.

When Mr. Parsons was asked what was the secret of the great success of his company in lead mining, he replied that it was "economy." He explained that the various departments were so adjusted as to run in perfect harmony. There was no loss at any point. Just enough ore was turned out of the mine to keep the works at full capacity. The mill ground just enough to have the furnaces supplied. Each part balanced with the others.

Firmin Desloge, a native of the lead mining district of Southeast Missouri, was one of the pioneers in the disseminated lead ore development. His father came from France about 1818, was a merchant, dealt in lead and in lead lands. The second Firmin Desloge had his apprenticeship at the lead business in old Potosi. There were times when the industry staggered under adverse conditions. Two men—Charles B. Parsons and Firmin Desloge—remained steadfastly with it until they had fully demonstrated the yielding value of the disseminated ore. They found lead almost at the grass roots. They went down through lead bearing rock to a depth of four hundred feet. It is nearly fifty years since treatment of the disseminated ores was undertaken seriously. The production of the district in that time has been a steady growth from 6,000 to 100,000 tons of lead. Varying somewhat with the price of the product, the district has been sending out from $6,000,000 to $10,000,000 worth of lead annually.

Valle Mines.

In the lofty range of hills known as Valle Mines, gophering for lead was commenced about 1828, according to the traditions of the locality. Long before the war there were furnaces which ran day and night, and people told of seeing trains of eighteen or twenty teams hauling the pig lead out to the Mississippi River for shipment. That was before the Iron Mountain railroad was built.

From Bonne Terre to Valle Mines is only eight miles, as the crow flies, but the mineral deposits could not be more dissimilar in character and still be lead ore. At Bonne Terre the lead is disseminated in the limestone rock. At Valle Mines it is found in "caves," as they are called, mixed with tiff and iron and in some places with zinc. A shaft is sunk to one of these caves. Of course, it isn't a cave until the ore is taken out. Then the fitness of the term is apparent. From the cave a streak or seam of ore will lead off. It may not be over six inches thick or it may be two or three feet thick. The miners follow this on its winding way, and it takes them to another cave. Sometimes this streak will divide into other streaks, until there are perhaps fifty or sixty of them sprawling out in various directions.

Dr. Keith, of Bonne Terre, was more than a pioneer in this lead country. His great-grandfather came down the Ohio in a keel-boat from Pennsylvania, ascended the Mississippi as far as Ste. Genevieve and with others settled in what is now St. Francois county. He told an interesting story of how lead mining was carried on in early days.

Pioneer Lead Miners.

"The most of the tracts in this section," he said, "were acquired by direct grant from the Spanish Government. These grants were 1,000 arpents to the individual. That was the way the Spanish measured. An arpent is a little less than an acre. Very few of the owners of lead land worked the mineral. They let others come on and mine, and took a portion, 10 per cent, of what was found. These early miners went down perhaps 15 or 20 feet, but they took only the loose mineral. They didn't attempt to get it out of the limestone rock as is now done.

"One rule of those times, to encourage prospecting," said the Doctor, "was this: The discoverer of mineral was entitled to what there was in 100 square feet of ground. He didn't have to give up anything to the owner of the land. But of all he mined outside of the 100 feet he had to give to the owner the 10 per cent. There were Indians all through this country when the settlers came in, and they used to work the lead. The settlers found the places where the Indians had melted the ore. The aboriginal process was very simple. The Indians would heap up a lot of wood, throw the ore on top, and let the lead run out on the ground. Over on the Hill farm, which the St. Joe company now owns, there was one of these Indian furnaces, and when it was first found there were tons of slag around it, out of which lead was cleaned. Now there has never been any ore found on the Hill farm, and it has always been a mystery why the Indians smelted there, unless they knew of some deposit which the white men have never since discovered. There was a good spring close by, and I have sometimes thought they gathered the lead in other places and carried it there to reduce at a good camping place.

"The Indians were troublesome occasionally," continued the Doctor. "In those days the nearest place to get married was Ste. Genevieve. When two people made up their minds to it they got together some friends, started out and walked to Ste. Genevieve, had the ceremony performed and then walked back. Old man Frye, who lived to be 116 years old and is remembered by many people in this section, had an experience on his wedding journey that I don't think was ever duplicated. He was engaged to a daughter of Andrew Baker, one of the first

LEAD PLANT IN THE BONNE TERRE DISTRICT

settlers. They set out one fine morning with about a dozen of friends, all in their Sunday clothes, to walk to Ste. Genevieve and be married. After they had traveled about ten miles a party of Indians came upon them and made them prisoners. The situation was explained to the redmen, who seemed to take a humorous view of life. After deliberating a little while the captors stripped the whole party and let them go. The young lady was allowed to retain her shirt, but the others were relieved of every last rag. Such was life in the lead country in early times."

The Greatness of Granby.

In 1853 a Cornishman by the name of William Foster, who had been working at the old mines on Cedar Creek, twelve miles west of Granby, went up to the head of Shoal Creek to dig some wells. On his way back he stopped over night on the Richardson place, near here. In looking about next morning he was struck with the geological formation, and he readily got permission from Richardson, who was holding a little farm under a squatter's right, to do some prospecting. A knoll which showed an outcrop of flint was selected as the most likely place. and Foster proceeded to dig. Within two feet of the surface he struck fine galena, and went to mining in earnest. This was the beginning of Granby. The news of the discovery spread and other prospectors flocked in. Madison Vickery was one of the first comers, and he made the second strike within a stone's throw of the principal street.

The hills upon which the rambling town is built were then covered with an almost unbroken forest. The settlers were few and far between, for these Ozark plateaus at that time presented little inducement to farmers. Soon after the pioneers, Foster and Vickery, had struck mineral, the Brocks made a great discovery, and after that time the locality in which they mined was known as Brocks' Hollow. In a short period the Brocks took out between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 pounds of lead ore. Granby boomed when that raise was noised abroad. Although the facilities for smelting were rude and the pig-lead had to be hauled by ox teams across the country to Boonville, on the Missouri, or to the mouth of Linn Creek, such a discovery as that of the Brocks was worth $50,000.

The rush to the new diggings was fairly under way in 1855. Between that year and 1860 the township had a population of 8,000, and there were 4,000 miners scattered over the hills, working in little parties. Four furnaces were in operation —Johnston's, Plumber's, Livingston's and Long's. For several years miners took up claims where they pleased and sold their product to the highest bidder among the furnacemen. But in 1857 the Granby company, then known as Kennett, Blow & Co., came upon the scene. The most of the mining then, as now, was on "Section Six." This section was claimed as part of the land grant to "the Southwest branch" of the Missouri Pacific, as the Frisco was first known. The road had not been built and the grant was unearned, but under some kind of a lease the Granby company got control of the section. The other furnacemen were closed out and the company took charge of the smelting without competition. The next step was to enforce the collection of a royalty of $2 per 1,000 from all miners on Section Six. This the company did successfully, although the miners swore and protested. There was nowhere else to take the ore. When the company settled

with the miner it retained the $2 per 1,000 pounds out of what was coming to him, and if he didn't like it he could quit.

The war stopped everything, and the 4,000 miners scattered in all directions. Before operations were entirely suspended some of the product went South to supply Confederate ammunition trains, and later some of the product went North to make Union cartridges. Judge B. K. Hersey, the manager, joined the South, and Mr. Blow remained a stanch Union man.

Before the war the Granby company had begun its policy of buying up the land with mineral possibilities all around Section Six, and previous to Mr. Blow's death the holdings had reached 7,000 acres. Since then a great deal more has been added to the company's possessions. Purchases have not been limited to that vicinity. As other camps in the Southwest have developed, the Granby people have been early on the ground and have acquired eligible tracts.

The Shot Towers.

As late as 1875 travelers on the Mississippi steamboats were shown what remained of the once famous Rush Tower. At that point, near Herculaneum, a beetling cliff, 200 feet high, rises from near the river's edge. Out from the top of the cliff was built a platform and a cage. On that the lead was melted and dropped to the ground at the bottom of the cliff. It took its globular form and hardened in the descent. In this way the lead was turned into shot. There was no inclosure of this primitive shot tower. It was all outdoors, and operations had to be suspended on windy days.

In November, 1809, this notice appeared in the Gazette at St. Louis, informing the public of the inauguration of a new industry: "John N. Maclot having completed the erection of his shot tower at Herculaneum—the first in the West—gives notice to his friends and the public that he will manufacture lead into dropshot on reasonable terms." John Nicholas Maclot was from Metz. He was in Paris just before the French Revolution. Suspected of republican sentiments he suffered imprisonment in the Bastile. When released he came to this country. After some mercantile experience in Philadelphia, he came to St. Louis with a stock of goods, the year of American occupation. The opportunity to make shot appealed to his inventive mind and he went down to Herculaneum, a new settlement with Moses Austin, the Connecticut pioneer, was establishing. Austin was working the lead mines at Potosi. He proposed to make Herculaneum on the river the shipping point for the mines. Just below the town was a very high and overhanging cliff. To Maclot the conditions suggested a shot tower with the altitude provided by nature. About all that was needed was to build on the edge of the cliff the place to melt and drop, with the proper receptacle at the base.

This was the first shot making establishment west of Pittsburg. Maclot continued his manufacture some years. He dropped from the Herculaneum cliff the lead which made buckshot and bullets for the war of 1812. When the battle of New Orleans was fought on the eighth of January Maclot was there. He got off a letter to Mr. Cabanne, in St. Louis. This was what he wrote: "The enemy have reembarked leaving their wounded and prisoners. They landed 9,966 men. After the action, 1,906 were missing in the next morning's report. They acknowledge a loss in the various engagements of over 3,600. Their total loss may be put down at 4,000." Mr. Cabanne carried the letter to Colonel Charless.

The Gazette came out with the glorious news. That night St. Louis illuminated. At least one candle burned in every window of the town "in honor of the brilliant success of the American arms at New Orleans," as Colonel Charless put it.

The City that Jack Built.

In 1868 the Pitchers, father and sons, came to the locality which is now the city of Joplin. They were not miners but stock raisers. They bought a large tract of land on which to establish a ranch. For 2,000 acres they paid at the rate of $6.25 an acre. There had been some rude mining done in this region long before the war and the shallow shafts were to be seen. The field was unoccupied, however, when the Pitchers came to raise stock, and W. H. Pitcher, speaking of the fact that the possibilities of ore cut no figure in their investment, said: "When we bought the place we thought the holes left by the miners were a detriment to it, as cattle were liable to fall into them." Joplin is built, for the most part, on what was the Pitcher ranch. When there began to be a revival of interest in mining here the Pitchers sold 400 acres to Davis & Murphy. The price was $15 an acre, and the sellers thought they were doing pretty well. The buyers divided the acres into town lots, and Joplin was started. In July, 1871, the first house was built, of what is now the most widely known city of its size in the world. The origin of Joplin has been told in rhyme by a local poet laureate.

"In eighteen hundred and seventy-one
The city of Joplin was first begun.
Moffett and Sargent, from Minersville,
Sunk the first shaft near Moon-range Hill.
With pick and shovel and tub and rope
And windlass they brought the dirt on top.
Imagine the one in the shaft saying, 'Hoist!'
To his buddy on top whose brow is moist
From pulling the tub well filled with soil,
While day after day alone they'd toil.
When they'd sunk the shaft about forty feet
They struck big lead,—their joy was complete;
But the windlass kept moving both forward and back,
And under the lead they struck big 'jack.'
It soon got out that some one had found
A big paying mine on the Moffett ground.
Ere long the report was proved to be true,
And then the excitement, like wildfire, flew
Until many men had gathered around;
And, like the first, sunk shafts in the ground.
Many struck lead and many struck 'jack.'
Most of them staying, never moved back,
They built themselves houses and shops and stores
With the money they made from selling their ores,
Till Joplin to-day is quite a large town
Builded by 'jack' whose fame is renown."

Joplin today is "quite a large town," far beyond what the poet saw or foresaw, when 5,000 people were living in tents.

The world used to hear a good deal of Moffett & Sargent in connection with Joplin mining interests. That firm had the swing for a long time. Moffett and Sargent came to Joplin from Oronogo, a camp some miles east. They had been miners together with about the usual ups and downs. But from the time they started operations at Joplin they began to rise. They leased a lot of land on terms exceedingly favorable to them, when the value of the product at that time is considered. It is said they paid a royalty of only $2 a ton on the ore they mined. Putting up a small furnace, they were able to net $14 a ton. They had a mint, or something almost as good, and as the lease gave them control for five years, they grew rich faster than they could place their income. They built a railroad to Girard, stocked banks and were the lead kings of Southwest Missouri. At one time a check for $625,000 was made out and tendered Mr. Moffett for his interests, but he only laughed at it.

Fortune Finding in Joplin.

There have been some notable cases of fortune-making in the Joplin district. One of these was that of William J. Schwindle. The pioneers of 1876 say that Schwindle was the luckiest of all the early comers. He came with nothing; actually footed it into Joplin. Like the rest of the fortune-hunters he took a strip of ground and went to work on shares. His location was in what is called Pitcher's field. In two years Schwindle had taken out $125,000. "He fooled it all away" is the reply to the question "What did he do with it?" It must not be inferred from this that the lucky miner became dissipated. He went to work honestly enough to make the best of his fortune. He bought farms and built houses and invested right and left in the region which had yielded him his wealth. Somehow luck seemed to turn "dead against him." He lost on every venture. In befriending those less fortunate he made big holes in his bank account. One year the security debts he was called upon to pay for those who had left him in the lurch amounted to $40,000. He opened a store and stocked it, putting in an active partner to run the business. He gave this partner the money to pay for the goods. One day Schwindle went to see how his mercantile speculation was getting on. He found the store closed and the shelves empty. The wicked partner had gone and taken the stock with him. What made the case more aggravating was the later discovery that the money advanced to pay for the goods had never got beyond the wicked partner's pocket. Schwindle had to put up a second time for the stock, after it had been carried off. The unfortunate capitalist got little sympathy in Joplin. His acquaintances, when he went to them for advice, told him to go into court and get his name changed to "Swindled," and offered to appear as witnesses to justify such action.

A singular case was that of Grasshopper. Nobody knew him by any other name, and he accepted that good-humoredly. Grasshopper came over from Kansas. The locusts had cleaned him out, and lead-mining was his forlorn hope. The eligible locations were all taken when Grasshopper arrived. But indications were nothing to him. He went down in the valley near the white lead works, where nobody had ever found, or expected to find, mineral. It was good enough for him, he said, when surprise was expressed at his choice. Experienced miners had many a good laugh at Grasshopper's expense for a few weeks. Then something happened that caused a change of sentiment. The Kansan struck ore, and

LEAD MINE IN THE JOPLIN DISTRICT

pretty soon he had plenty of neighbors. In about a year Grasshopper had $40,000 to his credit. Then he loaded his effects into a prairie schooner and sailed back to his old home in Kansas.

Mr. Lloyd was a civil engineer in the employ of the Missouri Pacific Railroad. He had an interest in 400 acres in the vicinity of Joplin. He prodded and prospected, but no mineral could he find on his land. Just over his line miners were taking out galena by the ton. The owner had become pretty well discouraged. One day there came into Joplin a gaunt Arkansan, with "the old woman" and a wagon-load of youngsters. His name was Walker; he had heard there was to be a circus in Joplin, and he had driven the whole sixty miles from his home in the mountains to give his family a treat. The fact was, two shows had billed Joplin. They were to appear a month apart. Walker had got the dates mixed up, or else had been misled by a last year's almanac, for he drove his travel-worn team into the mining camp just twenty-four hours after the first circus had pulled up stakes and moved on. He swore a little at first when he discovered the situation, but soon took a philosophical view of it. If he was too late for one show he wouldn't be for the other. Mrs. Walker and the little Walkers should see a circus, if it took all summer. So the family camped on Mr. Lloyd's land, and made themselves as comfortable as possible while they waited. Walker went to Mr. Lloyd, and, telling him all he wanted was to make expenses, offered to go to work. He hadn't seen a mine up to that time. Mr. Lloyd carelessly told his squatter that he hadn't any use for him, but if he really needed work he would pay him 50c a day and give him a quarter of what he found.

"All right," said Walker, "where shall I dig?"

"Dig where you blamed please," replied Mr. Lloyd. "I've been trying a year and haven't found anything. I don't know any more about it than you do."

"Well," said Walker, "I reck'n this will be as good a place as any," and he marked off a square for the shaft right where he was standing. He was so green that he didn't know how to fire a blast, and the other miners had to come over and show him. But before the next circus pitched its tents in Joplin Walker had struck it rich on Mr. Lloyd's land. His quarter of the mineral paid him $14,000. He cleaned up with $16,000 in cash, went over into Kansas, bought two farms and enjoyed life. Mr. Lloyd cleared over $30,000 on the mineral which the Arkansan struck.

White Lead from Fumes.

One day, when a great deal of reducing was done around Joplin, a young Jerseyman came along and asked a furnace owner:

"What is that going out of the top of your smokestack?"

"Arsenic, I guess," replied the furnace-owner indifferently.

"No, it isn't," said the Jerseyman, "it's white lead."

The furnace man laughed, but the Jerseyman went on and made a deal with Moffett, who was then in the zenith of his greatness as a lead king. In a word, the process condensed fumes from the furnace. The inventor was O. E. Bartlett, who died in 1914. He had about the usual uphill struggle to get recognition for a new and a good thing. After the plant was built it was possible to stand at a distance and see only now and then a slight film of smoke escaping from the stack. One might conclude that the works had been shut down. But in the

buildings at the foot of the stack the furnaces were roaring, massive machinery was in operation and a daily product of 47,500 pounds of pig lead and 11,250 pounds of white lead was being turned out. By an elaborate arrangement of pipes and blowers and hoppers and flues, the gas and sulphur were allowed to escape, but every substance carried in the fumes was caught and deposited for treatment which produced white lead. When this finally came from the hoppers it looked like flour.

Ten O'Clock Run.

The records of the United States land office show that nearly fifty years ago, not long after the Civil war, lead mining capitalists made an exhaustive mineral survey in South Missouri. They carried their investigation from Granby in a southeasterly direction nearly one hundred miles. They prospected with shafts and satisfied themselves so well the land carried lead in profitable quantities that they "cash entered" from the government a long string of forty-acre tracts. Among the names which appeared of record as purchasers of these government lead lands in Taney county were United States Senator Lewis V. Bogy, Amadee Valle, Henry T. Blow, Eben Richards and Edwin Harrison. Many of these entries were made in 1872. Some of the land descended to the heirs of these men. Much was allowed to go for taxes. It is an interesting fact that these entries were located upon the Ten o'Clock Run.

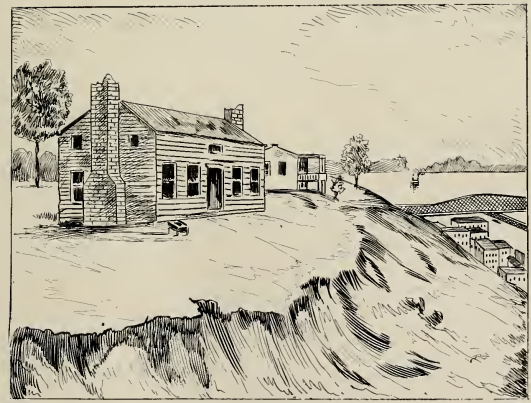
"Ten o'clock run" is Ozark vernacular. "Eleven o'clock run" is another mining term which has been handed down from pioneer times. To this day the mineral prospector will say that a certain discovery is on Ten o'clock run, or on Eleven o'clock run. The terms were the inventions of Missouri miners of a past generation. They belong to the period of the compass and the sun-dial. Without having a scientific explanation for it these early prospectors in the Ozarks, when they had found a vein of lead, looked for the continuation of the deposit to the northwest or to the southeast of the point of original discovery. If they found the course of the mineral in either direction was on the line of the shadow which the sun throws by the dial at ten o'clock the vein or prospect was a Ten o'clock run. If the mineral lay along the shadow line of an hour later by the dial it was described as being on the Eleven o'clock run.

The pioneers in the Ozarks who gophered for lead fifty years and more ago used these terms to designate the locations of mineral. But the lead runs were of comparatively restricted limits. Later the prospectors for zinc applied these terms to their mineral, but gave them much more extensive significance. With Joplin as a starting point, prospectors traced a Ten o'clock run southeast through Aurora, one of the zinc-mining centers. The run passes through the corner of Barry county, where there have been discoveries of zinc ore. It bisects Stone county on a line near Galena, another hopeful locality, and crosses the corner of Taney. Eleven o'clock run, of course, approaches nearer the north and south direction, as the dial shows. It has been followed by prospectors and miners from the vicinity of Springfield, in Greene county, southward through Christian and Taney counties.

The Twin Camps.

Webb City and Carterville are only a mile apart. Between them, in a valley, are the mines. Webb and Carter were two farmers whose lands joined. In 1875

INTERIOR OF OLD LEAD FURNACE IN WASHINGTON COUNTY



OLD CHICK HOME

First house built in Kansas City.

they were growing crops in this valley. Joplin and Oronogo had been discovered and were booming camps, but all that Webb and Carter were realizing from the mining excitement were the better prices which butter and eggs and other products brought them. One day Webb plowed up some mineral in his field. That started the prospecting, and it wasn't long until the riches of the valley were laid bare. The Carter family sold their farm when the first rise came, and those who bought retained the name for the town which was started on the elevation east of the valley. Webb held his land and let miners go in and work it under leases for a percentage of what they found. Webb's policy proved the wisest. He was soon able to leave the farmhouse and move into a fine brick residence, which, surrounded by extensive grounds, became the heart of Webb City on the rise west of the valley. Webb started a bank as his money accumulated, and when he died he left his children an estate of $500,000, including the original farm, which was still worked under leases by the miners, and yielded a handsome income. Before the plow turned up "the float" that lucky day the farm could not have been sold for more than $10 or $15 an acre.

This generation does not know that Morgan county was once famed for its lead mines. Travelers passing over the gently undulating prairies in the vicinity of Tipton, almost the geographical center of Missouri, can hardly appreciate the historical fact that only thirty miles to the southward are lead mines which earned their owners hundreds of thousands of dollars. The period of that local prosperity was nearly half a century ago. Twelve smelters reduced the product of forty Morgan county mines. The output was hauled by wagon many miles to the railroad. It paid handsome profits. That was before the discovery of the true value of "jack." When the lead miner of those days found his shaft blocked by a body of zinc ore he lamented the "fault" in strong Missouri words and moved away. It was so all over Southwest Missouri. The Morgan county lead miner turned from zinc as worthless just as did the lead miners of other Missouri camps.

One of the oldest mining camps of Southwest Missouri was Oronogo. It had a furnace, and was an important place before the war, and a great deal of lead ore was taken out near the surface and hauled overland to the Missouri River. "Ore or no go," a prospector replied when his "pardner" at the windlass tried to persuade him to come out of the shaft and go to a circus at a nearby town. The ultimatum resulted in a discovery and Oronogo was for years a great producer. Then operations ceased. The deposits were supposed to have been worked out. Later, at the bottom of a shaft 140 feet deep, about 80 feet lower than where the earlier mining was done, ore was being taken from a body 30 feet wide and 70 feet high. As the excavation went on the miners left behind them a great chamber like the interior of a cathedral.

"The chatter" is a character in the camps. He is a scalper and he travels in pairs. He prowls around until he finds a dump of refuse in which his sharp eye detects the presence of considerable ore. He goes to the owner of the dump and makes a proposition to work over "the chat" and clean out the ore for a certain percentage. Like enough the owner agrees, for what he gets will be so much clear saving. "The chatter" sets up his hand-jig, plants some poles and arranges some boughs for a temporary shelter and goes to work. In the earlier rush many dumps were left with much mineral in them, and "the chatters" to

the number of several hundred found all-summer jobs without much hunting. They are their own masters and work as they please after getting control of a dump, and make very fair returns. "The chatter's" work is entirely legitimate. if he is the scavenger of the mineral fields. "The chatters" were more numerous in the early days than they are now with the mining done largely by companies and with improved machinery. Moreover, "the chats" in vast quantities are now hauled away by the railroads for ballast.

ST. LOUIS IN 1786

When the settlement was under the Spanish flag and bore the name of San Luis de Hinoa.

CHAPTER V.

ABORIGINAL MISSOURIANS.

Archaeologists Disagree—Puzzling Stone Implements—Broadhead's Theory—A Prehistoric City—Amazing Fortifications—Adobe Brick—Cave Dwellers on the Gasconade—Dr. Peterson on the Mound Builders—Evidences of a Numerous Population—Laclede and the Missouris—A Far-reaching Indian Policy—The Nudarches—Friends of the French—Massacre of a Spanish Expedition in Missouri—Attempts at Civilization—The Murder of Pontiac—Chouteau Springs—The Osages' Gift to the Son of Laclede—A Spanish Governor's Narrow Escape—Gratifications—The Shawnee Experiment—How Peace Was Made—The Execution of Tewanaye—Good Will Transferred with Sovereignty—The Advice of Delassus—Pike's Diplomatic Mission—British Influence Checkmated—Wisdom of William Clark—Activities of Manuel Lisa—"One-eyed Sioux"—The Treaty of 1812—Elihu H. Shepard's Tribute—"Red Head," the Friend of the Indian—The Council Chamber—Governor Clark's Museum—Ceremonial Calls—The Freedom of the City—Indian Coffee—Home Coming of the Osages—Migrations of the Delawares—The Rise of Colonel Splitlog—An Indian Capitalist.

More than half a century has since transpired and probably every person engaged in that embassy of six nations is dead, but that act of General Clark alone should make his name immortal.—*Elihu H. Shepard on Governor William Clark's Indian Treaty of 1812.*

A marvelous collection of Indian workmanship in stone fills many cases of the Missouri Historical Society. The quality varies greatly. Garland C. Broadhead, the geologist and archaeologist, analyzing these evidences, inclined to the theory that a superior race preceded the red Missourians known to white men. He said: "On the surface in many places are found flint arrow-heads, both small and large, some roughly made, some very finely worked; also axes of exquisite workmanship. The rougher flints may have been shaped by the present Indians, but there is no evidence that any of the present tribes could shape and polish these stone implements in any way but roughly. Other persons of higher artistic attainments must have shaped them, and these may have been driven off by the present races several hundred years ago. The Toltecs of Mexico have legends that they were driven away from a country inhabited by them, away to the northeast, hundreds of years ago."

A Prehistoric City.

In a History of Missouri by Walter Bickford Davis and Daniel S. Durrie, published in 1876, is an account of a prehistoric city in New Madrid County. At that time, forty years ago, the evidences of a dense population were said to exist:

"The city was surrounded by fortifications, the embankment with covered ways connecting the outworks of which have been traced for several miles. The remains of mounds, serving either for outlooks to watch an enemy, or as cemeteries for the burial of the dead, in which are found skeletons, associated with drinking vessels, are also found distributed

about the area of the ancient encampment. The indubitable traces of the dwellings, streets and avenues, were also traced over large portions of the grounds, the proper survey of which would doubtless tend to throw new light on the origin of this people. The houses were quite small, from eight to twelve feet in diameter, and located about twelve feet apart. They existed in regular rows with streets and avenues running through the city at right angles, at proper distances apart. The foundations of the dwellings, if not the entire structure, were made of a kind of adobe brick, of a red color like a modern brick, but of coarser material. The brick specimens have transverse holes passing through them, supposed by some to act as ventilators to the dwellings. The bricks being laid flatwise in the wall, the sides of the house would be, thereby, pierced with a multitude of holes for the admission of the outside air. Another, and more probable, theory is that the bricks in a malleable state were pierced with round sticks, for the more readily handling and burning; and the same having been burned out, left the impression of their form in the shape of a hole. The sites of these ancient habitations are plainly observed by a sunken depression of several feet in the ground, leaving evidence of cellars like those seen in modern times. At first sight of these habitations, the observer might be led to believe that these ancient people lived in cellars, and built their houses underground; but this impression will vanish on reflecting that accumulated debris of ages had entombed these dwellings beneath the surface. Besides, on one side of the ancient city, there is still a lake or marsh which at some remote period may have overflowed its banks, submerged portions of the site of the ancient city long after its extinction, and added its deposits to the accumulating debris. The site of the city is now covered with trees, mostly oak, of an ancient growth, showing that thousands of years rolled around before the handiwork of these early Missourians was exhumed. The pottery consists largely of drinking cups, culinary utensils and bottles of a gourd shape. There are also rude trowels and tools used for fashioning and ornamenting the pottery, and whetstones for sharpening the stone axes and other instruments. But the fantastic character of the ornamentation of the vessels is what strikes every one with surprise. There are very accurate figures of fish, frogs, hedgehogs and such animals as existed at the time; besides among the feathered tribe are the goose, duck, owl, hawk and probably, from his comb, the rooster. There are miniature busts of male heads carved out of clay, representing a type of face more resembling the ancient Aztec race than the modern American Indian."

A theory of prehistoric civilization on the Gasconade river was advanced by an early writer. The pioneer settlers found saltpeter in the caves along the river. They shipped it to St. Louis with some profit. They established several powder factories in the county and utilized the saltpeter. This writer said:

"Some of the caves are very large, consisting of a succession of rooms joined to each other by arched walls of great height. The walls are uniformly of limestone and often present the most beautiful appearance. When these caves were first discovered it was not unusual to find in them Indian axes and hammers, which led to the belief that they had formerly been worked for some unknown purposes by the savages. It is difficult to decide whether these tools were left here by the present race or by another and more civilized which preceded them. It is unusual for savages to take up their residence in caves,—considering them places to which the Manitou resorts,—and they, not being acquainted with any of the uses of saltpeter, would rather avoid than collect it. The circumstance of finding these tools in the caves would of itself, perhaps, furnish slight evidence that the country of the Gasconade was formerly settled by a race of men who were acquainted with the uses of this mineral, or who exceeded them in civilization, or the knowledge of the arts; but there are other facts connected with these about which there can be no mistake. Near the sawmills, and at a short distance from the road leading from them to St. Louis, are the ruins of an ancient town. It appears to have been regularly laid out, and the dimensions of the squares and streets and of some of the houses can yet be discovered. Stone walls are found in different parts of the area, which are frequently covered with huge heaps of earth. Again, a stone work exists about ten miles below the mills. It is on the west side of the Gasconade, and is about twenty-five to thirty feet square; it appears to have been originally built with

THE BOTANICAL GARDEN AND HOME OF DOCTOR SAUGRAIN

DR. GEORGE J. ENGELMANN

OPENING AN INDIAN MOUND

an uncommon degree of regularity. It is situated upon a high bald cliff, which commands a fine and extensive view of the country on all sides. From this stone work is a small footpath leading to the cave, in which was found a quantity of axes. The mouth of the cave commands an easterly view, and also a view of the path to the building referred to, which may have been erected to some imaginary deity."

Missouri Antiquities.

Dr. C. A. Peterson, former president of the Missouri Historical Society, devoted a great deal of time to the study of Missouri "antiquities." He summed up his conclusions in this forcible language: "But credulity has been taxed to the utmost, and columns of crude ideas and inane arguments have been published, by half-baked archaeologists, to establish a great antiquity for the mounds and an advanced civilization for their builders, and the extreme and ridiculous flights which the imagination has been permitted to take in building up the story of the mythical mound builders may be well illustrated by this case: About thirty years ago an amateur archaeologist in exploring quite a modern Indian mound reported that he had found the skeletons buried beneath it to be a proper complement in number and arranged in proper order and position to represent the principal officers of a Masonic Lodge at work, each officer being equipped with implements and insignia of the craft. To those attached to a contemplation of mystery, and to revellers in the occult, this was the most marvelous and entertaining discovery ever reported in American archaeology, but there were a few incredulous, unfeeling scoffers who would not accept the story as true because the discoverer did not produce the bones of the candidate and the goat. In conclusion, let it be reiterated that there was never an iota of evidence in existence tending to establish the contention that some people, other than the American Indian, erected the mounds and other earthworks found in connection with them, and the physical condition of the abandoned works, and their contents, does not justify a belief that any of them were erected more than one thousand years ago."

That the Indian population of Missouri was numerous and lived in this region many generations before the white man came, Walter B. Douglas, Dr. H. M. Whelpley, Gerard Fowke and all other investigators agree. One Indian mound in Missouri has yielded more than a thousand pieces of pottery. The capitol of Missouri was built upon an Indian burial mound. When the excavation for the foundations was made the workmen uncovered many human bones and much pottery. Indian graves were found on most of the high bluffs of Cole County overlooking the Missouri. Arrow-heads and stone implements, tons of them, have been picked up within the limits of the county.

Some of the Indian communities of Missouri were much more civilized than others. They had industries. The Missouri Historical Society has a great clay bowl three feet in diameter and six inches deep. It was found at Montesano, twenty miles south of St. Louis, where there are fourteen mineral springs. An Indian town of considerable size was located at Montesano. The bowl was one of many used in the manufacture of salt by evaporation. Gerard Fowke, the archaeologist, said: "This bowl may be 300 or it may be 3,000 years old. How long the Indian settlement remained there will never be any more definite to us than the word ancient implies. The deposits at Montesano give us no clew as to this question. We know that as recently as 100 years ago the Indians made

salt and sold it to white settlers and traders. But whatever the age of this settlement, we do know there was an Indian village at the spot now called Montesano. They were a tribe inclined to manufacture and had an extensive salt industry. They were naturally attracted to the spot by the springs, and the fact that they could keep an eye on the surrounding country from the bluff on which the springs are located. Possibly they caught the salt-making idea from watching their animals lick the rocks over which the salt water flowed."

Vice-President Walter B. Douglas of the Missouri Historical Society, who has devoted much study to the traces of the aboriginal Missourians, said: "Many Indian relics are found in pits which the Indians used for storing grain. They dug large holes in the ground and built fires in them to bake the sides and bottom. The baking process made the pits as hard and dry as though walled with brick. Into these pits the Indians poured their grain to keep it through the winter. They were great granaries. But after a certain time moisture in the ground would find its way to the grain, and the pits became useless as storehouses. Then the Indians used them as dumps into which they would throw refuse of all kinds, broken arrow-heads, pottery and bones. Wherever there was an Indian village of any size these pits can be found. I believe we can find some of these pits at Montesano, and believe they will show the size of the Indian city, whose remains are buried there, and give up many interesting relics."

Laclede's Indian Policy.

With practical tact Laclede treated an Indian crisis before St. Louis was two months old. At the same time he established an important policy for the community. Auguste Chouteau and "the first thirty" had built the great shed for the temporary storage of the goods. They had put together cabins for themselves. They were assembling the rock and the timbers for Laclede's house, which was to serve for headquarters for the fur company. The Missouris arrived from the West. There were 125 warriors and the complement of squaws and pappooses. No hostility was shown. On the other hand, there was embarrassing friendliness. The Missouris announced that they would build a village and live beside the white men. They begged food. They helped themselves to tools. Some of the intending settlers who had come over from Cahokia to join the settlement showed alarm and began to move back to the east side. Auguste Chouteau sent word of the emergency to Laclede at Fort Chartres. Meanwhile he put the squaws to work for pay in paint and beads digging the cellar for Laclede's house and carrying away the dirt. The founder came quickly in response to Auguste Chouteau's call and with due formality went into council with the Missouris. The chiefs repeated their decision to become part of the settlement and to depend upon the white men for protection against their enemies, the Illinois nation. Laclede listened and promised an answer the next day.

Auguste Chouteau remembered that diplomatic speech and wrote it into his diary. It was a speech which averted a crisis and which laid the foundation of an Indian policy of long and far-reaching advantage to Missouri. Laclede called the chiefs together, as he had promised. He went over the reasons they had given for joining his settlement. He reminded them that by moving to the bank of the Mississippi they would be placing themselves within reach of their hereditary enemies, the Illinois nation. He pictured an awful fate, which he, with

THE BIG MOUND AT BROADWAY AND MOUND STREETS, ST. LOUIS

From a daguerreotype taken in 1850

the best of intentions, could not avert, if they, the Missouris, came to live where they could be so easily attacked from the east side of the river.

"I warn you, as a good father," he said, "that there are 600 or 700 warriors at Fort de Chartres, who are there to make war against the English, which occupies them fully at this moment, for they turn all of their attention below Fort de Chartres, from whence they expect the English; but if they learn you are here, beyond the least doubt they will come here to destroy you. See now, warriors, if it be not prudent on your part to leave here at once rather than to remain to be massacred—your wives and your children to be torn to pieces and their limbs thrown to dogs and birds of prey. Recollect. I speak to you as a good father. Reflect well upon what I have told you and give me your answer this evening. I can not give you any longer time, for I must return to Fort de Chartres."

That night the Missouris departed, going up the river of their name to their old home. Laclede sent to Cahokia and brought over corn to give them for food.

Traditions of the Missouris.

The Missouris were so called because they lived in the Missouri River country. The name had been given by the Illinois or Illini nation of red men. In an earlier time the Missouris were known as the Nudarches. They had established a record of friendliness with white people long before Missouri was permanently settled. Marquette was welcomed by them nearly a century before the coming of Laclede. The good disposition of the Nudarches or Missouris was reported by other early explorers. It is history that in 1712 this tribe was one of several which marched to the relief of the white settlement at Detroit. But the Missouris distinguished between white nations. They were kindly disposed toward the French. For the Spaniard they had a different feeling. They ambushed and destroyed a Spanish expedition sent up from Mexico by way of Santa Fe to the Missouri country. An account of this affair is given in the History of Missouri by Davis & Durrie:

"As early as 1719 the Spaniards, alarmed at the rapid encroachments of the French in the Upper and Lower Mississippi valleys, made strenuous exertions to dispossess them: in order to accomplish which they thought it necessary to destroy the nation of the Missouris, then situated on the Missouri river, who were in alliance with the French and espoused their interests. Their plan was to excite the Osages to war with the Missouris, and then take part with them in the contest. For this purpose an expedition was fitted out in Santa Fe for the Missouri in 1720. It was a moving caravan of the desert—armed men, horses, mules, families, with herds of cattle and swine to serve for food on the way, and to propagate in the new colony. In their march they lost the proper route, the guides became bewildered and led them to the Missouri tribe instead of the Osages. Unconscious of their mistake, as both tribes spoke the same language, they (the Spaniards) believed themselves among the Osages, instead of their enemies, and without reserve disclosed their designs against the Missouris and supplied them with arms and ammunition to aid in their extermination. The chief of the nation perceived the fatal mistake but encouraged the error. He showed the Spaniards every possible attention, and promised to act in concert with them. For this purpose he invited them to rest a few days after their tiresome journey, till he had assembled his warriors and held a council with the old men. The Spanish captain immediately distributed several hundred muskets among them, with an equal number of sabres, pistols and hatchets. Just before the dawn upon which the company had arranged to march, the Missouris fell upon their treacherous enemies and dispatched them with indiscriminate

slaughter, sparing only a priest whose dress convinced them that he was a man of peace rather than a warrior. They kept him some time a prisoner, but he finally made his escape, and was the only messenger to bear to the Spanish authorities the news of the just return upon their own heads of the treachery they intended to practice upon others."

There is a tradition that a selected party of the Missouris was taken to France in order that their loyalty might be rewarded and they might return with impressions of the white men's ways. The daughter of the chief who was in the party became converted, was baptized and married a French officer. After the return of these Missouris to the Mississippi Valley, the tribe joined other Indians in an attack on a French post and massacred the people. Auguste Chouteau may have known of this tradition, and that may have increased his alarm. The bad name given the Missouris by the tradition was not borne out by the events of that day on the site of St. Louis. Subsequent relations between the white people and the Missouris were friendly. The French tried to instruct them. The priests directed missionary efforts toward them. But the Missouris did not accept civilization.

Pontiac's Funeral.

One of the notable days of the administration of St. Ange de Bellerive at St. Louis was the military funeral given to an Indian. Pontiac was a chief of three tribes in his youth. He ruled over the Ottawas, the Ojibways and the Pottawattomies. He consistently sided with the French and fought the British. In one of his orations he called the English "dogs dressed in red who have come to rob you of your hunting grounds and to drive away the game." That was the year that Laclede came up the Mississippi to found St. Louis. France was surrendering by treaty her possessions east of the Mississippi to England. Pontiac led an uprising against the new authority. "Pontiac's war" continued until 1766. The chief was compelled to make a treaty with the English. He came west to the Illinois country and found a congenial retreat in the French community of St. Louis. He was still in his prime but disappointed; he became a hard drinker. St. Ange de Bellerive had known the chief in better days and treated him kindly. While in his cups Pontiac was enticed across the river to the vicinity of Cahokia by a Kaskaskia Indian and killed from ambush. It is tradition that an English trader bribed the Kaskaskian with a barrel of rum to get Pontiac out of the way. St. Ange went after the body of the chief. Upon the return to St. Louis, Pontiac was dressed in the uniform of a French general, a gift to him by Montcalm. The body lay in state, guarded by the French soldiers who had come from Fort Chartres after the evacuation. At the hour of burial military honors were paid. Pontiac had never been baptized. His body could not be placed in consecrated ground. A grave was dug for him a short distance west of the cemetery. Its precise location, as determined by the Missouri Historical Society, was twenty feet east of Broadway and fifty feet south of Market street. The full garrison paraded at the funeral and the entire population of the settlement attended.

The good will of the Indians toward the French pioneers of Missouri was shown in substantial ways. A locality known as Chouteau Springs, in Cooper County, obtained its name from a gift of land made by the Osages to Major Pierre Chouteau, the son of Laclede, as early as 1792. The Spanish government

PONTIAC

A TYPE OF THE SHAWNEES WELCOMED TO MISSOURI BY SPANISH GOVERNORS

AN INDIAN CAMP

approved the grant and the United States later confirmed it. Pierre Chouteau spent most of his time for thirty years among the Indians. How he won their confidence was shown in the words of the land gift, which was signed by the principal men of the Osages:

"Brother: As thou hast, since a long time, fed our wives and our children, and that thou hast always been good to us, and that thou hast always assisted us with thy advice, we have listened with pleasure to thy words, therefore, take thou on the River La Mine, the quantity of land which may suit thee, and anywhere thou pleasest. This land is ours; we do give it to thee, and no one can take it from thee, neither to-day nor ever. Thou mayest remain there, and thy bones shall never be troubled. Thou askest a paper from us, and our names; here it is. If our children do trouble thee, you have but to show this same paper; and if some nation disturbs thee, we are ready to defend thee. At the fort of Grand Osages, this 19th of March, 1792."

The Spaniards and the Indians.

If the French fur traders and merchants accepted Spanish sovereignty easily, the same was not altogether true of their Indian constituents. Down the Missouri came a thief of the Osages about 1770 to see the new flag and its representative. Governor Piernas had established cordial relations with Laclede and with St. Ange. It didn't occur to the Spanish don that the red chief expected the courtesy of one governor to another. Governor Piernas was dignified. The Osage went home and returned with a band. He met a Shawnee chief who was in St. Louis to see the governor about moving to some land south of St. Louis. The Shawnee looked inquiringly at the war bonnet. The Osage was drinking. He confided to the Shawnee his intention to avenge the slight the Spanish governor had put upon him; he was going to kill him at the first opportunity. The Shawnee saw the way to win favor for himself. He provoked the Osage to quarrel and killed him with a blow of the knife. The Osage chief was buried on Grand Terre, or Big Mound, which gave the name to Mound street, and there the Osages came year after year in the colonial period to mourn and to decorate the grave.

American historians have charged Cortez and Pizarro and other Spaniards with atrocious treatment of the Indians. They have never given credit where due for the tactful course pursued toward the natives by white men who settled and governed in Missouri for more than sixty years. In all of the relations with Indians during the pioneer generations of this country, there is no period, no place which can offer comparison with the record established in Missouri. In the years of Spanish dominion at St. Louis there were times when financial stringency was felt. Salaries were reduced. Soldiers were not paid for months. Retrenchment was ordered. But the annual presents or "gratifications," as they were called, for the Indian nations were not passed by. At the time of the American occupation the presents made by the Spanish government to the Indians in Upper Louisiana amounted to $12,000 a year. An official gunsmith was located at St. Louis to repair the guns of the Indians. He received $140 a year from the government. The Indians made visits to St. Louis to have their fire-arms put in order.

When Louis Lorimer came in 1794 to found Cape Girardeau on the Spanish grant given him, he was welcomed by the Indians. There were three Indian villages up Apple Creek, twenty miles above its mouth. These Indians made

considerable progress toward civilization. They lived in cabins of hewn logs with shingles on the roofs.

One of the schemes of Spanish governors was the settlement of Shawnee and Delaware Indians near St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. They thought these Indians could be partially civilized and made useful as allies to ward off attacks from wilder tribes in the west. The Shawnees and Delawares professed to like the arrangement. They formed villages and raised corn. But the young bucks would get out and commit depradations. One day a band of these Indians came upon a St. Louis settler named Duchouquette, who was alone in the vicinity of what is now Lafayette Park. They killed the white man. Francis Duchouquette was some distance away, and saw the attack. He ran to the village and gave the alarm. Officer Tayon called for help and led a posse in pursuit. The Frenchmen came upon the Indians. Duchouquette saw the one who had killed his brother and who was wearing the fresh scalp tied to his belt. He shot him. Four other Indians were killed. This discouraged the Spanish governors. Delawares and Shawanoes, or Shawnees, as commonly called, to the number of 3,000 Indians, remained in Perry County until 1825.

Execution of Tewanaye.

To illustrate how discreet the St. Louisans had been in their Indian relations, Captain Stoddard, who raised the American flag, told of the speech made by a truculent chief at a peace conference in St. Louis a few years previously. This chief said: "We have come to offer you peace. We have been at war with you many moons, and what have we done? Nothing. Our warriors have tried every means to meet you in battle; but you will not; you dare not fight us. You are a parcel of old women. What can be done with such a people but to make peace since you will not fight? I come therefore to offer you peace, and to bury the hatchet; to brighten the chain, and again to open the way between us."

The treatment of Tewanaye, the Mascutin, is an illustration of the Indian policy which prevailed in the early days. When the Osages had delivered to Governor Delassus the band of Mascutins responsible for the massacre of David Troter and his son and for the burning of their home on the Meramec, investigation showed that Tewanaye was guilty and that five others who were brought in were not guilty. Tewanaye confessed his participation. His execution took place in January, 1803. It was attended by a great demonstration. The militia companies of half a dozen posts marched under command of Governor Delassus to New Madrid. Tewanaye was unshackled. The sentence of death was read and translated for him in his own language. The militia paraded in front of the standard. The execution was by shooting. The other Indian prisoners were so placed that they could see all that occurred. The body of Tewanaye was placed in the coffin. The soldiers, with drums beating, marched by. The Indian prisoners were unshackled, taken to the governor's headquarters and turned over to their chief, Agyponsetchy of the Mascutin nation. The governor returned to St. Louis. The militia companies marched back to Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve, New Bourbon and Platin. There was no more trouble.

Delassus to the Tribes.

In March, 1804, three days after he had absolved the habitants of St. Louis from further allegiance to Spain, Governor Delassus formally told the Indians

GEN. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON
Governor of Northwestern Territory in 1803

DON CARLOS DE HAULT DELASSUS
Last Spanish Governor

GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT ST. LOUIS AS REMODELED BY AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU

assembled at St. Louis of the change. He did so at the request of Captain Stoddard. The American captain knew how well Upper Louisiana had fared with the Indians. He appreciated the friendliness that had existed between Spanish authority and the nations of the Missouri. He asked Governor Delassus to make known in his own way to the Indians that they had a new father. The governor complied. To a formal assemblage of Indians in front of the government house, in the presence of Captain Stoddard and Meriwether Lewis, Governor Delassus delivered in a very impressive manner this address:

"Delawares, Abenakis, Saquis and others:

"Your old fathers, the Spaniard and the Frenchman, who grasp by the hand your new father, the head chief of the United States, by an act of their good will, and in virtue of their last treaty, have delivered up all of these lands. The new father will keep and defend the lands and protect all of the white and red skins who live thereon. You will live as happily as if the Spaniard was still here.

"I have informed your new father, who here takes my place, that since I have been here the Delawares, Shawnees and Saquis have always conducted themselves well; that I have always received them kindly; that the chiefs have always restrained their young men as much as possible. I have recommended thee, Takinosa, as chief of the natives; that thou hast always labored much and well to maintain a sincere friendship with the whites and that, in consequence of thy good services, I recently presented to thee a medal with the portrait of thy great father, the Spaniard, and letters patent reciting thy good and loyal services. For several days past we have fired off cannon shots that we may announce to all the nations your father, the Spaniard, is going, his heart happy to know that you will be protected and sustained by your new father, and that the smoke of the powder may ascend to the Master of life, praying him to shower on you all a happy destiny and prosperity in always living in good union with the whites."

The American occupation was followed by an act which did much toward retaining Indian good will. In April, 1806, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, back from his exploration of the Upper Mississippi, was ordered to get ready for an expedition westward. The object was to escort to their tribes fifty-one Osages and Pawnees. These Indians had been taken prisoners by the Pottawattomies. They had been redeemed by the United States government. They were to be restored to their people with military escort. At the same time that he went on this diplomatic mission, Pike was to conduct an exploration to the far southwest. The Osages and Pawnees never forgot Pike. For many years any St. Louisan was sure of welcome among them.

Manuel Lisa, the Frontier Diplomat.

The faith which St. Louis kept with the Indians from Laclede's day was worth more than an army when war came in 1812. British influence was directed to the border, and was at work among the tribes from the headwaters of the Mississippi to the Upper Missouri long before a gun was fired. To Governor William Clark in St. Louis, Manuel Lisa, far up the river, more than a year before the war, sent word "the wampum was being carried along the banks of the Missouri." The British scheme, Lisa said, was "a universal confederacy" of the Indian nations preparatory to an overwhelming movement on Missouri when war came.

A grand character was William Clark in many ways. But even his share in the expedition of Lewis and Clark to the Pacific was not a greater service to

his country than his management of the Indian situation in the Northwest during the war of 1812. One of the first acts of Clark was to make Manuel Lisa a sub-agent of the tribes. No man had such influence over the Indians. Lisa was an American by acquisition. He came under the United States flag when Upper Louisiana did in 1804. He was thoroughly American. "I have suffered enough in person and property under a different government," he wrote, "to know how to appreciate the one under which I now live."

"Captain Manuel," as the Indians called him, began the organizing and arming of the tribes to fight, not against "The Republic," as he liked to call the United States, but against the Indian allies of Great Britain. When the war ended Lisa was fairly ready to begin. He had forty chiefs and several thousand warriors ready to go against the British Indians on the Upper Mississippi. The Missouri frontier had been saved from the Indian nations on the Upper Mississippi. Governor Clark sent trusted representatives with messages of conciliation. Among these emissaries was the One-Eyed Sioux, a famous chief who visited St. Louis frequently and was a great admirer of General Pike, the explorer. The One-Eyed Sioux came to St. Louis with the information that a party had been made up to attack the American frontier. He undertook, at Governor Clark's request, to visit a number of tribes and to use his influence against the British. He was imprisoned, maltreated and threatened with death by the British, but was true to the confidence Clark placed in him. When the war was over the One-Eyed Sioux came back to St. Louis and was honored. As long as he lived he treasured and showed with great pride the commission he received to represent Governor Clark in his diplomatic efforts with the Upper Mississippi tribes.

The Indian Treaty of 1812.

In May, 1812, General William Clark assembled at St. Louis chiefs of the Great and Little Osages, Sacs, Renards, Delawares and Shawnees and took them to Washington to make a treaty. They made peace with each other before starting. These chiefs were received by President Madison just before the war with Great Britain. They were taken to eastern cities and made much of. The act was wise, for settlers were crowding into St. Louis and scattering in the Missouri country. Long afterwards Elihu H. Shepard, the historian, paid just tribute to William Clark and testified to the lasting results of his Indian policy:

"He was feared and beloved by the Indians. He understood their character almost by intuition, and could foresee their plans and intentions, and was their constant friend and protector from the impositions of white men. When they were all assembled preparatory to leaving on their long journey, their mutual friend advised them to make peace with each other, which they accordingly did for themselves and their respective people, and all buried the hatchet and left their friends at home in peace with all their neighbors. On the following day, May the 5th, 1812, General Clark departed with all the chiefs of those powerful tribes, each preserving in their features and attire some peculiarity or custom of their particular tribe or nation.

"More than half a century has since transpired, and probably every person engaged in that embassy of six nations is dead, but that act of General Clark alone should make his name immortal. Those six nations still exist and have kept their people on terms of friendship with each other to this late day. The object of the embassy was fully accomplished. The Indians arrived at Washington city several days before the declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812, and were presented to President Madison, who held a council and made a satisfactory treaty with them, after which they were shown through many large

MANUEL LISA

The fur trader

HOME OF MANUEL LISA, ST. LOUIS

cities on their return to St. Louis, and escorted to their homes laden with many tokens of esteem and confidence, which are still preserved and shown to strangers as worthy of veneration and lasting preservation by all lovers of peace and friendship."

"Red Head," the Indians' Friend.

Officially William Clark was "Indian agent." In fact, he was "the friend of the Indian." A part of the life of St. Louis were the pilgrimages of the red men to visit "Red Head," as all of them called him. When rivers ran clear of ice in the spring the canoes began to come. They were beached along the then unoccupied river front above St. Louis. From Morgan street to Bremen avenue there were only five houses. Little camps were formed. At some time of the open season every tribe at peace sent the head men to St. Louis. If the tribe was small a canoe, or two, was sufficient. Delegations from the larger Indian communities required a flotilla. With the chiefs came their squaws and pappooses. When the camp site was chosen, a member of the party went down to notify General Clark. That meant rations. In the morning the chiefs and their retinues, painted and decked out in full ceremonial dress, came down for the formal council. These assemblages were held in a large hall which General Clark had built near his home. "The Council Chamber," it was called. It served the purpose of a museum of Indian dress, manufactures, utensils and curios. These things covered the walls. They added to the impressiveness of the formal receptions. In the council chamber the general met the Indians, exchanged salutations, giving without stint the time which these taciturn people seemed to think the dignity of the occasion demanded. He listened to the speeches. He replied through the interpreters, using the native figures of speech which meant so much to the visitors. He met their aboriginal dignity with the suave courtesy of the Virginian. He was patient and kindly with them. After the talk the Indians looked over the museum, pointing out and commenting on those things best known to the tribe to which they belonged. Week after week General Clark held these receptions as the successive delegations arrived. In the long history of Indian affairs of the United States there is no line of policy which is quite similar to this which General Clark adopted. And it may be added that there has been no course of official action which surpassed this in effective results with the red men.

Having paid the visit of ceremony, the delegation enjoyed for a few days the freedom of the city. Every morning the chiefs and their families painted and put on their feathers and robes. They stopped at house after house, beating upon their drums, singing their chants and doing the dances. Ceremonial from the Indians' point of view, these calls might be, but somewhat disconcerting to the newcomers in St. Louis they often were. Indian etiquette made it proper to raise the latch and walk in without using the knocker or speaking a word. Standing within the Indian looked about him, and, after a few moments' deliberation, uttered his "how!" Then followed a handshake with each person in the room. A small gift was expected, and then, as the interest of the involuntary host waned, the proud Indians took the hint and moved up the street. Here and there they came to the house of a hunter or trader who had known them in the wilderness. There the entertainment was elaborated. "Indian coffee"—coffee with just enough of the bean to give color, a very weak imitation—was served. Fat slices of bacon were cooked and handed round. Firewater—hot

stuff—was the stirrup cup. Two or three days, perhaps a week or ten days, the visits and the hospitality continued. Then at daybreak the canoes were pushed into the water and the prows were turned up stream. St. Louis saw no more of the head men of that tribe until the following year. So long as General Clark lived this coming and going of the chiefs of a hundred tribes was of yearly occurrence. Westward up the rivers and over the prairies pioneers pushed their picket line of settlement. They slept peacefully. Not a war whoop disturbed the night. Red Head's Indian policy was mightier for protection than an army of soldiers would have been.

The Osage Indians were strongly attached to their Missouri homes. For years after they were removed to the Indian Territory they made it an annual custom to return to Henry County for a visit. Most of the Delawares moved from Indiana and Illinois in 1819 to Missouri, locating near the present site of Springfield. Ten years later they sold their Missouri lands to the government and were expected to go on a reservation near the present city of Leavenworth. Some of the Delawares objected to this change after viewing the promised land because they said the fork formed by the Kaw and Missouri rivers looked too much like the trousers of a white man. They refused to go to what was called at that time "The Pants Leg Reservation," and were sent into the Indian Territory near Fort Sill. During their residence in Missouri the Delawares gave the white people very little trouble. They became allies of the Tehe band of Cherokees and did some fighting against the Osages.

The Story of Colonel Splitlog's Rise.

A Missouri Indian founded a city, developed a mine and built a railroad. Perhaps there is no parallel in any other State to this performance. The Missouri Indian was a member of the Wyandotte tribe. He was Chief Splitlog, but after he became a capitalist and made things boom in the southwestern corner of the State, he was better known as Colonel Splitlog. For many years he lived near Kansas City on the Wyandotte Reservation. When his people dissolved tribal relations and accepted a division of their lands from the United States, Splitlog was one of the chiefs who negotiated the treaty. After the tribe dissolved, the Splitlog family remained near the mouth of the Kaw and the ex-chief began to show his ability by steamboating in a small way. As Kansas City grew, the Splitlogs were able to sell their land at a good price. They moved to the banks of the Cowskin, or as it was sometimes more elegantly termed, the Elkhorn. The ex-chief kept a store and sold goods to the Senecas. He built a house that was the wonder of the whole Seneca nation. It had two full stories, was handsomely painted and, more wonderful than all, it had a big "observatory" on top. The young members of the family developed musical talent and the old chief bought them a full set of band instruments and hired an instructor. A local manager conceived the idea of a concert tour. The Splitlog boys started out with the old man's blessing and some cash in advance. About the third concert prosperity proved too much for them. The boys took the town and the town marshal took them. The Splitlog cornet band left Missouri and went back to the nearby reservation.

About 1885 Splitlog became associated with some professional promoters. The southwest corner of Missouri was electrified one day with the announcement

Headquarters of American Fur Company at St. Louis, 1835

Ramsey Crookes

Kenneth McKenzie

OFFICIALS OF THE FUR COMPANY

that silver had been discovered a short distance south of Neosho. When the news had been well circulated, it was found that Splitlog and his white associates had obtained leases on five thousand acres of land, Splitlog contributing the money and the promoters furnishing the brains. The Splitlog Silver Mining Company was organized with the old chief's favorite son, Joe, as president. Splitlog City was laid out near the mines; a hotel was built and several other business structures were erected. A daily stage line was put on between Neosho and Splitlog City. Assays from ores alleged to have come from the Splitlog mines were shown. These assays were made by reputable firms in St. Louis, Kansas City and elsewhere. They gave from $40 to $298 in silver per ton. Some of them returned gold. Splitlog displayed a watch on the inside of which was inscribed, "The case of this watch was made from gold taken out of the Splitlog Mines in McDonald County, Missouri."

The rush to Splitlog City set in. On the country roads wagons with white tops "Bound for Splitlog" could be seen moving in all directions. There was great activity in sinking shafts. The next step was the organization of a railroad company. Colonel Splitlog took most of the shares. The railroad was capitalized at $3,000,000. A construction company was formed with a capital of $350,000. Colonel Splitlog was the treasurer of the construction company. About thirty miles of roadbed was graded and six miles of track was laid. Colonel Splitlog drove the first spike, which was of silver claimed to have been obtained from the Splitlog mines. The motive for the road was to obtain facilities for shipment of the ore.

After Splitlog had invested about $175,000, the collapse came. Mrs. Splitlog, influenced by other members of the family, refused to sign any more deeds. The colonel became suspicious of his white associates, who departed for other fields of exploitation. The boom collapsed. Assays of ore mined by independent prospectors showed only a trace of silver.

CHAPTER VI.

DUELING IN MISSOURI.

Benton and the Code—Bloody Island—The Grewsome Record—Farrar and Graham—A Friend's Responsibility—Fenwick and Crittenden—Aaron Burr's Nephew Killed—Barton and Hempstead—Code Forms Drawn by Benton and Bates—A Fearless Editor—John Scott's Wholesale Challenge—Lucas and Benton—The Election Controversy—"An Insolent Puppy"—What Benton Told Washburne—Lucas on "Origin of Differences"—A Farewell Message—The Terms—Lucas Badly Wounded—Statements of the Seconds—Mediation by Judge Lawless—Benton Repudiates the Agreement—The Second Meeting—Lucas Killed—A Father's Lament—Benton's Promise to His Wife—Geyer and Kennerly—Army Duels—Rector and Barton—The "Philo" Charges—Public Sentiment Aroused—Rev. Timothy Flint's Letter—The Belleville Tragedy—Benton for the Defense—Legislation Against Dueling—Senator Linn's Comments—Leonard and Berry—Benton on the Code—Pettis and Biddle—A Double Fatality—Benton Again the Adviser—Edward Dobyns' Recollections—Rev. Dr. Eliot's Protest—Hudson and Chambers—"Old Bustamente's" Experience—Blair and Pickering—Newspaper Reorganization—The Blair-Price Feud—Edwards and Foster—Bowman and Glover—Vest on the Duello.

A duel at St. Louis ended fatally, of which Colonel Benton has not heen heard to speak except among intimate friends, and to tell of the pang which went through his heart when he saw the young man fall, and would have given the world to see him restored to life. As proof of the manner in which he looks upon these scenes and his desire to hury all remembrances of them forever, he has had all his papers burned which related to them, that no future curiosity or industry should bring to light what he wished had never happened.—*Benton's Autobiography, dictated on his deathbed.*

Dueling in Missouri came with American sovereignty. It went out of practice with the Civil war. Many of the duels were influential incidents in Missouri politics. Most of the duelists were lawyers or editors.

More frequently than any other is the name of Thomas H. Benton associated with Missouri duels. Benton was principal in one fatal duel. He was chief adviser in another duel which ended fatally for both principals. He was second in one of the earliest of Missouri duels and drew up the rules and forms which served as precedents in subsequent meetings. As a lawyer he defended duelists in court. He was a historian of duels. He published a defense of duels. And yet on his deathbed, referring to himself as usual in the third person, he told of "the pang which went through his heart" when he saw young Lucas fall; expressed his regret "for all these scenes" and "had all of his papers burned which related to them."

Benton's relations to dueling were strange indeed. After his rough and tumble encounter with Andrew Jackson at Nashville in 1813, he wrote: "I am in the middle of hell; my life is in danger, and nothing but a decisive duel can save me or even give me a chance for my own existence."

But he also expressed himself on paper shortly after the difficulty with Jackson in these words: "Those who know me, know full well that I would give a thousand times more for the reputation of Croghan in defending his post (which

was Fort Stephenson) than I would for the reputation of all the duelists and gladiators that ever appeared upon the face of the earth."

After his service in the war of 1812 Benton moved to Missouri. He was prompted to make this change because of the disagreeable personal relations in Tennessee growing out of the fight with Jackson.

Bloody Island.

Most of the Missouri duels were fought on the upper part of Bloody Island in the Mississippi river. Usually the seconds selected a spot where willows and other growth screened the party so that the proceedings could not be seen from the St. Louis side. People assembled in numbers on the river bank; they occupied windows and the housetops when it was known a duel was to be fought. They could not see much, but they would hear the shots and they were witnesses to the return of the parties from the meeting. When St. Louis, to save the city's harbor, built a great dyke between Bloody Island and the Illinois mainland, the entire current was turned to the westward. This not only restored the channel along the St. Louis water front, but it wore away the western edge of the island. The river above the Eads bridge became and remains considerably wider than it was in 1810-30, when the current was divided and when duels were frequent.

Three fatalities on the cross marks gave Bloody Island the grewsome name it bore for more than fifty years. The sandbar opposite the northern end of the settlement of St. Louis showed above the river's surface at low water about 1799. It grew steadily, dividing the current. An increasing proportion of the river's volume each succeeding year passed down to the eastward of the sandbar. That part of the channel between the St. Louis water front and the western edge of the bar became narrower and shallower as time went on. The human voice carried across easily. Willows sprouted and grew in clumps and fringes. The new-made strip of ground became known as "the Island." When there was need to distinguish it from others, Missourians of that generation spoke of "the island opposite Roy." On the St. Louis bank of the river near the foot of what afterwards became Ashley street, named in honor of the fur trader and Congressman, a man named Roy built a large stone tower in which he operated a windmill. The tower stood on a curve of the shore line, where it caught the breeze blowing up the river. Long after steam power came into use the dismantled stone tower was a conspicuous landmark. For twenty years or more "the Island" so divided the current that neither Missouri nor Illinois claimed possession or exercised jurisdiction. This condition of no man's land favored the selection of "the Island" for duels.

And after lives had been sacrified in these affairs public sentiment bestowed the title. Bloody Island vied with Bladensburg in Maryland for the distinction of being the principal "field of honor" in the United States. To Bladensburg, a few miles from the national capital, statesmen and officers of the army and navy and newspaper men of Washington resorted during two generations to settle differences by shooting at each other. Dueling on Bloody Island began as early as 1810. The record closed in 1860.

The Next Friend's Responsibility.

The Farrar-Graham meeting was among the earliest Missouri duels, if it did not inaugurate the practice of morning expeditions to Bloody Island. It illustrated

VOLUNTEER FIREMEN OF ST. LOUIS ASSEMBLING ON AMERICAN STREET, ST. LOUIS, FOR PARADE

one of the strangest phases of the code. James A. Graham and Dr. Farrar were very close personal friends. One day Graham saw an army lieutenant cheat in a game of cards at the hotel. He exposed him. The army officer declared he must have satisfaction. He sent a challenge to Graham by the hand of Farrar, who was a relative. Under the rules a relative could not refuse to perform this duty when asked. Graham refused to accept the challenge on the ground that the army officer, by his act of cheating, had shown himself to be no gentleman. The code required the second in such case to make the principal's quarrel his own. Farrar was compelled by the rules to challenge his most intimate friend. The two went to the island and fired at each other three times. Both were wounded, Graham so badly in the spine that he kept his bed for four months. When he got up, he tried to make a horseback journey to his old home in the East, failed on the way and died.

In 1811 Thomas H. Crittenden and Dr. Walter Fenwick, two of the best citizens of Ste. Genevieve, met on Moreau Island opposite Kaskaskia landing. General Henry Dodge, afterwards United States Senator from Wisconsin, and John Scott, afterwards member of Congress, were the seconds. Crittenden had some trouble with Ezekiel Fenwick, who sent a challenge by his brother, Dr. Fenwick. When Crittenden refused to meet Ezekiel Fenwick, the doctor was compelled, under the code, to make the quarrel his own. He was wounded mortally at the first fire. Crittenden was unhurt. The pistols used in that duel were made by an expert slave gunsmith who belonged to John Smith T. They are preserved in the great collection of curiosities made by the Missouri Historical Society.

Firman A. Rozier, in his History of the Mississippi Valley, told of a duel between John Smith T. and Lionel Browne, a nephew of Aaron Burr. Browne was then a resident of Potosi. The meeting place was on the Illinois side of the Mississippi opposite Herculaneum. Browne was the challenger; he was shot in the center of the forehead and killed instantly.

Benton and the Precedents.

The last of the political duels in which blood was shed was in 1856. It was coincident with the passing of Benton in Missouri politics—fought in the month that Benton went down to final defeat at the polls. Intense feeling between the Benton and anti-Benton factions was the prompting cause of this last duel. Nowhere in the correspondence relating to the duel did the name of Benton appear, but it was understood that Benton was sympathizing and advising with B. Gratz Brown, the editor of the Democrat, in his controversies with Thomas C. Reynolds, the district attorney and anti-Benton candidate for Congress. Forty years previously, in 1816, the year he came to St. Louis to make his home, Benton went out as second to Thomas Hempstead, Edward Bates acting for Joshua Barton, the other principal. This was not the first St. Louis duel, but it was one of the earliest and is notable for the punctilious care with which the rules were drawn. The seconds made a formal report upon the affair. Precedents were established to govern in later meetings. Although Benton destroyed all of his papers relating to dueling, the copies of the Barton-Hempstead documents are in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society. The most interesting of the papers is the following:

"Rules of the meeting between Mr. J. Barton demanding and Mr. T. Hempstead answering:

"1. The ground will be measured off to six paces.

"2. The gentlemen will stand back to back at the distance of six paces from each other.

"3. At the word 'March!' the gentlemen will instantly step off three paces and turn and fire without further order.

"4. If either party reserves his fire and continues to aim after the other has fired he shall be shot instantly by the adverse second.

"5. The seconds shall decide by lot which gives the word.

"6. The only words shall be, 'Are you ready?' and being answered in the affirmative, the word 'March' shall be the order for stepping off and turning and firing, as above stated.

"7. The meeting at 5 o'clock this evening on the island in the Mississippi, opposite LeRoy, on the upper end of the island.

"8. The weapons smooth-bore pistols.

"9. The pistols to be delivered cocked to the gentlemen after they have taken their places, and to be held hanging down by the side until after the word 'March.'

"Signed in duplicate, August 10th, 1816, at St. Louis.

"T. H. Benton, for Mr. Hempstead.
"Edward Bates, for Mr. Barton."

Three days after the meeting the seconds issued a formal report, and thus the incident was closed:

"The undersigned, present at the meeting between Mr. Thomas Hempstead and Mr. Joshua Barton on the evening of Saturday, the 10th instant, state:

"That as soon as the parties met, the ground was measured off by the undersigned and the pistols loaded in each other's presence.

"The choice of positions and the right of giving the word was decided by lot.

"The gentlemen immediately took their station and fired as nearly as could be in the same instant, and exactly conformable to the rules agreed upon. Each conducted himself in a firm, cool and collected manner.

"After the first fire the party demanding satisfaction declared that it had been given, and no explanation, concession or even mention of the cause of difference was made upon the ground, but the gentlemen shook hands as friends, upon mutual declaration that they owed each other no ill will; and upon the unanimous declaration of the friends and surgeons present that the affair ought not to proceed any further.

"The undersigned state it as their opinion that the conduct of both gentlemen was perfectly honorable and correct.

"Signed in duplicate, August 13th, 1816.

"Thomas H. Benton.
"Edward Bates."

The Press and the Code.

Joseph Charless, who established the first newspaper in St. Louis, was a fearless editor at short range. He did not hesitate to express editorial opinion on duels. When the fatal meeting between Benton and Lucas took place, this comment on the result appeared in the Gazette: "The infernal practice of dueling has taken off this morning one of the first characters in our country, Charless Lucas, Esq., attorney at law. His death has left a blank in society not easily filled up."

At one time Mr. Charless was threatened with incendiarism because of some vigorous editorials in the Gazette. Apparently, as a result of the rumors that the editor was to be burned out, the Gazette published this: "D. Kimball requests the incendiaries of St. Louis to defer burning Mr. Charless' establishment until

THOMAS H. BENTON

his removal, which will be on the 20th of April next." While walking in his garden, Mr. Charless was fired upon but was not hit.

The affair with Congressman John Scott was a newspaper sensation which continued some weeks in St. Louis. The Gazette printed several articles on Scott, who denounced them and demanded the name of the author. Threats were made, to which Mr. Charless replied: "I may be threatened, but I will continue an independent course. If I am attacked for exercising the honest duties of my profession, I know how to repel injury." That was in 1816. Mr. Charless at length gave Mr. Scott the names of the writers of the articles. Five highly respectable citizens were involved. Scott challenged each of them. Firman A. Rozier's version of John Scott's wholesale appeal to the code was this: "During the time that he was a candidate for Congress, there were written by some correspondents, who were his political enemies, severe strictures upon his character, in the Gazette, published in St. Louis. He demanded of Mr. Charless, the editor, the names of the authors, which were given him. Next morning, whilst in St. Louis, through General Henry Dodge, and that before breakfast, he challenged to mortal combat five of these correspondents, among whom were Hon. Rufus Easton, delegate from Missouri Territory; Mr. Lucas, afterwards killed in a duel by Benton; Dr. Simpson, and others whose names are not now remembered. They all declined with exception of Lucas. The difficulty with Lucas was afterwards compromised through friends. Hon. Rufus Easton's reply to Scott in declining to fight was, 'I do not want to kill you, and if you were to kill me I would die as the fool dieth.'"

Benton, the Principal.

A year and a day after his first dueling experience in St. Louis and the second year of his residence, Benton was principal in a duel. Like the rest of the Benton duels, that of August 12, 1817, had its origin in politics. Many years ago Richard Dowling wrote into the minute book of the Missouri Historical Society Benton's version of the trouble with Lucas:

"The election which was held on Monday, the 4th of August, 1817, at which members of Congress were to be chosen, John Scott and Rufus Easton being the candidates, and the former, receiving the nomination, was known as 'the military election.' The United States officers stationed at Bellefontaine, then the Western post, were quite active on the occasion, going through the streets with drum, fife and flag, Lieut. Thomas F. Smith taking a conspicuous part.

"The polling took place on the west side of Third, between Almond and Spruce, at the courthouse, the judges being inside the door, and the people coming up to vote, which they did by handing in a printed ticket, which was read aloud, each name of a voter written down at the moment and on a line with it his vote. This was the only voting precinct in the county. At this time a property qualification was the law. Col. Thomas H. Benton, living in a two-story house, frame, on the north side of Washington avenue, between Second and Third, presented himself to vote. As he handed in his ticket his right to vote was challenged by Charles Lucas. Colonel Benton explained to the judge that he owned slaves in St. Louis, on which he paid taxes. After this explanation he offered to vote. Notwithstanding the explanation, Charles Lucas renewed his challenge. Whereupon Colonel Benton called Lucas 'an insolent puppy.' I had this account from the lips of Colonel Benton himself on our return from Manchester, where a large political meeting had been held, I think in 1842."

One of the occasions on which Benton talked of the Lucas duel was in 1856, the year of the Brown-Reynolds affair. Elihu B. Washburne was in Washington as a member of Congress from Illinois. His wife was Adele Gratiot, a daughter of Henry Gratiot and Susan Hempstead. Benton was a close personal friend of the Hempsteads. Washburne was making a call upon Benton. His alliance with the Gratiot-Hempstead families prompted conversation upon the pioneer days of St. Louis. Washburne was so impressed with what Benton said that when he returned home he made a memorandum of it. Years afterwards, while on a visit to Jefferson City to present to Missouri the portrait of Edward Hempstead, who had been the first delegate in Congress, he referred to this written statement. Benton told Washburne that Hempstead would have been the first Senator from Missouri if he had lived. Hempstead received an ugly fall from his horse, and although the immediate effects did not seem serious, he was taken ill suddenly in the midst of trial and died in a short time. Benton was with Hempstead when he died and recalled the circumstances as he talked with Washburne. Then he went on: "Sir, how we did things in those days! After being up with my dead friend all night, I went to my office in the morning to refresh myself a little before going out to bury him five miles from town. While sitting at my table writing, a man brought me a challenge to fight a duel. I told the bearer instanter, 'I accept, but I must now go and bury a dead friend; that is my first duty. After that is discharged I will fight, to-night, if possible; if not to-morrow morning at daybreak. I accept your challenge, sir, and Colonel Lawless will write the acceptance and fix the terms for me.' I was outraged, sir, that the challenge should have been sent when I was burying a friend. I thought it might have been kept a few days, but when it came I was ready for it."

The Statement of Lucas.

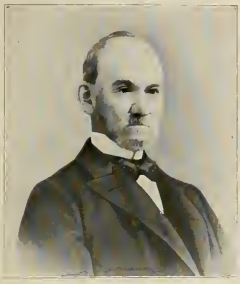
The sending of the challenge by Lucas, the acceptance by Benton, the funeral of Hempstead, the agreement upon terms and the arrangements for the "personal interview" the next morning, all took place in one day. More than that, Lucas wrote the evening of the same day and left for publicity this paper:

"Origin of state of differences between Thomas H. Benton and Charles Lucas.

"St. Louis, August 11, 1817, 9 o'clock at night.

"The causes of differences between T. H. Benton and me were as follows: At October court of last year, Mr. Benton and I were employed on adverse sides in a cause. At the close of the evidence, he stated that the evidence being so and so he requested the court to instruct the jury to find accordingly. I stated in reply that there was no such evidence to my remembrance. He replied, 'I contradict you, sir.' I answered, 'I contradict you, sir.' He then said, 'If you deny that, you deny the truth.' I replied, 'If you assert that, you assert what is not true.' He immediately sent a challenge, which I declined accepting, for causes stated in my correspondence. The jury in a few moments returned a verdict for me, and opposite to his statement. He never even moved for a new trial. Since that time we have had no intercourse except on business. On the day of the election at St. Louis, 4th of August, 1817, I inquired whether he had paid taxes in time to entitle him to vote; he was offering his vote at the time. He applied vehement, abusive and ungentlemanly language to me, and I believe some of it behind my back, all of which he declined to recant, to give me any satisfaction other than by the greatest extremities. I make this declaration that, let things eventuate as they may, it may be known how they originated.

"Charles Lucas."



JUDGE SAMUEL TREAT

THOMAS T. GANTT

THE FIRST COURTHOUSE IN ST. LOUIS

The challenge, which Benton sent after the trial, Lucas declined on the ground that he had simply done his duty as a lawyer to his clients and the verdict of the jury had sustained his view of the evidence, justifying the language he had used. Lucas added: "I will not for supporting that truth be in any way bound to give the redress or satisfaction you ask for, or to any person who may feel wounded by such exposure of the truth."

Besides putting on paper the origin of the differences, Lucas wrote this personal note:

"St. Louis, August 11, 1817.

"Dear Father:

"Embarked as I am in a hazardous enterprise, the issue of which you will know before you see this, I am under the necessity of bidding you, my brothers, sister, friends, adieu. My brothers and sister procure to you that consolation which I cannot. I request my brothers, William and James, to pursue their studies with assiduity, preserving peace and good-will with all good men. Father, sister, brothers, and friends—farewell.

"Charles Lucas."

Hempstead died the night of the 10th of August, 1817. Benton received the challenge the morning of the 11th. The copy preserved among the manuscript collections of the Missouri Historical Society reads:

"Thomas H. Benton, Esq.

"Sir: I am informed you applied to me on the day of the election the epithet of 'puppy.' If so I shall expect that satisfaction which is due one gentleman to another for such an indignity. I am, Charles Lucas."

Lucas—Benton, First Meeting.

Another document preserved by the Missouri Historical Society reveals the expedition with which "personal interviews" on the island were arranged in those days. Before night of that same day the terms had been arranged. At six o'clock the next morning the duel was fought in accordance with the following:

"Articles regulating the terms of personal interview between Thomas H. Benton and Charles Lucas, Esquires:

"1. The parties shall meet at 6 o'clock on the morning of the 12th inst, at the upper end of the island, opposite Madame Roy's.

"2. Each party shall choose and provide himself with a smoothbore pistol, not exceeding eleven inches in length.

"3. The pistols shall be loaded on the ground by the friends of each party in the presence of both friends and parties if the latter shall require it.

"4. The friends of each party shall have the liberty of being armed with two loaded pistols on the ground if they please.

"5. The parties respectively shall be examined by the friends of each other on the ground to see that they shall have no personal defence of any kind about them, or anything that can prevent the penetration of a ball.

"6. The parties previously to taking their ground shall strip off their coats and waistcoats to their shirts respectively, and shall fire in that situation.

"7. Each party to have leave to take a surgeon with them, if they please, to the grounds.

"8. The parties shall stand at the distance of thirty feet, and after being asked if they are ready, and each having answered in the affirmative they shall receive the word to 'fire,' after which the parties may present and fire when they please.

"9. The friends of the parties shall cast lots for choice of stands and for the giving of the word.

"10. The friends of the parties shall pledge themselves to each other that there are no persons on the island to their knowledge except those seen.

"11. If either party shall fire before the word 'fire' is given it shall be the duty of the friend of the opposite party to shoot him who has so fired.

"12. The parties by their undersigned friends pledge themselves on their honor for the strict observance of the above articles.

"St. Louis, 11th August, 1817.

LAWLESS,
J. BARTON."

Joshua Barton, the second of Lucas, had been out the year before as a principal. Now he was a second. Later he was to be a principal again and to fall. Immediately after the first Lucas-Benton meeting, Barton wrote to Judge Lucas his account:

"Charles appeared perfectly cool and collected both before and after taking his position to fire. On Colonel Benton demanding another fire or a second meeting, Charles told me to reload, that he could stand another fire. This I hesitated to do, under a belief which I have never changed, that it would be a wanton exposure of the life of a man who, to judge from the profuse discharge of blood, had already received a wound which might prove mortal. He requested me to shorten the distance, which I declined, for the same reason. It was at the earnest solicitation of Doctor Quarles and myself that he consented to adjourn the meeting. We supported him to the boat, soon after getting into which he fainted."

The second of Benton, Judge Lawless, published a statement in the Missouri Gazette:

"When the parties fired I asked by request of Colonel Benton if Mr. Lucas was satisfied, to which he answered in the negative. Upon this I was proceeding to reload when Mr. Barton, a second for Mr. Lucas, informed me that it was the opinion of Doctor Quarles that the wound which Mr. Lucas had received was more serious than he had at first imagined, and that he considered it necessary that he should quit the field. In consequence, I again demanded of Mr. Lucas if he was satisfied, and if he wished for another meeting with Colonel Benton. To this question he replied that he was satisfied, and that he did not require a second meeting. Having reported the answer to Colonel Benton, he declared aloud that *he* was not satisfied, and required that Mr. Lucas should continue to fight or pledge himself to come out again as soon as his wound should be in a state to permit him. This promise was accordingly given, and the parties pledged themselves by their seconds to perform it."

Efforts at Mediation.

The seconds as well as mutual friends endeavored to settle the trouble without another duel. In his statement Mr. Barton said:

"It was agreed on the ground at the first meeting that I should inform the friend of Colonel Benton as soon as Mr. Lucas was sufficiently recovered to meet Colonel Benton again. On Friday, the 22d of August, about 8 o'clock in the morning, I waited on Colonel Lawless for that purpose. After conversing on different subjects, Colonel Lawless inquired after Mr. Lucas' health, and his state of convalescence, to which I replied that he was then sufficiently recovered to meet Colonel Benton. Colonel Lawless asked when we would be ready to go out, to which I answered the next morning, or at whatever time should be thought best. Colonel Lawless then informed me that he was going that day to Herculaneum on important business of his own, and should not return before the next Sunday evening or Monday morning, and mentioned something of Colonel Benton calling in another friend in case the meeting took place next morning. I professed my willingness to postpone it until

his return, if Colonel Benton was willing, Colonel Lawless not seeming disposed to agree to anything without previous consultation with him. We conversed freely on everything connected with the affair, and particularly on the prospects of peace resulting from an attempt which had been made a few days before to that end. Colonel Lawless did not know, at that time, whether his friend would drop it in the way which had been proposed, but said he (Colonel Lawless) would 'make another trial on him.' We parted with an understanding, as I thought, that Colonel Benton was to be informed of what had passed, who could then either withdraw his demand for a second meeting, call in another friend, or wait Colonel Lawless' return. I was surprised at not hearing from them sooner, and afterward asked Colonel Lawless if he had not informed his friend, before going to Herculaneum, who told me he had called for that purpose, but did not find him at home. I considered that sufficient notice was given."

Judge Lawless thought that the efforts at mediation had succeeded. He was so confident that on the 18th of September, only nine days before the fatal duel, he wrote a full account of the settlement of differences and this appeared in the Gazette on the 20th of September:

"The earnest representations of Colonel Benton's friends and his own generous disposition had considerably weakened those indignant feelings which, on the ground, had impelled him to exact of his antagonist the promise of another interview. His cooler reflection informed him, that having wounded the man who had challenged him, and who, notwithstanding his wounds, declared himself satisfied, in pursuing Mr. Lucas further his conduct would assume an aspect of vengeance foreign from his heart, and that the sympathies and opinions of his fellow-citizens would probably be raised against him. On these considerations he had almost determined to withdraw the demand for a second meeting, and he did not conceal these feelings from those persons with whom he was in the habit of intercourse. Colonel Benton, in thus yielding to the entreaties of friendship and to the dictates of his conscience, did not imagine that he was furnishing a means of calumny to his enemies, or that the motives of his conduct could possibly be misunderstood. In this idea he found himself disappointed, and was in a very few days assailed by reports of the most offensive nature to his feelings and reputation. Colonel Benton then saw the necessity of disproving those reports either by another meeting, or by the explanation of Mr. Lucas, from whom or from whose friends he supposed them to have proceeded. He accordingly determined to await the moment when Mr. Lucas should be sufficiently recovered to come to the field, and then to give him an opportunity of justifying or contradicting the reports in circulation. About this time Mr. Barton called on me, whether in the capacity of Mr. Lucas' second or not, I cannot say, and in the course of conversation, in reply to a question of mine, informed me that Mr. Lucas was sufficiently recovered to meet Colonel Benton.

"At this moment I was on the point of leaving St. Louis, for Herculaneum, and therefore deferred conveying the information to Colonel Benton until my return, which was two days afterward.

"On my arrival, I lost no time in stating to Colonel Benton the conversation I had with Mr. Barton, and at his request immediately called upon the latter gentleman. As I was one of those who were of opinion that he should release Mr. Lucas from the pledge he had given, I felt considerable regret that the generous intentions of my friend should be affected by reports which might have been circulated without the knowledge of Mr. Lucas, and considered it, therefore, my duty to exert myself in every way consistent with the honor of Colonel Benton to avert a result which would certainly prove more or less calamitous.

"With this view I stated to Mr. Barton the motives which might have disposed Colonel Benton to release Mr. Lucas from his promise to meet him, and the causes that counteracted this disposition. I then proposed that Mr. Lucas should sign a declaration disavowing the reports in question. To this proposition Mr. Barton assented, and a declaration to the above effect was drawn up and agreed to by us. The declaration, which appeared to me sufficiently full, was submitted to Mr. Lucas, who consented to sign it. Colonel Benton, however, did not consider it sufficiently explicit, and rejected it. This decision appeared to

leave no other alternative than a meeting, which was accordingly agreed upon between Mr. Barton and me, and was fixed for the morning after the rising of the Superior Court, which was then sitting.

"It may, perhaps, be necessary to state that on Mr. Barton's suggestion that the distance should be shortened, I consented on the part of my friend to any distance from ten paces to five, which latter was mentioned by Mr. Barton as best calculated to place the parties on an equality.

"In this situation matters remained for three or four days, during which my own reflection and the opinions of honorable and sensible men whom I consulted, convinced me that the cause of the quarrel at present being perhaps ideal, I should omit no effort to prevent the fatal consequences of such a meeting. In this opinion the personal safety of my friend was my least consideration, as upon such occasions it ever has been.

"With this view I drew up a second declaration more explicit and full than the former, precluding all possibility of mistake as to the motives or conduct of either party, and, as it appeared to me, consistent with the honor of both. Mr. Barton, having examined and approved of it, obtained from Mr. Lucas his consent to sign it. I on my part submitted it to Colonel Benton, and, supported by his other friends, succeeded in inducing him to accept it. The terms of this declaration are as follows:

"'In consequence of reports having reached Colonel Benton of declarations coming from me respecting the shortness of the distance at which I intended to bring him at our next meeting, I hereby declare that I never said anything on that subject with a view of its becoming public or of its coming to the knowledge of Colonel Benton, and that I have never said or insinuated, or caused to be said or insinuated, that Colonel Benton was not disposed and ready to meet me at any distance and at any time whatsoever.

"'CHAS. LUCAS.'

"Having now stated the transactions between these gentlemen as accurately as I am able without entering into details of minute particulars, or a report of expressions used by the one party or the other—details which might irritate, without answering any useful purpose—I submit the whole to the fellow-citizens of Colonel Benton, in the perfect persuasion that if the reports to which I have referred, and which have drawn from me this statement, should have produced an impression injurious to the reputation of my friend, the facts which I have thus detailed will disabuse the public and will convince them that those reports are false and absurd, and that the authors of them, whoever they may be, are deserving of the contempt and execration of every man of generosity or sense of honor.

"L. E. LAWLESS.

"St. Louis, September 18, 1817."

Lucas—Benton, Second Meeting.

Three days after the publication of the statement of Judge Lawless on the 20th of September, Benton repudiated it and demanded the second meeting, giving his reasons:

"St. Louis, September 23, 1817.

"Sir—When I released you from your engagement to return to the island, I yielded to a feeling of generosity in my own bosom, and to a sentiment of deference to the judgment of others. From the reports which now fill the country it would seem that yourself and some of your friends have placed my conduct to very different motives. The object of this is to bring these calumnies to an end and to give you an opportunity of justifying the great expectations which have been excited. Colonel Lawless will receive your terms, and I expect your distance not to exceed nine feet.

"T. H. BENTON."

Lucas was attending superior court at Jackson. As soon as he returned to St. Louis he accepted the challenge but denied any responsibility for the reports on which Benton based his challenge.

"St. Louis, September 26, 1817.

"Sir—I received your note of the 23d inst. this morning on my arrival from below. Although I am conscious that a respectable man cannot be found who will say he has heard any of these reports from me, and that I think it more than probable they have been fabricated by your own friends than circulated by any who call themselves mine; yet, without even knowing what reports you have heard, I shall give you an opportunity of gratifying your wishes and the wishes of your news-carriers. My friend, Mr. Barton, has full authority to act for me.

"Charles Lucas."

They met the next morning. The seconds made the distance ten feet. The ball from Benton's pistol went through the right arm of Lucas and entered the body near the heart. Barton said of his principal:

"At the last interview he appeared equally cool and deliberate. Both presented and fired so nearly together that I could not distinguish two reports. Others, who stood on the shore, state that they heard two echoes. It was remarked that Mr. Lucas raised his weapon in good intention; hence it is to be supposed that the ball of his adversary struck his arm before or at the moment his pistol exploded, and destroyed the effect of his shot."

A Father's Lament.

Judge J. B. C. Lucas mourned the death of his son. He wished that he might have died on the battlefield. Charles Lucas enlisted as a private in the war of 1812. He was promoted to captaincy but did not have the opportunity to do actual fighting. Some time after the duel Judge Lucas wrote feelingly, regretting that his son had not been in battle: "O that he had had the good fortune to meet the enemy! He would, I am persuaded, have willingly died fighting for his country, at the head of his little band; or if having done his duty his life had been spared, then, being conscious that his courage could not be questioned, he would probably have had fortitude enough to have been still more forbearing, and being contented to act only on principles of self-defense, he would not have descended to the level of the professional duelist, and staked a valuable life against—nothing."

Benton was challenged repeatedly in after life, once, it is said, by Judge J. B. C. Lucas, father of Charles Lucas. He declined to go out again as principal. He said he had made a promise to Mrs. Benton that he would not fight another duel. But he had several fistic affairs. Mayor John F. Darby told of seeing Benton engaged with two men at one time. The Senator got the best of them, using brickbats. When he had a personal affair with Senator Foote upon the floor of the Senate, Benton declared that he never carried weapons.

Henry S. Geyer and George H. Kennerly exchanged shots on Bloody Island. Their meeting took place in 1817. The terms were pistols at twelve paces. Kennerly was wounded in the leg so severely that he was lame the rest of his life. Both Geyer and Kennerly were quite young when their duel occurred. They became close friends afterwards, living to be among the foremost citizens of St. Louis. For both of them avenues were named. According to the late Judge T. T. Gantt, of St. Louis, who had the circumstances from the best possible source, Geyer withheld his fire. When Kennerly had fired and Geyer found himself unharmed, the latter pointed his pistol upward and discharged it. In this case the other principal demanded a second interchange. Geyer aimed to disable, but not to kill. He inflicted a not fatal wound. After Geyer's death Judge Gantt told the story

of the duel and of the subsequent relations between the principals. "I have heard Mr. Geyer, without reference to his former relations of hostility to his opponent, speak of him as not only a man of high honor, but one of whom he cherished high regards."

Army officers stationed at or near St. Louis occasionally resorted to Bloody Island to settle differences. Captain Martin and Captain Ramsay, of the First United States Rifles, met on the cross marks in August, 1818. Ramsay was mortally wounded.

Rector—Barton.

Nepotism led to one fatal duel. In the summer of 1823, there appeared in the Republican a letter signed "Philo." It criticized severely the official acts of William C. Rector, surveyor general of the land district which included Missouri. One of the chief charges was that Rector had given out lucrative surveying contracts to his relatives and personal friends. In those days such action on the part of an officeholder was considered highly dishonorable. The charge of nepotism was made against Rector when he was a candidate for reappointment, and also when his nomination came up for confirmation. Senator Barton was opposing Rector. The surveyor general was in Washington looking after his political interests when the "Philo" letter was printed. The Republican commented editorially:

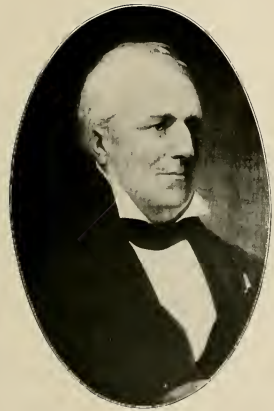
"We have inserted the communication signed 'Philo' on the principle that men in office are bound to answer to the people for the manner in which they discharge their public duties; and that if charges are made against them from a respectable and responsible source, and are couched in decorous terms, the press would defeat the object of its institution if it refused to permit them to come before the public. By this course the innocent cannot be injured. If the charges are untrue, he who utters them is disgraced; if they are true, the people are interested in knowing it, while the party implicated has nothing to complain of in the development."

There were nine brothers and four sisters in the Rector family. They came west from Virginia and settled first in Kaskaskia, early establishing a wide reputation for physical courage. Several of the brothers served in the war of 1812 and received commissions. The family moved to Missouri. It was the practice of the Rectors to make the affair of one the business of all.

Thomas C. Rector, brother of the surveyor general, came to the Republican office and demanded the name of "Philo." He was informed that the letter had been received from United States Attorney Joshua Barton, brother of the Senator. He immediately challenged. The result was announced by the Republican:

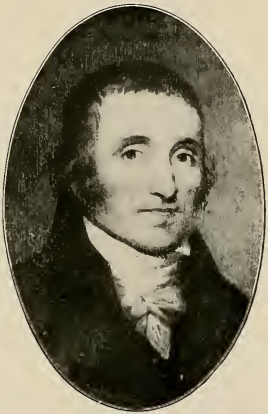
"On Monday, 30th ult., a meeting took place between Joshua Barton, Esq., District Attorney of the United States, and Thomas C. Rector, in consequence of a communication signed 'Philo,' which appeared in last week's paper. The parties met at 6 P. M., on the island opposite this place. They both fired at the word, when Mr. Barton fell mortally wounded. Mr. Rector escaped unhurt. Mr. Barton expired on the ground. In him Missouri has lost one of her ablest and worthiest citizens."

Surveyor General Rector returned to St. Louis the day after the duel. He published a card asking a suspension of public opinion, saying he would answer the charges against him. At the same time he notified the editors of the Republican



LUKE E. LAWLESS

One of the early judges



J. B. C. LUCAS

President Jefferson's commissioner to Louisiana Territory

that he would hold them personally responsible for any further publications reflecting upon him. The response to this came in the form of a letter signed by Edward Bates which appeared in the Republican of the 16th of July: "I lose no time in giving my public pledge to substantiate every material statement in the piece signed 'Philo.' I very unwillingly obtrude my name upon the public as a newspaper writer, but the long intimacy and more than brotherly connection between Mr. Barton and me have identified us in the public mind, and caused the people to look to me as the inheritor of his principles and feelings for a vindication of his name and character. In this just expectation they shall not be disappointed."

Senator Barton also published a card. He said: "I now assert before the public that every material allegation in the article signed 'Philo' is true, and that I can prove it in any mode of investigation calculated to admit the truth in evidence and the production of testimony."

He gave a list of twelve relatives and personal connections of the surveyor general who had been appointed deputy surveyors. He stated that in 1822 of 254 townships surveyed the contracts for 195 had been given to connections of the Rector family. He concluded: "If General Rector should take offense at what I have written, the courts are open to him, and if I have wronged him the laws will afford him a vindictive remedy. If he will venture to take this course, I will justify these statements and prove the facts upon him before a jury."

The Code Condemned.

Public sentiment in St. Louis grew strong against dueling. In 1823 the Missouri Republican voiced this sentiment when it said: "Two more persons have been killed in duels near St. Louis. Their names are Messrs. Waddle and Crow. It must be a vicious state of society in which the pistol is the umpire in every controversy."

Rev. Timothy Flint, who came out to Missouri in 1816 and held a pastorate, wrote back to his brother, Rev. James Flint of Salem, Massachusetts, that the practice of dueling was confined to a small class. "In the towns of the upper country on the Mississippi, and especially in St. Louis, there is one species of barbarism that is but too common. I mean the horrid practice of dueling. Be it remembered this is the barbarism only of that small class that denominate themselves 'the gentlemen.' It cannot be matter of astonishment that these are common here when we recollect that the fierce and adventurous spirits are naturally attracted to these regions, and that it is a common proverb of the people that when we cross the Mississippi, 'We travel beyond the Sabbath.' It would lead me to such personalities as I mean to avoid were I to give you details, and my views of the fatal duels, of which there were so many while I was here. I can only say that I lost in this dreadful way two individuals with whom I had personal intercourse and from whom I had received many kindnesses. All that fell were men in office, of standing and character. I am not here going to start a dissertation upon the trite subject of dueling, the most horrible and savage relic of a barbarous age."

Illinois put a stop to dueling between citizens of that State at an early day, but did not seriously interfere with Missourians. In 1819, Alonzo G. Stuart and William Bennett fought at Belleville. The seconds conspired to prevent bloodshed and loaded the rifles without bullets. As his weapon was handed to Bennett he slipped

in a bullet. Stuart was mortally wounded. Bennett was tried for murder and convicted. Appeals to Governor Bond for clemency were without avail. Bennett was hung. Some Illinois historians have claimed that that was the last duel fought within the State by its citizens and that the execution of Bennett made the practice unpopular. But Illinois did not consider that its jurisdiction extended to Bloody Island.

Thomas H. Benton was concerned in the affair at Belleville. He defended the two seconds. Public sentiment was so strongly aroused that indictments were returned against the seconds, who were Jacob Short and Nathan Fike. The duel took place in February, at a time when there was a large gathering in Belleville from the surrounding country. It was arranged apparently to test Bennett. The testimony went to show an understanding on the part of all but Bennett that the duel was a sham. The place selected was a lot just north of the main street of the town. The weapons were rifles and the loading was by the seconds. The principals were stationed forty yards apart. Stuart did not fire. After he fell his rifle was picked up by one of the seconds and discharged.

Stuart was a man of some prominence in St. Clair County. Benton secured the acquittal of Short and Fike. The trial brought out testimony to the effect that Bennett had put a bullet in his gun after receiving it from the second. Bennett had been arrested and was in jail.

When the sheriff went to bring him to court for trial he could not be found. In some manner he had escaped from the jail and reached the Missouri side of the river. Two years later he was caught, tried, convicted and executed. Judge John R. Reynolds, before whom the three men were tried, in an account of the affair, wrote that it "was considered the result of a wild, drunken frolic, and it never did assume the character of a regular and honorable duel."

The Rev. Timothy Flint in one of his letters to a brother in Massachusetts gave a different version of the Belleville duel. His account was written not long after the tragedy: "A young gentleman, a respectable attorney, had just commenced business. He had been bullied by a man who was indeed an officer in rank, but a dubious character. The young gentleman had been cautioned against being drawn into the contest, and had been assured, that, according to the orthodox canons of honor, the character of the man did not justify fighting him. But an idea was entertained that he had not sufficient nerve to stand a challenge. It was agreed by his friends that the next time the man insulted him, he should send him a challenge and that the seconds should load both rifles—for they were to fight with rifles—with blank cartridges. The opposite party was not to be in the secret and the joke was to watch his eye and see if it did not blench. The challenge was sent and the seconds on both sides made a solemn contract with each other that both guns should be loaded with blank cartridges. The young attorney went out to watch the eye of his antagonist and to enjoy the joke. The parties met, discharged and the attorney fell with two rifle bullets through his heart. The wretch who was second for his antagonist had violated his stipulation and had loaded the rifle with two bullets. An amiable young woman was left a widow with one orphan babe."

Legislation Against the Practice.

The Missouri legislature of 1822 considered a bill making death from a duel murder and prohibiting from office holding all who engaged in it. The preamble to this law declared: "Experience has evidenced that the existing remedy for the suppression of the barbarous custom is inadequate to the purpose and the progress and consequences of the evil have become so destructive as to require an effort of the general assembly to arrest a vice, the result of ignorance and barbarism, justified neither by the precepts of morality nor by the dictates of reason." Three fatal duels within a year prompted this strong expression by the law-making body of the new State of Missouri.

Missouri endeavored in various ways to put a stop to dueling. Sentiment had grown strong upon the evil. But as often in reforms, sentiment overreached itself. The opposition to the code found conditions so favorable to remedial legislation that the legislature of 1824-5 passed a very drastic bill. Imprisonment was not deemed sufficient penalty. The bill provided that those who engaged in dueling should be whipped. Governor Frederick Bates declined to approve the measure. He said to the legislature: "I am happy on this occasion to record my utter detestation and abhorrence of dueling. My duty to my neighbors and to myself would compel me, as well in my private as in my public capacity, to discountenance and put down, if possible, so barbarous and so impious a practice." But he could not see the way clear to sign a bill which made the lash the punishment for fighting a duel. The state senate mustered the necessary two-thirds vote to pass the bill over the governor, but the house failed to do so.

Leonard—Berry.

In 1819 a slender Vermont youth walked from St. Charles to Old Franklin, near Boonville. He carried all he possessed in a bundle at the end of a stick. One of these possessions was a license to practice law. While the young New Englander was gaining a professional foothold in Missouri he had a difficulty with Major Taylor Berry, who struck him with a whip. The impression in the community was that the Yankee would not fight a duel. Abiel Leonard wrote at once to Berry: "Sir, I demand a personal interview with you. My friend, Mr. Boggs, will make the necessary arrangements."

The challenge was sent on the 26th of June, 1824. Berry accepted. He named Major A. L. Langham as his friend. In accepting, he wrote: "My business, which embraces many duties to others, will require my personal attention until after the 1st of September next, after which time any further delay will be asked from you only."

The principals and their seconds traveled down the Missouri to St. Louis and thence to New Madrid. The time set for the duel was the first of September. Berry was mortally wounded. Under the law of Missouri Leonard was disfranchised and disbarred. Long petitions for the removal of his disabilities were signed and sent to the legislature. At the next session Leonard was restored to all of his rights. Ten years later he was elected to the legislature. Subsequently he became a justice of the supreme court of Missouri.

Possibly Benton did not enjoy duelling. Certainly he took intense interest in these "affairs of honor." Into his "Thirty Years' View of the History of the Workings of the American Government" he wrote a defense, or, perhaps,

better, an apology for the code. Following the death of Congressman Cilley at the hand of Graves of Kentucky, Congress made the penalty for dueling in the District of Columbia death to all of the survivors when one of the principals was killed and five years in the penitentiary for sending or accepting a challenge. This legislation was the text of Benton's comment:

"Certainly it is deplorable to see a young man, the hope of his father and mother—a ripe man, the head of a family—an eminent man necessary to his country—struck down in a duel, and should be prevented if possible. Still this deplorable practice is not so bad as the bowie knife and the revolver, and their pretext of self-defense—thirsting for blood. In the duel there is at least consent on both sides, with a preliminary opportunity for settlement, with a chance for the law to arrest them, and room for the interposition of friends as the affair goes on. There is usually equality of terms; and it would not be called an affair of honor if honor was not to prevail all round; and if the satisfying a point of honor, and not vengeance, was not the end attained. Finally, in the regular duel, the principals are in the hands of the seconds (for no man can be made a second without his consent); and as both these are required by the dueling code (for the sake of fairness and humanity) to be free from ill will or grudge toward the adversary principal, they are expected to terminate the affair as soon as the point of honor is satisfied, and the less the injury so much the better."

Senator Linn on the Code.

Benton's colleague, Doctor Linn, was not without experience in the code. As a surgeon he was present when Biddle and Pettis inflicted fatal wounds upon each other. As Senator he took part in the debate upon the legislation suggested by the death of Cilley. What he said was especially interesting because he cited Missouri illustrations to sustain his arguments. Senator Linn urged that too drastic legislation would defeat the purpose. What community could be found, he asked, that would pronounce a man either a murderer or a felon, who might have chanced to kill another in fair and equal combat? No man, he was persuaded, who came to act on his responsibility as a juror, would be prepared to render such a verdict. Many of the States had passed severe penal enactments in relation to the matter, and yet where was the State where such laws had been carried into effect? Other legislatures had sought milder remedies, such as punishing dueling by disfranchising their citizens, rendering them forever after incapable of holding offices of profit or trust, honor, or emolument. Such laws, he maintained, had a more wholesome action than those unjust and cruel enactments, because the one was generally carried into effect while the other was little better than a dead letter. To illustrate the effect of public opinion on the subject, Senator Linn instanced a case in his own State, where the people were as much averse to fighting as those of any other in the Union (though he was aware that a contrary opinion prevailed among many in relation to Missouri),—where a small man, for a supposed offense, was cruelly lashed by a large one, the result of which was a challenge on the part of the small one to fight, in which duel the large man was shot twice, the last wound mortal.

The survivor was found guilty under the laws of Missouri, when a petition was gotten up, signed almost unanimously by the people, and presented to the legislature, which body remitted the penalties almost by acclamation And so, Mr. Linn said, it would be in all like cases—either the legislature or the executive would step in to counteract the law. If such a bill could be introduced as would strike at the root of the evil, it would cheerfully have his support.

He was aware that dueling was not defensible on principles of Christianity. All the legislatures of the Union have concurred in denouncing the practice of dueling as evil in itself, and yet have we not seen them come in to stay the law? From what little he had seen it appeared to him that fighting was like marrying—the more barriers that were erected against it, the surer were they to come together.

Farther along in the debate, Senator Linn held up Missouri experience for the enlightenment of the United States Senate. He said they had now a law in his State which was more effectual for the prevention of dueling than any other law that had ever been passed. In cases of assault, all abusive words and defamatory language went to the jury in mitigation of the offense.

Mr. Benton—As a justification?

Mr. Linn—Yes, sir, as a justification: and if that abusive member, the tongue, was permitted to have too free a license, the same license was permitted to the individual to redress his grievance. He thought if the same law applied to the Senate of the United States, there would be a little more decorum than he had witnessed. This law, of which he had spoken, had had a better effect in the prevention of dueling than any other that had ever been passed, and he thought it would be better for the peace and harmony of society if such a law was more generally prevalent throughout the United States. The reference in Senator Linn's remarks to a Missouri case was undoubtedly to the Leonard-Berry fatality.

Benton the Adviser of Pettis.

Manuscript collections of the Missouri Historical Society give Benton a much closer relationship to the Pettis-Biddle duel than is attributed in printed accounts of the tragedy. Thomas Biddle was an officer of high standing in the United States army. He was a brother of Commodore Biddle of the navy and of Nicholas Biddle, president of the United States Bank. He had distinguished himself by gallantry in the war of 1812, and especially at the battle of Lundy's Lane. Making St. Louis his home, Thomas Biddle married a daughter of John Mullanphy. His wealth and social position made him one of the most conspicuous personalities in St. Louis. Spencer Pettis was a member of Congress, the only Representative from Missouri. He had just been elected for a second term. He was of Virginia birth, a young man of fine family and very popular.

The congressional election was on the second of August. In his speeches during the campaign, Pettis attacked the United States Bank. He was a follower of Benton. But he not only assailed the bank on principle, he reflected on the management in such a manner as to arouse the indignation of Major Biddle. The latter replied in one of the St. Louis papers, calling Pettis "a dish of skimmed milk." Pettis published his answer. Early one morning Biddle went to the hotel where Pettis was stopping. He found the Congressman in bed, pulled off the cover and used a whip. There could be but one outcome for such an insult.

The condition of short-sightedness entered into the Pettis-Biddle duel. One account of the circumstances leading to the duel is that Pettis, anticipating a hostile meeting, went before Judge Peter Ferguson and made a sworn statement about the attack upon him in the hotel. He proceeded from Ferguson's office to the printer to have the statement put in type. Ferguson, made aware of what had taken place, issued a writ against Biddle to keep the peace. Biddle met Pettis and told him that if challenged he would accept. This was after the election, between

three and four weeks. Pettis challenged at once. Biddle being the challenged principal, made the terms. He set the next day for the duel and made the distance five feet, because of short-sightedness. The meeting took place at three o'clock in the afternoon. Old inhabitants, eighty years after the occurrence, pointed out a spot on the Illinois side, almost exactly opposite the Pettis-Biddle meeting.

Benton's intimate relationship with the Pettis-Biddle duel is told in these personal recollections of Edward Dobyns, preserved by the Missouri Historical Society:

"Upon the attack on one of the parties at the City Hotel in July, 1831, Mrs. Benton having heard a difficulty or noise about daybreak suggested to Mr. Benton the probable cause. He at once arose and went over and found her suspicions were true. Mr. Benton spent about five minutes in which a masterly stroke of policy was exhibited, rarely ever seen in connection with an event of such magnitude. All political historians will remember that the party attacked was a candidate for re-election to a seat in Congress from Missouri, and that the occurrence took place just before the day of election. In that five minutes' interview Mr. Benton said: 'Let there be no definite action taken until this election is over. And then, sir, I leave you to vindicate your honor in such a manner as you may deem most consistent with the principles that govern gentlemen.'

"This suggestion was yielded to with much reluctance on the part of the attacked, and all who are acquainted with the history of that day, remember the political result. It was my privilege to have enjoyed the personal acquaintance of all of the parties in the tragical affair, and I honored them all, enjoying their friendship. During the days just preceding the fatal meeting I often met Mr. Benton at his residence, having been requested by him to call every day as he did not often go out amongst the people.

"Upon one occasion when I called, Dr. Lewis F. Linn, the surgeon of one of the parties, was just coming out of the parlor. It was the day before the fatal duel. Mr. Benton said, with evident deep feeling and seriousness, 'There will be no child's play in the meeting.' I suppose Doctor Linn had informed him that the distance was only five feet apart. There was not much said. A deep seriousness seemed to pervade the mind of Mr. Benton.

"After the fatal meeting, August 27, 1831, the parties crossed back to the St. Louis side of the river. The immense collection of people that had assembled on the river bank went down to meet them. As the yawl approached the shore Mr. Pettis was leaning on the breast of his surgeon, Doctor Linn, who supported him in his arms. Captain Martin Thomas, his second, was holding a vial from which the wounded man was inhaling to keep up life. It was my privilege to have been the first to meet the party, as they neared the shore, and know of my own knowledge what occurred, and am, therefore prepared to correct the error of a distinguished writer who has said that when Mr. Pettis was brought back from the dueling ground, Judge Peck was among the first to meet him and offer sympathy; that Mr. Pettis said to him, 'Did I vindicate my honor?' 'Yes,' said the judge, 'you have vindicated your honor like a man—a man of bravery, sir.' This is an error. Judge Peck was not present at the landing of the party. When the skiff neared the shore, Mr. Pettis, in his reclining position, in the arms of his surgeon, looked up and caught the eye of Mr. Benton and said, 'Colonel Benton, have I acted the poltroon?' To which Colonel Benton replied, 'No sir, you have shown yourself to be the bravest of the brave.' These were the words of Mr. Benton, not of Judge Peck.

"Judge Peck came to the room of the dying statesman the night after the fatal meeting and stayed by his bedside until his death, and exhibited great sympathy and showed profound interest for him. Just before his death Mr. Pettis gave a deep moan. The judge, seeing that death was rapidly approaching, said: 'Mr. Pettis, you have proved yourself to be a great man; now, die like a man.' Mr. Pettis said: 'Yes, sir,' and in a few moments passed away. Considering that Mr. Pettis was a political opponent of the party to which Judge Peck belonged, I have often thought and said that Judge Peck deserved great praise for his sympathy and interest shown to Mr. Pettis.

"Mr. Benton's whole course was calm, collected and dignified, never uttering a harsh word, or giving expression to a feeling of unkindness to any party. He presided at the

MAJOR THOMAS BIDDLE
Principal in the fated Pettis-Biddle duel

THE ROY WINDMILL TOWER OPPOSITE WHICH THE DUELS WERE FOUGHT ON BLOODY ISLAND

meeting of the friends of Mr. Pettis, who met to give expression to their regrets, wrote the account of the duel in a calm, dignified and impartial style, which Doctor Linn and I took from his residence down to the St. Louis Beacon, a paper published by Colonel Charles Keemle. This notice was copied into almost all of the papers of the United States."

One of the earliest accounts of this duel, thought to be, from the description, written by Benton, read: "The pistols were then loaded, and put in the hands of the principals, who were stationed at the distance of five feet apart. The seconds then stood at right angles between the principals. The seconds then cocked their pistols, keeping their eyes on each other and on their principals. They had thrown up for positions, when Pettis had won the choice. Everything being ready, the pistols having been loaded, cocked and primed, and put into the hands of the principals, the words were pronounced, according to the rule of dueling—'Are you ready?' Both answered, 'We are.' The seconds then counted—'One-two-three.'

"After the word was given both principals fired with outstretched arms. The pistols were twelve or fifteen inches in length and they lapped and struck against each other, as they were discharged. There was scarcely any chance for either to escape instant death. They both fired so simultaneously, that the people on the shore heard only one report, and both men fell at the same time." The seconds in this duel were Captain Thomas and Major Ben O'Fallon.

Rev. Dr. Eliot's Protest.

The growing sentiment in St. Louis against dueling found ways of manifesting itself. In November, 1836, William Greenleaf Eliot, who created Washington University, came to St. Louis to live—a young man, a Unitarian minister just ordained. One of his first letters to friends "back east" contained this: "We had a duel here yesterday between two young fools, lawyers. Neither hurt and will probably fight again. If I can do it incog, I mean to give them a basting in the way of the ridiculous."

St. Louis newspaper reports of duels were, as a rule, quite brief. In 1837 the Missouri Republican disposed of one of these affairs in this manner:

"Duel—A meeting took place yesterday a little before sundown on Bloody Island between Mr. William C. Skinner and Mr. William S. Meservey, of this city, in which the latter, on the first fire, received a flesh wound just below the knee. His antagonist escaped unhurt."

Three years later occurred a meeting in which the editor of the Republican was a principal. Adam Black Chambers was "called out" by Thomas B. Hudson, a young Tennesseean. Soon after beginning the practice of law in St. Louis Hudson entered politics. He became a member of the city council, the city counselor, a member of the legislature, and ran for Congress as an anti-Benton candidate. In 1840 there was held a Democratic Van Buren rally at Creve Cœur Lake, in St. Louis County. Hudson was one of the speakers. A disturbance of serious character interrupted the meeting. Some correspondent wrote an account of the trouble for a St. Louis paper and signed the communication "Veritas." In the course of the description of the row Hudson was given credit for "bold and fearless conduct." The Missouri Republican was supporting the Whig can-

didate for President, William Henry Harrison. It published a communication upon the Creve Cœur meeting, intimating that Hudson was "Veritas," and that he had described himself as a hero. The Republican went further, editorially endorsing the communication and saying: "We have the word of several gentlemen, and some of them Loco-focos, saying that a more disgraceful, unbecoming proceeding has not transpired during the canvass than this was. We particularly invite the attention of the author of 'Veritas,' reported to be the 'bold and fearless Mr. Hudson,' to this communication."

The attention was given quickly. Hudson challenged Mr. Chambers. The editor of the Republican accepted. The duel was fought with rifles at forty paces. It took place on Bloody Island in the early morning.

Hudson was accompanied by Charles Bent and John H. Watson. Chambers' friends were Martin Thomas and W. Gordon. Three times the word was given and the rifles were discharged. Nobody was hurt. The seconds refused to permit any more shooting. Principals, seconds and surgeons came back to St. Louis, went to the residence of Colonel Chambers, and passed the rest of the day in banqueting. The seconds joined in a card to the newspapers stating that the principals had acted with coolness and bravery.

John B. Clark, "Old Bustamente," of Fayette, had his experience with the code in that same campaign. He gave the writer this account of it: "When I ran for governor in 1840, I wrote a letter about some man being a rascal, and I spelled it wrong,—put in a 'k' I believe, instead of a 'c.' Claib Jackson was a bitter political enemy of mine. He wrote a piece about the letter in which he commented on my spelling. It was a mighty severe article. Abiel Leonard, afterward supreme judge, and I were friends, and I showed him the piece. He said I ought to fight. I sent a challenge. Jackson agreed to fight and named a place right in the edge of town here (Fayette). That was the same day the article about my spelling came out in the paper. We both were arrested before the fight could be had. I turned in and published Jackson as a coward. I said the article was a mean and cowardly attack. He had accepted my challenge and had named a place where he knew there couldn't be a fight. I had this printed in handbills and put them up on the corners. Of course, after that, I meant to shoot wherever we met, and we went prepared; but friends interfered and fixed it up. Jackson and I afterwards became friends. That was about the extent of my connection with dueling, except that I carried a challenge from Leonard to Taylor Berry in 1823. That trouble started about a speech Leonard had made. Berry horsewhipped Leonard, and the latter sent a challenge. I delivered it, meeting Berry on one of the corners downtown. They met and Berry was killed."

The Blair-Pickering Affair.

The next noteworthy resort to the code in Missouri was by Francis P. Blair, Jr., and Lorenzo Pickering. And that, too, was about Benton. Pickering was conducting the Union and had made it anti-Benton. Blair was foremost among the younger adherents of Benton. Pickering assailed Blair so bitterly in the Union that Blair, although opposed to the code, sent a challenge. Blair's "friend" in the transaction was Thomas T. Gantt, afterward judge of the court of appeals. In his acceptance, Pickering exercised the right of the challenged to name the time and place; he did it in such manner as to make the duel impos-

sible. His stipulation was that the meeting must take place at Fourth and Pine streets; that the hour must be twelve o'clock noon. Blair "posted" Pickering. That is to say, he denounced him as a coward. A few days later the men met on Chestnut street. The sidewalk was narrow. Pickering stepped off into the roadway. He either drew a knife or made a motion as if to do so. Blair thrust his umbrella forward into Pickering's face, making a mark which was visible several days.

A short time afterward there was held a Free-Soil meeting at night in the rotunda of the courthouse, then a favorite place for political gatherings. Blair made a speech. He started to leave by the Fourth street front. As he stepped through the door out on the portico, which was semicircular, instead of the present form of architecture, a man greeted him with "Good evening, Mr. Blair."

The words were spoken loudly. Acknowledging the salutation, Blair continued across the portico to the steps leading down to the street. Another man standing at the bottom of the steps fired and ran. The ball went by. Blair drew his pistol and fired. He ran down the steps and fired again, but without effect. At the inquiry which followed, suspicion pointed to Doctor Prefontaine, a writer on the Union, as the one who had given the loud greeting. It was supposed that this was done to give notice to the person standing at the bottom of the steps that Blair was coming. There was no positive identification of the one who fired. Street lamps were not lighted, because, as one witness explained, it was a "corporation moonlight" night. Pickering was arrested on suspicion, but was discharged. The proof against him was not positive, but the real reason why the case was not pushed was a secret agreement or understanding that he would leave Missouri. Pickering went to California with the goldseekers, started a paper in San Francisco and became widely known and wealthy. Blair and Gantt were summoned to court for participating in a challenge to fight a duel. They pleaded guilty and were fined $1 each. The district attorney who prosecuted was Samuel T. Glover, who became one of the leaders of the St. Louis bar twenty years later. The judge who imposed the fine was James B. Colt, a brother of the maker of Colt's revolvers.

The Blair-Pickering affair was far-reaching in its relationship to newspaper destinies in St. Louis. With the departure of Pickering, the Union not only changed hands, but entered upon a new political course. It took up the fight for Benton in his appeal from the pro-slavery resolutions of the Missouri legislature. Blair and Brown contributed most of the editorials. Brown found newspaper work to his liking. When in the summer of 1852, Giles F. and O. D. Filley, John How and a few others thought the time was opportune for a distinctively Free Soil paper in St. Louis, Blair and Brown joined them. The business men furnished the capital. Blair and Brown contributed the political and editorial talent. William McKee, who had a large job printing establishment, supplied the mechanical plant, and took a half interest in the venture. The Signal, which had been conducted as a morning paper by a group of printers on a co-operative plan, was purchased. The name of "Missouri Democrat" was chosen. The Union was absorbed.

The Blair-Price Feud.

A personal feud between Francis P. Blair and Sterling Price continued several years. Under different conditions it would on two occasions have led to a duel. In his unpublished memoir, preserved by the Missouri Historical Society, Thomas C. Reynolds wrote of the feud and of its important bearing upon Missouri politics:

"I have heard the statement of both in regard to it, from Mr. Blair at Jefferson City in January, 1857, and from General Price at Camden, Ark., in the summer of 1864. Mr. Blair considered his arrest as a piece of tyranny and an outrage on him by General Price, then U. S. military governor of New Mexico, and attributed it to personal malice. Even after the lapse of ten years (1857) he spoke of it with great bitterness, and as fully justifying his violent philippic in the Missouri legislature against General Price when governor of the state. He justified his personal abuse of Governor Price at the time when their respective official positions prevented the governor from demanding 'satisfaction,' on the ground that he was retaliating for an outrage committed on him at the time when their respective positions in New Mexico prevented, and indeed precluded for all time his seeking redress for it from General Price; that as he had had to pocket the outrage he insulted Governor Price in a speech at a time when the latter would have to pocket the insult in like manner. Mr. Blair added, 'I consider him, however, a man of such courage that I believe he would have given his right hand to have been able, without violating his duty, to resign the governorship and challenge me.' This feud with Mr. F. P. Blair, Jr., and with his family, who shared his resentment, was considered to have influenced General Price in his desertion of Colonel Benton in 1852, the period at which the latter, more publicly than he had previously done, entrusted the management of his political fortunes in Missouri to F. P. Blair, Jr., Hon. Montgomery Blair, his brother, and Mr. B. Gratz Brown, his cousin, all of St. Louis, and allied himself more closely than ever with Mr. Francis P. Blair, Sr., at Washington City. But in General Price's own account of the matter to me in 1864, he treated the New Mexico incident as a petty quarrel between Mr. Blair and some subaltern officer, with which he as governor of New Mexico had really little to do, and in regard to which Mr. Blair's resentment had greatly surprised him; in general his account treated the matter very lightly, and as of little importance in determining his subsequent relations with the Blairs, against whom neither his manner nor his language evinced any personal ill-feeling."

The last duel on Bloody Island was just before the outbreak of the Civil war. It was bloodless. The principals were General D. M. Frost and Edward B. Sayers, both well known in St. Louis and both afterwards in Confederate army. Sayers was a civil engineer. He laid out Camp Jackson in the spring of 1861. He was active in the state militia. Frost was brigadier-general, commanding the militia of the St. Louis district. After the return of what was known as the Southwest Expedition, a movement of Missouri troops to Southwestern Missouri to meet expected troubles on the Kansas border, Sayers indulged in some criticism of General Frost. The latter went to Sayers' office, which was on Chestnut street, near Second, and applied a horsewhip. Sayers challenged and Frost accepted. At the meeting on Bloody Island, Sayers missed and Frost fired in the air.

Edwards—Foster.

Late in the decade, 1870-80, an editorial controversy occurred between the St. Louis Times and the St. Louis Journal. The editor of the latter was Emory S. Foster. John N. Edwards was editor of the Times. The managers of a county fair on the northern border of Illinois conceived the enterprising idea that the

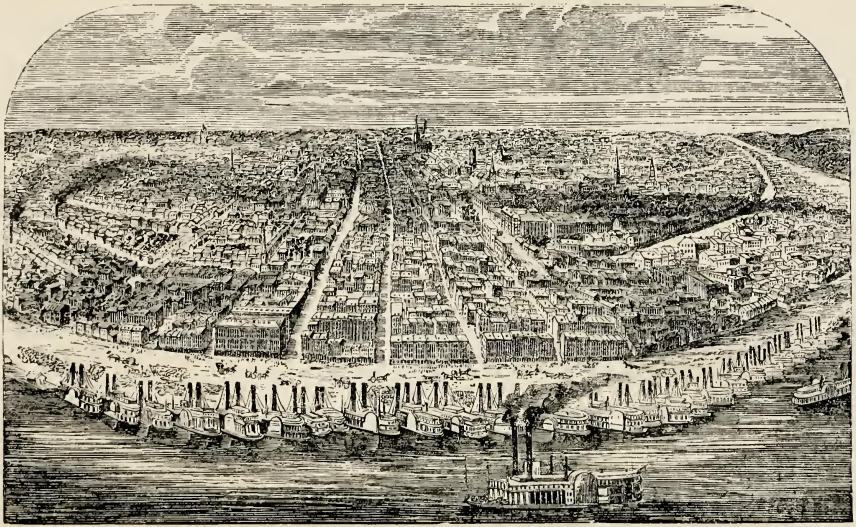
presence of Jefferson Davis would be a drawing card. They extended the invitation and made public their action. The press of the country commented vigorously. Davis declined the invitation. The ex-Confederate editor of the Times and the ex-Federal editor of the Journal kept up the fire. On one side it was intimated that Davis' declination was probably just as well, as it might have been embarrassing to have the ex-President of the Confederacy discover in the North some of the silverware carried home by returning Union soldiers. Foster denounced the insinuation in words that reflected upon the editor of the Times. Edwards challenged. Foster accepted and chose for the place of meeting Winnebago County, the Illinois locality where the invitation to Davis had been extended. And to Winnebago County the principals journeyed, attended by Morrison Mumford and P. S. O'Reilly for Edwards and by Harrison Branch and W. D. W. Barnard for Foster. The party reached the appointed locality, drove out into the country a few miles and exchanged shots. The duel was bloodless. The dignity of Illinois was outraged and for a time there was much talk of prosecution under the anti-dueling statute, but it died down.

Bowman—Glover.

In 1883 Frank J. Bowman challenged John M. Glover,—both of them St. Louis lawyers. He began the correspondence by demanding an apology from Glover for epithets such as "You lied, you rogue," "You are a scamp," "Shut your mouth," and the like, which he said Glover had applied to him in various cases where they had appeared on opposite sides. Glover replied "That whatever language I may have used toward you upon the various occasions referred to was fully justified by the provocations at the time." He declined to apologize. The negotiations which followed were notable chiefly because of the prominent citizens of St. Louis who became more or less interested. Bowman selected Celsus Price and R. S. MacDonald as his friends and put in Price's hands a challenge. Price waited upon Glover and asked him to name his friends. Glover selected Captain Silas Bent and T. T. Gantt. Gerard B. Allen and Edwin Harrison were asked by friends of Mr. Bowman and Mr. Glover to submit a plan of adjustment. While negotiations were supposed to be in progress, Glover complicated the situation by swearing out a warrant against Bowman charging him with having committed perjury in certain testimony given about the St. Louis Times in 1881. It was proposed to arbitrate the differences between the two lawyers. Mr. Bowman's friends selected General D. M. Frost as their arbitrator. George A. Madill was asked to act as arbitrator on the part of Mr. Glover but declined. The gentlemen who had suggested arbitration finally gave up the effort to bring it about. The formal challenge was delivered to Glover, who declined to take any notice of it. This affair between Bowman and Glover constituted the last chapter in the history of the code in Missouri. The letters were drawn up with much form. All of the usual technicalities were observed. Glover gave as his reasons for ignoring the challenge that it was backdated about eight days before the delivery and secondly that the offenses complained of by Bowman were some of them months old when the challenge was received and that he had sworn out a warrant charging Bowman with a felony before the challenge.

Vest on the Code.

During his memorable oration upon Benton at the time of the unveiling of a statue in Statuary Hall at Washington Senator George G. Vest offered this palliating view of the Lucas duel: "All this sounds to us now as semi-barbarous, and yet if we carry ourselves back to the age in which this event occurred and place ourselves in the position public men then held, it will, I think, charitably be admitted that, entertaining the opinion he did and in the community he lived, Benton could hardly have done anything else. Dueling was then an institution. No man could remain in public or social life without ostracism who refused what they called a challenge to the field of honor. All the distinguished men of the United States fought duels. When Randolph and Clay fought, in sight of this Capitol, members of the Cabinet and members of the Senate and House of Representatives, among whom was Colonel Benton, were present as spectators. Jackson had killed his adversary in a duel. Houston had fought a duel and wounded his opponent severely. Davy Crockett acknowledged the obligations of the duello and participated in it; and it was not until Hamilton fell before the deadly pistol of Aaron Burr that even the people of the conservative, God-fearing North came to a full realization of the terrible nature of this institution."



A VIEW OF ST. LOUIS IN 1860

CHAPTER VII.

THE WATERS OF MISSOURI.

Boatable, Potable, Powerful, Medicinal—Robert Fulton's Proposition—Navigation by Pirogue—Arrival of the Pike—The Missouri Mastered—Trip of the Independence to Franklin—A Great Celebration—Newspaper Congratulations—Captain Joseph Brown's Reminiscences—Primitive Construction and no Schedules—Firing a Salute—Famous Missouri Pilots—The Record of Disasters—The Edna, the Bedford and the Saluda—Search for Sunken Treasure—Lost Cargoes of Whiskey—Captain Hunter Ben Jenkins—The Shifting Channel—The Missouri Belle and the Buttermilk—Up Grand River—The First Steamboat on the Upper Osage—Uncle John Whitley's Hunt for a Mysterious Monster—Some Notable Captains—Rise and Decline of Missouri River Traffic—Seventy-one Steamers in the Trade—The Rush of the Forty-niners—Jonathan Bryan's Water Mill—Possibilities of Power Ignored—An Expert's Facts—Mammoth Springs—The White River Plant—Beginnings of Hydro-Electric Development—Lebanon's Magnetic Water—Benton's Bethesda—Monegaw's One Hundred Mineral Waters—Meanderings of the White—Navigation at Forsyth—Lines on "Two Ancient Misses."

I believe this is the finest confluence in the world. The two rivers are much of the same breadth, each about half a league, but the Missouri is by far the most rapid, and seems to enter the Mississippi like a conqueror, through which it carries its white waves to the opposite shore without mixing them. Afterward it gives its color to the Mississippi, which it never loses again, but carries quite down to the sea.—*Charlevoix on the Mouth of the Missouri.*

Running water is the most valuable natural asset of the people.—*President Roosevelt's Message to Congress, February, 1908.*

Missouri has a little more than one acre of water to one hundred acres of land. This is surface, running water. Missouri has few lakes. The underground rivers and veins are not taken into account.

Missouri has water for transportation. The entire eastern frontage and half of the western frontage is on navigable water. The State is bisected by navigable water.

Missouri has water for power. No other State, perhaps no other country, presents conditions so encouraging to the coming energy—the hydro-electric.

Missouri has water for medicine. The spas are many and of endless variety in constituents.

Governor William Clark and Thomas H. Benton, in the days before steamboats, undertook to estimate what they called "the boatable waters" of the Mississippi and tributaries. They made the navigable distance 50,000 miles—30,000 above and 20,000 below St. Louis. "Of course," wrote Mr. Benton, long afterwards, "we counted all the infant streams on which a flat, a keel or a bateau could be floated." The pirogue was the freightboat on the Mississippi before steam. It was built like a barge of a later period. The length varied from thirty-five to sixty feet; the depth from twelve to fifteen feet. One of these craft could carry thirty to forty tons of freight. The pirogue was poled in shallow water. It was towed by a long line like a canal boat. Three months was the time required

to make the trip from New Orleans to St. Louis. The freight rate on most articles was a cent a pound.

Up the Missouri by Pirogue.

What navigation on the Missouri meant during the pioneer period Henry M. Brackenridge described in his Journal. He accompanied a fur trading expedition: "We set off from the village of St. Charles on Tuesday, the 2nd of April, 1811, with delightful weather. The flood of March, which immediately succeeds the breaking up of the ice, had begun to subside and yet the water was still high. Our barge was the best that ever ascended this river and was manned by twenty stout oarsmen. Mr. Lisa, who had been a sea captain, took much pains in rigging his boat with a good mast and main and top sail, these being great helps in the navigation of this river. Our equipage is chiefly composed of young men, though several have already made a voyage to the upper Missouri, of which they are exceedingly proud, and on that account claim a kind of precedence over the rest of the crew. We are in all twenty-five men, and completely prepared for defense. Besides a swivel on the bow of the boat, which, in case of attack, would make a formidable appearance, we have, also, two brass blunderbusses in the cabin, one over my berth and the other over that of Mr. Lisa. These precautions were absolutely necessary from the hostility of the Sioux bands, who, of late, had committed several murders and robberies on the whites and manifested such a disposition that it was believed to be impossible for us to pass through their country. The greater part of the merchandise, which consisted of strouding, blankets, lead, tobacco, knives, guns, beads, etc., was concealed in a false cabin, ingeniously contrived for the purpose; in this way presenting as little as possible to tempt the savages. But we hope that as this was not the season for wandering tribes to come on the river, the autumn being the usual time, we might pass by unnoticed. We came in sight of Fort Osage, at the distance of three miles off the bluff and a long stretch of river before us. We had now come three hundred miles upon our voyage. And for the last hundred had seen no settlement or met anyone, except a few traders or hunters who passed us in canoes. With the exception of a few spots, where the ravages of fire had destroyed the woods, we passed through a continued forest presenting the most dreary aspect. Our approach once more to the haunts of civilization, to a fort where we should meet with friends, and perhaps find a temporary resting place, inspired us with cheerfulness. The song was raised with more than usual glee; the can of whiskey was sent around and the air was rent with shouts of encouragement."

Brackenridge described Fort Osage as handsomely situated, "about one hundred feet above the level of the river, which makes an elbow at the place, giving an extensive view up and down the river. Its form is triangular, its size but small, not calculated for more than a company of men. A group of buildings is formed by the factory and settler's house. The place is called 'Fire Prairie.' It is something better than three hundred miles from the mouth of the river."

"We have now passed the last settlement of whites," Brackenridge continued in his journal, "and probably will not revisit them for several months. This reflection seemed to have taken possession of the minds of all. Our men were kept from thinking too deeply by their songs and the splashing of oars,

THE MOREAU

KEEL BOAT ON THE OSAGE RIVER

which kept time with them. Lisa, himself, seized the helm and gave the song, and, at the close of every stanza, made the woods ring with his shouts of encouragement. The whole was intermixed with short and pithy addresses to their fears, their hopes or their ambition."

Brackenridge said of the creole boatmen: "I believe an American could not be brought to support with patience the fatiguing labors and submission which these men endure. At this season when the water is exceedingly cold, they leap in without a moment's hesitation. Their food consists of lye corn hominy for breakfast, a slice of fat pork and biscuit for dinner, and a pot of mush with a pound of tallow in it for supper."

A Steamboat Monopoly Turned Down.

In 1810, Robert Fulton, of steamboat fame, addressed a memorial "To the Honorable Legislature of Upper Louisiana." Associated with Fulton in the proposition was Robert R. Livingston. According to the memorial both Fulton and Livingston were "native citizens of the United States and residing in the State of New York." The memorial set forth that New York, to encourage the establishment of steamboats on the waters of that state, had granted to them exclusive right to navigate boats, impelled by force of steam, for twenty years for the first boat and five years for each succeeding boat, the whole term not to exceed thirty years. The petitioners explained that they had already constructed two boats, one of which they called the North River steamboat and the other the Car of Neptune. The North River steamboat, they said, had been running voyages of 160 miles between New York and Albany since July, 1807. The Car of Neptune had been making voyages between New York and Albany since September, 1809.

The petitioners stated that their associate, Mr. Roosevelt, had made an examination of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in the summer of 1809, examining the depths and velocities of the two rivers. He had reported such conditions as led Mr. Fulton and Mr. Livingston to conclude these rivers might be navigated by steamboats. The petitioners were willing to make the venture provided they could secure what they deemed proper encouragement in the way of exclusive privilege. The memorial concluded with the following proposition to the legislative body of Upper Louisiana, of which St. Louis was the seat of government:

"For these reasons, and to encourage the immediate establishment of steamboats on the waters of your State, and particularly on the Ohio and Mississippi, your petitioners pray that, after the example of the State of New York, you will grant them the exclusive right to navigate the waters of your State or Territory, with boats moved by steam or fire, on the following conditions:

"First, that three years from the time of passing the law your petitioners will build a boat on the Ohio or Mississippi river, to move by the force of steam, which shall be capable of carrying seventy tons of merchandise, produce or material, and move at the rate of at least three and one-half miles an hour in still water—if they do not comply with these conditions the law shall be null and void.

"Second, that in all cases they will not charge more than three-fourths of the sum which is usually paid for carrying merchandise or materials of any kind on said rivers to any given or equal distance to which the boats now transport them.

"Third, that they will perform the voyage in less than three-fourths of the time which is now usually required by the mercantile boats to navigate said rivers to any given point where steamboats can go with safety.

"Fourth, that on establishing the first boat, the governor will appoint a committee of three persons to report on the performance of the boat; and if they find that your petitioners have complied with the terms of the contract, the law to be confirmed in favor of said Livingston and Fulton."

The petition, as the memorandum on the back of it indicates, was "presented October 10, 1810." The disposition is indicated by the following endorsement: "Ordered to lie on the table October 23, 1810. Taken into consideration and postponed until next session." The legislature sitting at St. Louis did not accept the proposition of Robert Fulton.

The First Steamboat.

Seven years elapsed before the first steamboat reached St. Louis. That was the Zebulon M. Pike. It was a very primitive affair. The hull was built like a barge. The power was a low pressure engine, with a walking beam. The wheels had no wheel houses. The boat had but one smokestack. Where the current was rapid the crew used poles to help out the steam power. The Pike ran only by daylight. The trip from Louisville to St. Louis and return required four weeks. One account of it gives the time as six weeks. The General Pike was such an object of curiosity that Captain Jacob Reed charged the St. Louisans who wished to come on board a dollar apiece. The admission was not prohibitive. Several times the boat became so crowded that the captain stopped receiving and waited for those on the deck to go ashore. The mention of the coming and going of the Pike was made very briefly by the Missouri Gazette.

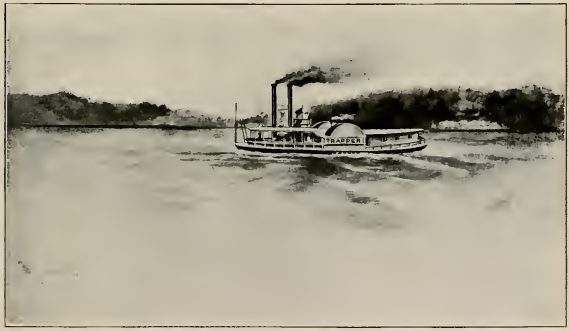
The year after the coming of the Pike, some Ohio river men built a steamboat they called the St. Louis and sent her around to that port. Captain Hewes invited a number of leading citizens to take a ride up to the mouth of Missouri. The Gazette in its next issue reported that "the company on board was large and genteel and the entertainment very elegant." One thing that affected the early interest of St. Louis in steamboating was the general doubt about steam navigation of the Missouri. The Pike had made three and three-quarter miles against the Ohio current. If that was the best the steam engine afloat could do, the motive power would not succeed on the Missouri.

About the first of May, 1819, the Maid of Orleans came into port at St. Louis. She had steamed from Philadelphia to New Orleans and then up the Mississippi to St. Louis. That same month the Independence left St. Louis and went up the Mississippi and the Missouri as far as Franklin, near Boonville. She was thirteen days on the way but she did it and unloaded her cargo of flour, whiskey, sugar, iron castings. Then indeed the town of Laclede sat up and marveled. Colonel Charless acknowledged his skepticism and glorified the new era of steam navigation. He published in the Gazette this congratulation: "In 1817, less than two years ago, the first steamboat arrived in St. Louis. We hailed it as the day of small things, but the glorious consummation of all our wishes is daily arriving. Who would or could have dared to conjecture that in 1819 we would have witnessed the arrival of a steamboat from Philadelphia or New York. Yet such is the fact. The Mississippi has become familiar to this great American invention and another new avenue is open."

A month later when the Independence had returned from the first navigation of the Missouri by steam the Gazette said: "This trip forms a proud event

WILSON PRICE HUNT

MAJOR BENJAMIN O'FALLON



PIONEER STEAMBOAT ON THE MISSOURI

in the history of Missouri. The Missouri has hitherto resisted almost effectually all attempts at navigation. She has opposed every obstacle she could to the tide of immigration which was rolling up her banks and dispossessing her dear red children, but her white children, although children by adoption, have become so numerous and are increasing so rapidly that she is at last obliged to yield them her favor. The first attempt to ascend her by steam has succeeded, and we anticipate the day as speedy when the Missouri will be as familiar to steamboats as the Mississippi or Ohio. Captain Nelson merits and will receive deserved credit for his enterprise and public spirit in this undertaking."

A Coming Centennial.

The centennial anniversary of steamboat navigation on the Missouri River will come in 1919. On the 28th of May, 1819, Captain John Nelson brought his boat, the Independence, to the bank at Franklin in Howard County. He had made the trip of one hundred and fifty miles from St. Louis in thirteen days although upon only seven of the thirteen had the paddle wheels been moving. Franklin celebrated the arrival of the Independence. A cannon salute was fired from the town and returned from the boat. Among the passengers were Colonel Elias Rector, Stephen Rector, Captain Desha, J. C. Mitchell, Dr. Stewart J. Wanton and Major J. T. Wilcox. Rector and other citizens of St. Louis had encouraged the trip by Captain Nelson. Under the agreement with them the boat was to ascend the Missouri River to Chariton, near Glasgow. The St. Louis people contributed the money necessary for the charter in order to show that steam navigation was possible on the Missouri River. The Independence carried a considerable cargo of flour, whiskey, sugar, iron and castings. The significance of the trip was set forth in the Missouri Intelligencer, the second newspaper to be established west of the Mississippi. It was published by Nathaniel Patton and Benjamin Holliday, and had been issued only three or four weeks previous to the arrival of the Independence. The press upon which the Intelligencer was printed is treasured among the relics of the Missouri Historical Society in Jefferson Memorial at St. Louis. The Intelligencer printed this account of the steamboat's arrival:

"With no ordinary sensations of pride and pleasure we announce the arrival this morning (May 28) of the elegant steamboat Independence, Capt. Nelson. The grand desideratum, the important fact, is now ascertained, that steamboats can safely navigate the Missouri river. A respectable gentleman, a passenger in the Independence, who has for a number of years traveled the great Western States, informs us that it is his opinion that with a little precaution in keeping clear of sandbars the Missouri may be navigated with as much facility as the Mississippi or Ohio. Missourians may hail this era, from which to date the growing importance of this section of country; when they view with what facility (by the aid of steam) boats may ascend the turbulent waters of the Missouri, to bring to this part of the country the articles requisite to its supply, and return laden with the various products of this fertile region. At no distant period may we see the industrious cultivator making his way as high as the Yellowstone and offering to the enterprising merchant and trader a surplus worthy of the fertile banks of the Missouri, yielding wealth to industry and enterprise."

In the next issue the Intelligencer had the following prophetic editorial:

"We may truly regard this event as highly important, not only to the commercial but agricultural interests of the country. The practicability of steamboat navigation, being now clearly demonstrated by experiment, we shall be brought nearer to the Atlantic, West India

and European markets, and the abundant resources of our fertile and extensive region will be quickly developed. This interesting section of country, so highly favored by nature, will at no distant period, with the aid of science and enterprise, assume a dignified station among the great agricultural States of the West. The enterprise of Capt. Nelson cannot be too highly appreciated by the citizens of Missouri. He is the first individual who has attempted the navigation of the Missouri by steam power, a river that has hitherto borne the character of being very difficult and eminently dangerous in its navigation, but we are happy to state that his progress thus far has not been impeded by any serious accident."

The Banquet at Franklin.

In celebration of the arrival of the Independence the Franklin citizens gave a banquet to Captain Nelson and his passengers, at which numerous toasts were offered. Captain Asa Morgan presided and Nathaniel Hutchison was Vice-President. Walter Williams has written this account of the banquet:

"The celebration was no affair of midnight revelry, but of midday enjoyment. The dinner began at noon and the speeches lasted until sundown. Everybody was toasted and nearly everybody made an after-dinner speech. Nor were the toasts drunk in Missouri river water, either, but in a stronger beverage.

"Toasts at the Nelson dinner were of two kinds, regular and volunteer. 'The Missouri River' was, with appropriateness, first toasted with the sentiment thus rather curiously expressed: 'Its last wave will roll the abundant tribute of our region to the Mexican gulf, in reference to the auspices of this day.' Then followed, with equal appropriateness, 'The Memory of Robert Fulton,' of whom it was said: 'One of the most distinguished artists of his age. The Missouri river now bears upon her bosom the first effect of his genius for steam navigation.' The memory of Franklin, the philosopher and statesman, was next toasted: 'In anticipation of his country's greatness, he never recognized that a boat at this time would be propelled by steam so far westward to a town bearing his name, on the Missouri.' After the Missouri river, Fulton and Franklin, the captain of the boat was toasted: 'Capt. Nelson—the proprietor of the steamboat Independence. The imaginary dangers of the Missouri vanished before his enterprising genius.'

"Of Louisville, Franklin and Chariton it was said: 'They became neighbors by steam navigation.'

"Other regular toasts were: 'The Republican Government of the United States: By facilitating the intercourse between distant points, its benign influence may be diffused over the continent of North America.'

"'The Policy—Resulting in the expedition of the Yellowstone.'

"'South America—May an early day witness the navigation of the Amazon and La Plata by steam power, under the auspices of an independent power.'

"'International Improvement—The New York Canal, an unperishable monument of the patriotism and genius of its projector.'

"'The Missouri Territory—Desirous to be numbered with States on constitutional principles, but determined never to submit to congressional usurpation.'

"'James Monroe—President of the United States.'

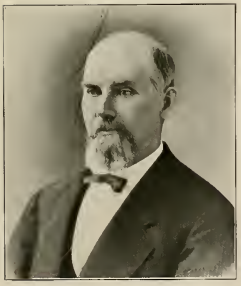
"'The Purchase of the Floridas—A hard bargain.'

"For the last regular toast was given, with no word of comment, 'The American Fair.'

"Capt. Nelson spoke briefly: 'I will ever bear in grateful remembrance the liberality and hospitality of the citizens of Franklin.' J. C. Mitchell, one of the boat's passengers, praised Gen. T. A. Smith as 'the Cincinnatus of the West.' Another passenger, Maj. Thompson Douglas, complimented the citizens of Franklin as 'characterized by hospitality and generosity.' Lilburn W. Boggs, afterward governor of Missouri, proposed the health of Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson. John W. Scudder of Franklin toasted 'Our Guests—The passengers who ascended the Missouri in the Independence; they have the honor to be the first to witness the successful experiment of steam navigation on our noble river.'

"The two editors of the first Western newspaper were talkers as well as writers. Benjamin Holliday's sentiment was: 'The 28th of May, 1819—Franklin will long remember it

TRANSPORTATION ON THE MISSOURI RIVER



WILLIAM J. LEWIS

JOHN D. PERRY

and the Independence and her commander will be immortalized in history.' Nathanial Patten mixed politics and agriculture thus: 'The Missouri Territory—Its future prosperity and greatness can not be checked by the caprice of a few men in Congress while it possesses a soil of inexhaustible fertility, abundant resources and a body of intelligent, enterprising, independent freemen.'

"Augustus Storrs spoke of the late Capt. Lawrence with praise. It was Capt. Lawrence who uttered the words, 'Don't give up the ship,' in the memorable naval battle between the Constitution and the Guerriere. For him Lawrence county, Missouri, is named. J. R. Howard praised the genius of Robert Fulton. L. W. Jordan's sentiment was significant: 'The towns on the Missouri River—May they flourish in commerce and, like those on the Ohio and Mississippi, witness the daily arrival or departure of some steamboat ascending or descending the majestic stream.' Toasts by Dr. J. J. Lowry and Maj. Richard Gentry to the president and vice-president of the day closed the brilliant celebration."

Steamboating in Pioneer Days.

When Missouri entered the Union there was not a steamboat owned in the State although this improvement in transportation was in use on the Ohio and Lower Mississippi. Above St. Louis the navigation was by barges. A decade after the Pike crept up to the St. Louis bank and half paddled, half floated away Missourians looked with conservatism upon steamboating. Along the Ohio nearly one hundred steamboats had been built and put in operation before this State became to the trade anything more than landing places. Steamboats came, unloaded, loaded and left. In 1825 the Missouri Republican commented on the surprising fact that the two boats, the Brown and the Magnet, were lying up at this port for repairs: "We believe this is the first instance of a steamboat remaining here through the season of low water." The primitive conditions of pioneer steamboating were described by Captain Joseph Brown in a paper read before the Missouri Historical Society. Captain Brown wrote of what he had seen and known as boy and man:

"They had but one engine, and no 'doctor' or donkey engine. The boats themselves, and particularly those for the upper rivers, were small, sometimes made like a flatboat, with broad bow and stern, and a stern wheel. There was nothing above the boiler deck but the pilothouse and the chimneys, or rather one chimney, for they had cylinder boilers; that is, there were no flues in the boilers. Having but one engine, the shaft ran clean across the boat, and when at a landing the engine had to run the pump to supply the boilers with water, the wheels had to be uncoupled to let the engine work. As I said before, the doctor engine had not been invented, and I do not doubt that many explosions occurred for the lack of it.

"The cabin was a very primitive affair. It was on the lower deck, back of the shaft, in the after part of the boat. There were no staterooms then, but, like a canal boat, there were curtains in front of the berths. It was quite common to see a bowsprit sticking out in front of the boat, such as are used on ships, but, being useless, they were soon dispensed with. Stages had not been invented then. Two or three planks were used, and, if need be, tied together. Whistles were unknown, but bells were rung, and the captains were very proud of a big bell. For a number of years there was no signal for passing or meeting boats, and the result was many collisions.

"There were no regular packets then. A boat started from Pittsburg was just as likely to go to St. Paul as anywhere, or up any of the other rivers, and they had no regular hours or even days of starting. I have known boats to have steam up for a week, telling people and shippers the boat was going in an hour, and even have their planks taken in, all but one, and then launch their planks out again. All this was done to decoy people on board. The clanging of bells, the hurrah of agents and the pulling and hauling of cabmen and runners were most confusing, more particularly to unsophisticated emigrants. There was no fixed price for anything; it was all a matter of bargain, and very often great deception

was practiced. The engines being small and very imperfect in those days, the boats were very slow. I have known some of the boats in the case of a sudden rise in the river and consequent strong current, to be unable to stem it at the old waterworks point, which was at the foot of Carr street. They would have to go over to the other side of the river and fight it out there, sometimes for hours, in sight of the city.

"The Eagle was one of the first boats to run between St. Louis and Alton. She had one engine, was a side-wheeler, about 18 feet beam and 75 feet long. She carried about 50 tons, and it took her about seven hours to go to Alton. She was commanded by that veteran steamboat man, Captain Lamothe.

"In 1849, when the gold fever was at its height, there were fifty-eight fine steamers plying regularly on the Missouri river; on the Upper Mississippi, about seventy-five; on the Illinois, twenty-eight fine steamers; to New Orleans, about one hundred; on the Ohio, about one hundred and fifty; on the Tennessee, about fifteen. Owing to the rush of emigration at that time, boats could not be built fast enough. It was said of a certain boat-yard at Freedom, Pennsylvania, that they kept a lot of the straight bodies of boats put up. When a man wanted a boat, they took him down to the yard and asked him how long he wanted her; then just put two ends onto a body and he had a boat. But a really fast and fine boat cost about $100,000 to $150,000 and took about eight months to build. The average life of a boat was about five years. After that they were either torn up to build a more modern boat, or had sunk or blown up. Need I tell you that in one bend in the river there lie the wrecks of one hundred and three steamboats, between St. Louis and Cairo?"

When Edmund Flagg came from Boston to be the editor of a St. Louis paper about 1838 he was much entertained with the firing of a salute: "As we drew nigh to Alton the fireman of our steamer deemed proper, in testimonial of the dignity of our arrival, to let off a certain rusty old swivel which chanced to be on board; and to have witnessed the marvelous fashion in which this marvelous manœuver was executed by our worthies would have pardoned a smile on the visage of Heraclitus himself. 'One lanky-limbed genius held a huge dipper of gunpowder; another, seizing upon the extremity of a hawser and severing a generous fragment, made use thereof for wadding; a third rammed home the charge with that fearful weapon wherewith he poked the furnaces; while a fourth, honest wight, all preparations being complete, advanced with a shovel of glowing coals, which, poured upon the touchhole, the old piece was briefly delivered of its charge, and the woods and shore and welkin rang with the roar."

The Perils of River Navigation.

The steamboat era made a record for casualty and mortality which was appalling. St. Louis newspaper files show that during the eighteen years preceding 1852 twenty-seven steamboats exploded their boilers, and that in the twenty-seven explosions there were killed 1,002 persons. In the eighteen years subsequent to 1852 fifty-four boats met with disaster. The number of fatalities was 3,100. The first serious explosion occurred as early as 1816. "The Washington" blew up, destroying nine lives. The climax in the series of disasters was reached when the Sultana exploded her boilers in 1864, killing 1,647 people, most of them returning soldiers. The explosions which cost fifty lives or more were those of the Ellen McGregor in 1836; the Blackhawk in 1837; the Orinoco in 1838; the General Brown in 1838; the H. W. Johnston in 1846; the Edward Bates in 1847; Louisiana in 1849; Princess in 1859; Ben Sherrod in 1861; Pennsylvania in 1862; Anglo-Norman in 1850; Glencoe in 1852; W. R. Arthur in 1871.

On the second of July, 1842, the Steamer Edna left St. Louis bound up the Missouri River carrying about one hundred passengers. Most of the people were

BOAT WITH CORDELLE, SAIL AND POLES USED BY PIONEER MISSOURIANS

German immigrants who were on their way to new homes along the Missouri. The boat stopped for a night near the mouth of the river, the intention being to start out at daylight. Many of the immigrants were deck passengers and lay down to sleep near the boilers. At daybreak the assistant engineer started the engine. Almost before the wheel had turned the boiler collapsed and the hot water was thrown over the deck passengers. The steamboats Iatan and Annawan were within sight. They came at once to the assistance of the Edna. The boat was towed back to St. Louis. The injured were transferred to the Sisters' Hospital. The dead numbered fifty-five. On the 4th of July was presented one of the saddest scenes in the history of the State. A public funeral was held at the courthouse, attended by thousands of citizens.

The Edna is at the head of the list of Missouri disasters in the number of lives lost. Next comes probably the Timour. The boilers of this boat exploded a short distance below Jefferson City in August, 1854. The force was terrific. It carried the boat's safe to the top of the bluff two hundred feet high overlooking the river. Between thirty and forty people were killed. For more than fifty years the decaying hull of the Timour could be seen on the shore during low water.

The Bedford struck a snag and went down just above the mouth of the Missouri River. This was in April, 1840, at night time. A storm was prevailing; the night was intensely dark. Under other conditions there probably would have been smaller loss of life. Fifteen people were drowned. The river channel has shifted since 1840 and the mouth of the Missouri is several miles lower down. The Bedford hull is said to be buried under the land of Missouri Point where wheat is now harvested. There were reports at the time of heavy losses in gold and silver. The boat's safe was said to contain at least $25,000 belonging to passengers, besides the cash carried for the boat management. According to one report a single passenger had $6,000 in gold in his trunk. Estimates of the gold and silver on the Bedford ran as high as $100,000.

The Saluda exploded her boilers at Lexington in April, 1852. Twenty-seven persons were killed. The Big Hatchey blew up at Hermann in July, 1845, with a number of fatalities.

Lost Treasure.

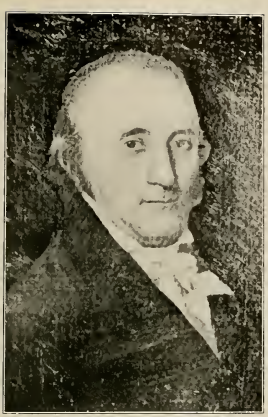
Search for sunken cargoes in the Missouri River has been made with optimism like to that for the hidden hoards in the Ozarks. It has been attended with about the same results. The disappointments have been many. Since the Independence showed that steam navigation on the Missouri River was practical there have been over three hundred steamboats wrecked in the Missouri. Some of them carried down cargoes the values of which were known. With other hulks were buried in the silt gold dust, silver bullion and Mexican dollars. Information as to the amounts of such treasure lost was not as a rule definite.

Between 1880 and 1890 many miners who were drawn to Montana and had struck it rich came back by way of Missouri River boats. They brought with them gold dust and silver bars. The steamboats bringing such passengers occasionally struck snags and went down so quickly that the precious metals were lost.

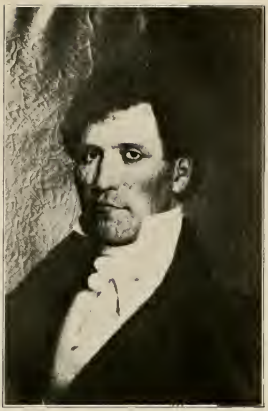
In August, 1865, the Twilight sunk just before sunrise twenty miles below Kansas City. She had left the channel in the fog and had struck a submerged sycamore tree. The bank was not far away. The boat went down leaving the pilot house and Texas above the water. Passengers escaped in their night clothes and were cared for by the farmers. The Twilight was heavily loaded and was bound for the head of navigation on the Missouri. One item of the cargo was three hundred barrels of whiskey. There were many barrels of oils, many tons of white lead, pig iron, stoves and stamp mills and engines for the mines. Government arms and a variety of valuable consignments were included in the cargo. Portions of the boat were in sight for some years during low water. Several attempts were made to recover portions of the cargo. Farmers lifted out two barrels of whiskey. At a later date the river shifted and the Twilight was buried completely in a sand bank. The flood of 1881 added to the silt. The wreck was buried under thirty-nine feet of sand and soil and by the change of the channel was half a mile from shore at low water. About twenty years ago, in the belief that the whiskey barrels were still whole and that the contents had improved from age, a company was formed in Kansas City to make search for the Twilight and to recover, if possible, what was still valuable of the cargo. The officers of the company obtained such information as they could from the settlers along that part of the river. They used long steel rods probing the sand to locate the wreck. After some days' work of this kind one of the rods struck metal which proved to be the engine used to feed the boilers. With more probing the exact location of the hulk was found. The Twilight was thirty-two feet wide, one hundred and eighty-five feet long. With machinery from Kansas City an air-tight caisson was built just over the hatches. It was sunk through the thirty-nine feet of sand in the same manner that excavation is made for bridge piers. The hull of the boat was reached. Several bottles of "Old London Gin, 1860" were taken out and carried to Kansas City and opened for tasting by experts at one of the clubs. One of the barrels of whiskey was tapped and the whiskey was pronounced to be better than the gin. News of the discovery spread. In many of the saloons in Kansas City "Twilight" whiskey was offered to customers although none of the genuine had been placed on sale. There was great excitement for several days over the results reported by the wreckers. A crowd of farmers gathered at the scene of operations. In a few days, however, the expectations failed and the work was given up.

There was special fascination in the search for sunken cargoes of whiskey. The Leodora went down after burning near Elk Point, South Dakota, carrying one hundred barrels of liquor. The search in that case disclosed only rusted metal and the rotting mass of one hundred forty-eight tons of miscellaneous freight. Some thousands of dollars were spent near Parkville, Missouri, by a company which hoped to recover one hundred and fifty barrels of whiskey in the hull of the Arabia, a steamboat that sunk in 1856. All that the searchers found which had resisted the decay of nearly a half century was a shipment of old wool hats.

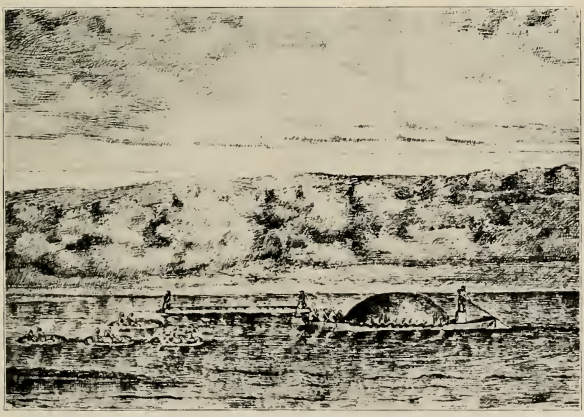
One of the boats which was said at the time to have carried a large amount of gold dust from the Montana mines was the Butte, which went down in July, 1883, near Fort Peck. The Butte's cargo was valued at $110,000. The Bertrand sunk in 1865, near Portage La Force. It was bound upstream and had as part of the



ANTOINE SOULARD



RUSSELL FARNHAM



BULL BOATS ON WHICH FURS WERE BROUGHT DOWN THE MISSOURI RIVER

cargo iron flasks containing more than $25,000 worth of quicksilver, consigned to mining camps in Montana. The Boreas burned in 1846 near Hermann and carried down a large amount of silver bullion and Mexican dollars. It was suspected that the boat was fired by thieves who had planned to steal the money and bullion in the excitement. The fire spread so rapidly that the men were forced to jump overboard without getting the treasure.

The channel of the Missouri River has changed so that in places it is now five miles distant from where it was sixty to seventy-five years ago. A Chariton farmer in digging a well found a Bible. On the cover was printed "Naomi." That was the name of the steamboat wrecked in that locality in 1840. The place where the well was dug is five miles from the Missouri River of to-day.

Days of the Pilots' Glory.

Successful pilots of Missouri river boats were looked upon with great respect. Navigation of the clear water, regular channel rivers was considered tame by comparison. It was said that the La Barges, Elisha Fine and navigators of their class knew where the existing sandbars were and where the next sandbars would form and could locate snags unerringly. A feat of the pilot known as Uncle Davy was to come down stream headed direct for a sandbar, slack up, poke the prow into the bar, swing around and back down stream by the only practicable channel left.

"I remember," said Captain Hunter Ben Jenkins, "when the steamer Dacotah came down the Missouri River to St. Louis with 16,756 sacks of wheat on four and one-half feet of water, mind you, and never set a spar on the whole trip. That's what we pilots used to do in the day when we were paid as high as $1,500 to $2,000 a month. You can get pretty near anything you want in this country if you want to pay, including good pilots—yes sir! Why I remember the day when young fellows not only didn't want any pay to learn the river, but would actually put up a couple of thousand dollars to the man who would teach them. They did the work and the pilot drew the pay. Those were great days. We didn't know what electric lights were in those days. We carried a torch basket of rosin, one on the starboard and one on the larboard side. Who were some of the boys? Well, there's a long string of mighty fine names. It's hard to say where to stop. There were the La Barges, Masseys, Teabeaus, Kaisers, Henry and Ed McPherson, Yores, Dillons, Lafayette and Robert Burton, Ed Baldwin, 'Bud' Spahr, George and Henry Keith, the Homan brothers, Thomas Hale, James McKinney, Mike and Joe Oldman, Tony and Lew Burbach and Captain Shaw and a lot more. I reckon the most popular man in his day was Captain Jewett. He operated on the Missouri River. He died of cholera in Glasgow, Missouri, in 1849. We had some mighty fine boats, too. There were the Morning Star, Ben W. Lewis, Cornelia, Minnehaha and Clara Emma and Martha Jewett."

The Missouri Belle and the Buttermilk.

This is the story of steamboat days which Lloyd G. Harris told a committee of Congress when he was in Washington with a Missouri delegation: "The captain and officers of the Missouri Belle were very fond of the buttermilk which a farmer who lived along the river bank supplied to them. The boat, in passing this

point, would always make a landing, and blow her whistle in order to notify the farmer that she was there, waiting for buttermilk. The farmer would send down a negro man with a bucket of buttermilk, and, having taken it aboard, the boat would proceed on her way. On one occasion when she tried to edge up at this point, she struck a sand-bar and sunk. The captain blew a signal of distress, fastening the lever so that she would blow as long as there was steam, while the hungry waters were gradually rising and swallowing her. The water had crept up to the boiler, and as it rushed in there was an expiring gush of steam into the signal pipe which caused a most peculiar, lugubrious, and nerve-shattering sound. Just at that moment Pompey, who was responding to the signal, reached the water's edge with his pail. When he heard that sound he exclaimed: 'Great Gawd! Da's de Belle a-sinkin' and callin' fo' buttermilk wid her last breff!' "

Up Grand River for Hickory Nuts.

"The Grand river country" was a famous section of Missouri between 1840 and 1860. The legislature declared the river navigable to the northern boundary of the State. As early as 1842 a small sternwheel steamboat made two trips to the East and West Fork in the western part of Livingston county. It carried up goods from St. Louis and Brunswick and brought down produce. The Bedford struck a snag and went to pieces. The Lake of the Woods, the Bonita, and some other steamboats made occasional trips up the river. As late as 1865 a steamboat landed at Chillicothe. For many years one of the chief exports of the Grand river country was hickory nuts. For fifty years the forests of shell-bark trees have yielded a crop measured by hundreds of bushels. These Grand river hickory nuts are large and fine flavored. In early days they brought at least twenty-five cents a bushel, which was considered a very good price before the war. Perhaps nowhere else in Missouri has this crop formed such an important industry.

A Tradition of Osage Navigation.

Tradition in St. Clair county preserves the story of Mathew Arbuckle's wild ride into Papinsville one day in the early summer of 1844. The horse was flecked with spots of foam. The rider was livid under the tan. He told how, while plowing about a mile from the Osage, he had been scared by a terrible noise, something like a scream of a "painter" but ten times as long and loud. He had unhitched and had ridden into town to give warning that some animal heretofore unknown was in the woods near the river. The settlers turned to Uncle John Whitley for leadership. Mr. Whitley was a veteran of the battle of New Orleans. He said the only thing to do was to assemble with the dogs and go out after the monster which, probably, had wandered down from the Rocky Range, as the Rocky Mountains were called in those days. Uncle James Breckinridge seconded the proposition. The next morning the settlers gathered at Uncle John's, whose place was near the river. As the party was about ready to take to the woods, that unearthly noise was heard. Uncle John suddenly remembered that his pretty daughter Mattie had gone down to the river on her pony a few minutes before.

"Ride men!" he shouted, "Ride! Mat went down to the river for water, and I expect she's dead before this."

The settlers jumped into their saddles but before they had fairly gotten underway, here came Mat with her hair flying. She had heard the wild beast. Uncle

RECLAIMING THE LAND IN SOUTHEAST MISSOURI

John told the girl to go into the house and not come out until the hunt was over.

About all of the settlers and every dog on Whitley Prairie were in the posse that rode away to strike the trail. Uncle John Whitley was considered the captain. James Breckenridge was his lieutenant. Among others who rode to hounds that memorable day in search of the mysterious monster were the Morrises, Benjamin, Hamilton and Snowden; the Roarks, William and Frank; Benjamin Burch and Benjamin Snyder. There was trouble about getting the trail. The hounds snuffed and yelped, but didn't seem able to scent anything unusual. All day the hunters searched. At intervals that noise, a combination of scream and howl, was heard. Now it seemed close at hand. Half an hour later it was far distant. At times the rocky cliffs along the Osage sent back a series of echoes. As night came on the clouds thickened and a storm threatened. The hunters sought shelter in "Rock House."

On the south side of the Osage, a little way below Clear creek, there may be seen today a cave possessing some unusual features even for the Ozarks. This cave is at the foot of the bluff. The front part is a room twenty feet high, thirty feet wide and forty or fifty feet deep. It is dry. The floor is covered with white sand. A more comfortable camping place could not be devised. As a matter of fact the Whitley family spent a winter in Rock House as it was called. Just before the hunters reached the camping place the hounds struck a scent and started a buck which was dropped quickly by half a dozen bullets. A fire was built in the cave and after a supper of venison the hunters settled down for the night.

There was no disturbance until dawn when that nerve-racking noise brought every man to his feet and set the dogs howling. The noise was repeated. It indicated that the animal was coming along the river and was approaching the cave. Uncle John led the way to the attack. Every man took a tree and got ready to shoot. Four of the party were told off to have their knives drawn and ready if powder and lead failed. The Osage, like other Ozark rivers, twists and turns upon itself. Near Rock House was a sharp bend. Suddenly around this bend and into view of the amazed settlers, swept the Flora Jones, the first steamboat to ascend to the upper Osage. As was often the case in those days the steam whistle was out of all proportion to the size of the craft. It was purposely so, for navigators found it expedient to give warning of their coming as long as possible before the gangplank was pushed out. The whistle, first shrill and then hoarse was what had startled Mathew Arbuckle and what had led to the hunt with the hounds. The Flora Jones on that initial trip ascended the Osage to Harmony Mission in what is now Bates county. The many bends and the echoing effects with the cliffs had exaggerated the sound of the whistle. After the Flora Jones had passed by, the settlers with very few words disbanded and went home. But that first appearance of a steamboat on the upper Osage has not been forgotten.

Some of the Missouri Commodores.

The possibilities of steamboating in the St. Louis trade brought to the city many strong men. William Wallace Greene, a native of Marietta, Ohio, a descendant of the Rhode Island Greenes of Revolutionary fame, was a successful steamboatman on the Ohio. In partnership with his father-in-law, Captain Joseph H. Conn, of Cincinnati, he built the Cygnet. Captain Conn and Captain

Greene brought the Cygnet to St. Louis in 1834 and became residents here, operating several boats and carrying on a commission business as Conn, Sprigg & Greene. Captain Greene was one of a number of St. Louis steamboatmen who were not only strictly moral but earnestly religious. He was a ruling elder in the Presbyterian church.

One of the most benevolent of the men who amassed fortunes in the river trade was Captain Richard J. Lockwood, who came from Delaware in 1830. He was a resident of St. Louis forty years. One of his acts of benevolence was the contribution of $20,000 for the building of an Episcopal church in 1866.

While Henry D. Bacon was on the river he became famous for his strict observance of the Sabbath. One of the boats he commanded was the Hannibal. Wherever midnight of Saturday found the Hannibal, Captain Bacon went to the bank and tied up until the same hour Sunday night.

The McCune family came from Pennsylvania originally, migrating first to Bourbon county, Kentucky, and later in 1817 to Missouri. John S. McCune, after doing business some years along the upper Mississippi river, came to St. Louis in 1841. The impressions he had received from his earlier experience prompted him to organize what became in the palmy days of steamboating one of the most important transportation interests of St. Louis. Long before the railroads, Commodore McCune had in operation the Keokuk Packet Company. Up to that time the steamboatmen had not appreciated the economies and the advantages of operation in companies. A great deal of the river business was done by individual owners of boats or by single firms. Commodore McCune put on the river a fleet of six boats which ran on regular schedules between St. Louis and Keokuk, furnishing facilities for all intermediate cities and towns. The boats were so far superior to most of the steamboats between 1840 and 1855 that conservative river men predicted a collapse. Commodore McCune and those associated with him garnered fortunes on their enterprise. In 1857 the Pilot Knob Iron Company was in danger of going down. To raise money the stockholders proposed to give as collateral to eastern capitalists a very large amount of the stock for a loan of $300,000. Commodore McCune came forward and advanced the money, taking the presidency of the iron company. That was one of the acts which went far to establish at an early date the financial independence of St. Louis.

Two Illinois boys, born in the southernmost county of that state, sons of an Irish father and a Scotch mother, came to St. Louis to seek fortune. They found it in steamboating. They became river captains of the best type. Barton Able and Daniel Able began as clerks on the Ocean Wave. They were two of the best known men of St. Louis. They were "Bart" Able and "Dan" Able. It was said of Dan Able that in his many years of steamboating not a life was lost on any boat commanded by him. In 1851 he made a trip that is historic, taking the "Anthony Wayne" 160 miles up the St. Peters, now known as the Minnesota river, the first steamboat navigation of that river. He also took the Wayne up the Mississippi above St. Paul to St. Anthony, making another new record.

Decline of the Traffic.

Traffic by river began its decline soon after the Civil war. In 1866 there were fifty-one steamers running from St. Louis to the Upper Missouri. The next year there were seventy-one. In 1868 the decline began. There were sixty-two steam-

CAPTAIN JOHN SIMONDS

JOHN S. McCUNE

A SCENE ON THE LEVEE, 1850

boats in the Upper Missouri trade from St. Louis. In 1869 the decline was more apparent for the number of boats was reduced to thirty-seven. In 1870 the number came down to nine.

In the palmy days fifty steamboats ran regularly from St. Louis up the Missouri. In the times of heavy immigration this number was largely increased. There was first class passenger traffic as well as travel of emigrants going westward and of freight. Some of the Missouri River boats were, if not so large, as finely finished and equipped as the "floating palaces" on the Mississippi. The Morning Star, the Ben Lewis, the Polar Star and F. X. Aubrey, named for the man who had made the wonderful ride from Independence to Santa Fe, the Cataract, the Meteor and the New Lucy, were favorites with first class travel. The James H. Lucas was a record breaker. This boat made the trip from St. Louis to St. Joseph in two days and twelve hours. For freight from St. Louis to Fort Benton the charge was fifteen cents a pound.

In 1879 the revival of "mountain trade" by way of the Missouri River was attempted. Three boats, the Dakota, the Wyoming and the Montana, were built especially for the proposed mountain service. They proved to be too large, could not compete with the railroads and came into the possession of Captain Jenkins and the Keiths. The new owners pluckily attempted to secure the lost trade between St. Louis and Kansas City and intervening points. Low freight rates by the railroad and high insurance on the boats defeated them.

The value of the steamboats registered or controlled at St. Louis in 1871 was $5,428,800. Probably the most ambitious consolidation of steamboat interests was attempted at St. Louis just after the close of the war. The Atlantic and Mississippi Steamship Company was organized. It owned a fleet of twenty-eight of the finest boats on the western rivers. Leading spirits in the enterprise were the Scudders, John J. Roe, the Ames family, the Ables, John N. Bofinger and several other St. Louisans with a few stockholders from the Ohio. The stock was $2,500,000. If the South had not been so impoverished, if recovery had been rapid as expected, the consolidation might have been successful. Captain Joseph Brown said of the collapse: "The Atlantic and Mississippi Steamship Company was organized in 1866, after the war, and owned 28 steamers, most of which were 300 or more feet long. They plied between St. Louis and New Orleans. In fifteen months that company lost fifteen of the twenty-eight, either by explosion or sinking, and with no insurance. I was made president of the company after these disasters, and remedied the evils to some extent, but the company's back was broken. Inside of two years I was instructed to sell out at auction the balance of the boats, eleven in number. While no one but the stockholders lost any money, it fell hard on them, for out of $70,000 that I had in stock I only got $2,600."

The White and Its Curves.

From its four heads in Boston Mountains to Batesville, where it leaves the Ozarks and enters the lowlands, White River is a succession of astonishing curves. No other river on the continent so nearly and so frequently doubles upon itself. From the source to the flat country is a distance on a straight line of perhaps 150 miles. White River between these points has a course of over 600 miles; some estimates make it 1,000 miles.

The beginning is near the Indian Territory in the western part of Arkansas. The water runs toward all points of the compass in quick succession many times before it adopts a comparatively direct course to the Mississippi. From the Boston Mountains the general course, with many a bend and curve, is northward and northeastward into Missouri. Probably the highest point in this direction is Forsyth, near the center of Taney County. From this place the White wriggles its way back into Arkansas and down through Marion County, to where the Buffalo joins it. But not until the Missouri-Arkansas border has been crossed seven times does the uncertain stream finally bear away to the southeastward to stay.

Adding to the marvel of White River's eccentric meanderings are the walls of rock which tower from 200 to 500 feet often from the water edge. A bird's-eye view from above would show the river deep set in a canyon of continuous and often sharp curvatures. A mile of river in a straight line is unusual. The canyon-like valley of the White narrows in places almost to the channel's width. Over most of the course it is wide enough for a strip of fertile bottom land along the river.

The water wanders from one side of the valley to the other. It washes the base of the towering palisades first on the right and then on the left. It maintains close relationship with a cliff for half a dozen miles. Then it suddenly crosses through the bottom lands and hugs the opposite frowning pass. On a bright day a stretch of the winding river seen from a summit of the palisades shimmers like well-polished silver. "White" aptly describes the appearance. A nearby view from the banks reveals a degree of purity which is not equaled by any other western river outside of the Ozarks. The contrast of comparison with the streams which flow through alluvial country is striking. White River has its origin in mountain springs. Numberless underground channels in the limestone strata help to swell the volume. Tributaries vary from tiny rivulets starting high up on the benches of the mountains to powerful streams which gush forth with a roar from beneath the shelves of overhanging rock. Twenty miles below Forsyth, beside the White, is McGill Spring, which pours out from the face of the cliff a body of water strong enough to run a large mill. It is a type of hundreds, while the smaller and unnamed springs can only be enumerated by thousands.

Many years ago Forsyth was reached by steamboats on White River. The bold navigators pushed their sternwheelers to the foot of the rapids. Then they sent the roustabouts clambering over rocks and through the trees, dragging the towline its full length. The upper end was strongly fastened to stand the strain. The boat end of the hawser was wound around the capstan. With the paddle wheels driven by every pound of pressure available, and with the donkey engine winding in the towline, the boat dragged and pushed itself up foot by foot through the foaming rapids. After the passage was made a long reach of smooth, deep water made easy progress for perhaps twenty, perhaps fifty miles. In this way Forsyth was reached. And when the boat, "loaded to the guards" with lead and cotton and hogs and the various productions of the White River country, turned her head downstream, there was little to do except to trust to Providence and the nerve of the man behind the pilot wheel. The current did the rest.

But the railroads built into South Missouri. The Ozark people took to raising less cotton and more corn, which they fed to live stock that could be driven over-

CROSSING WHITE RIVER

land to railroad points north. The inducements for river transportation to and from Forsyth became smaller. One day, in a spirit of daring, Capt. Bateman said he was going to take the Mary C. to Forsyth if it was her last trip. He made McBee's and the other landings above Buffalo City, and triumphantly awoke the echoes of the heights of Pine Mountain as the boat came in sight of Forsyth. But pride went before the worst fall that could happen to a steamboatman. In trying to turn the Mary C.'s head downstream, the captain failed to gauge the width of the channel. He "ran her nozzle ag'in the bank" on one side. The stern went around with a sweep and lodged against a gravel bar on the other side. The Mary C. lay for a few moments broadside in the channel, blocking it. There was creaking and groaning. The hog chains parted. The Mary C.'s back was broken. The wreck lay there until the elements wore it to pieces which floated away. That was the end of navigation to Forsyth.

The most important tributary of the White above Forsyth is the James. It joins from the Missouri side, and is wholly within this state. Its character is very like that of the White and the other branches. Two points in Stone County, Galena and Marvel Cave, are joined by a ridge road eighteen miles long. James River also connect these two points, but runs 125 miles in its crooked course to do so. With the James added, the White becomes at Forsyth a river in more than name. When it is "up" the ferry is the only means of crossing. In low stages the stream is fordable at the "riffles." The long reaches of still water are many feet in depth.

Pioneer Water Power.

On a branch of the Femme Osage Creek in St. Charles County, Jonathan Bryan built a water mill. This, according to tradition, was the first use made of water power in Missouri outside of St. Louis. The mill is said to have been built in 1801. It would grind from six to ten bushels of grain in the course of a day and a night. The early settlers at St. Charles on Loutre Island and between depended on the Bryan mill for their flour and meal. Bryan used the same stones to grind the wheat and the corn. He sifted the flour in a box by hand. The creek upon which the mill was located was fed by a spring. Bryan had such confidence in the operation of his plant that he filled the hopper with corn in the morning and went about other work. He gave his attention to the mill only as it was necessary to refill the hopper and to empty the basin. In this way the mill ran continuously through the twenty-four hours. From the stones the meal and flour dropped into a large basin on the floor. About a mile from this mill Daniel Boone was living with his son Nathan. The Boones had a dog they called Cuff. This dog found an opportunity in Bryan's absence from the mill. He went there and licked the meal out of the basin. When Cuff was especially hungry and the meal did not run from the stones fast enough to suit him he would bark. In this way Bryan learned the defect in his system. He discarded the basin and used a large coffee pot, the top of which was too small for the dog's head.

Other water mills were built in the pioneer period, but they were not as numerous as might have been expected from Missouri's unparalleled water power. On the border between Arkansas and Missouri the Mammoth Spring was utilized for milling purposes. Beyond this the power possibilities of the never failing

streams and springs of the Ozarks were ignored practically until the present generation.

Hydro-Electric Opportunities.

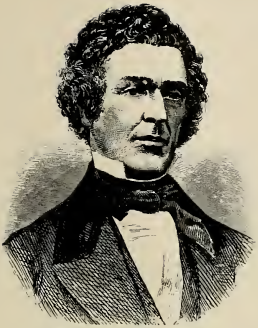
A. M. Haswell of Springfield, who is qualified as an expert in knowledge of the Ozarks, recently wrote: "Water power, more of it twice over than has made the six stony little New England States the richest of the nation. Not only so, but with a far greater variety of uses for it than New England has, or ever had. Water powers so situated, some of them, as to be susceptible of developing without so much as a dam.

"For instance, the Gasconade River in Pulaski County has the 'Moccasin Bend,' where that fine, swift stream winds through the hills for some eight miles, and turns back on itself until a neck only 780 feet across separates the water in its upper and lower courses. A simple tunnel through the neck would give a fall of almost 25 feet, and furnish, 5,000 horsepower. Six miles distant, in a straight line, is another great bend sixteen miles around and a mile across, with a fall of 48 feet. There are others of the same sort on the James and White Rivers in Stone County, and in a dozen other places.

"Then there are the great springs. The Greer Spring in Oregon County flows 435,000,000 gallons every twenty-four hours. The largest spring in the world. It has site after site where that immense flow could be used over and over again. Bennett's Spring in the eastern edge of Dallas County is another mammoth nearly half as large as the Greer; Hahatonka is another, and so on. And these spring powers have this signal advantage over a power formed by damming an ordinary stream, they are constant. The Greer Spring does not vary 5 per cent in volume, be the season wet or dry."

John T. Fitzpatrick, State Labor Commissioner, has, within the past year pointed out the possibilities of water power, using the recently completed plant of the Ozark Power and Water Company as an illustration. This plant is on White River. It was completed in September, 1914. It started with a capacity of 17,000 horsepower and having a possible capacity of 28,000. Mr. Fitzpatrick ventures the assertion that the streams with rapid currents in the Ozark region can furnish power for one thousand plants equal to the one mentioned. The dam on White River is fifty feet high and thirteen hundred feet long. It is built of hollow reinforced concrete and has a spillway six hundred feet across over which the water can pass twenty feet deep in time of flood. The White River plant cost $2,000,000, which includes the cost of the transmission lines to Carthage, Webb City, Joplin and Springfield. Mr. Fitzpatrick has offered the suggestion that at a point in the northwestern portion of St. Louis County the Missouri River is many feet higher than the Meramec and distant only a few miles. A canal to connect the two rivers, the Commissioner says, would furnish power sufficient to run the street car system of St. Louis, light the streets and operate many industries.

One of the engineers who worked on the White River plant volunteered the opinion that there was a power site every twenty-five miles on the White River. The power is carried on lines supported by steel piers. Menard L. Holman, who was consulted in the selection of the site at Branson said he had traveled all over the United States, east and west and from Canada to the Gulf and that nowhere had he found such possibilities of water power development as exist in the Ozarks

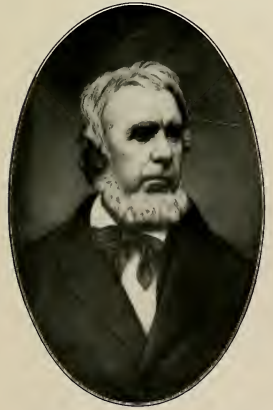


CAPTAIN HENRY D. BACON

The steamboat man who never ran a boat on Sunday

COL. THORNTON GRIMSLEY

Inventor of the Dragoon saddle



CAPTAIN WILLIAM W. GREENE

CAPTAIN JOHN N. BOFINGER

between the Missouri River and the Arkansas line. "The same investment made in the Keokuk dam project," he said, "if spent in hydro-electric development of the Ozarks would return a much larger profit."

Lyman E. Cooley, the engineer of the Chicago Canal, has for years advocated the construction of dams across the Mississippi to create electrical energy. He has even gone so far as to indicate locations where the topographical conditions favor. Before the Congressional committee on Rivers and Harbors, Professor Cooley said that two dams, one just below St. Louis and the other at Commerce, Missouri, could be built to supply in each case 100,000 horsepower.

The Ozark rivers make great circuits of miles—then return upon their courses so nearly that only a mighty mass of rock a few hundred feet thick separates. The water on one side of this narrow partition is a dozen feet or more higher than on the other side, the equivalent of the natural fall in the circuit of miles.

The waters of Meramec Spring rise in a basin ninety feet across. This basin is at the foot of a bluff. The flow of water, measured by the United States Geological Survey is 125,000,000 gallons in twenty-four hours. And this flow is of very little variation; neither does the temperature change much with the seasons. The water is clear and free from organic matter. Local rainfall has little effect. From where can such a volume come? That is one of the many mysteries of the Ozarks. Before a treatment to take the silt out of the Mississippi was discovered, the City of St. Louis seriously considered the Meramec Spring as the source of its water supply by means of an aqueduct.

Seven years ago surveys were made for a hydro-electric plant on the Meramec, 150 miles southwest of St. Louis. At the place selected the river flows over solid rock and between bluffs. The plans called for a dam thirty feet high. As the river channel falls rapidly below the dam it was possible by leading the water in a canal to add twenty feet more to the fall, making the effective head on the turbine wheels fifty feet. The plant was expected to generate 4,800 horsepower. Surveys were made to locate other similar plants on the Meramec and available sites were found for half a dozen more. The promise of 40,000 horsepower from the Meramec alone was held out by the projectors. Actual construction was postponed until devices to prevent leakage of the current in course of transmission could be perfected. The leakage problem, the electrical engineers say, has held back the development of hydro-electric power in Missouri. The best locations for water power plants are long distances from the market for the current.

In the northeastern corner of Dallas county is one of the mammoth springs of the Ozarks. It flows 60,000 gallons a minute. Springs supplying from thirty to forty horsepower are numerous in Reynolds County. Laclede County spreads over stretches of the Gasconade, the Big Niangua and the Ozark fork of the Gasconade.

But Missouri is at last turning attention to water power. That is the notable new thing in the State's industrial development. Companies are being formed. One was chartered in September, 1914, by citizens of Edgerton, Dearborn and Trimble to dam the Platte near the first mentioned place for the generation of electric power to supply several communities in that part of the State.

Medicinal Waters.

Loutre Lick in the pioneer days had wide reputation for healing. It is located

in a basin among the Loutre Creek hills and is better known to this generation by the name of Mineola. Daniel Boone visited Loutre Lick and spread the news that he had been cured by drinking the water. At a later date Thomas H. Benton, even after he went to Congress, visited Loutre Lick. He tested the waters with such results that he had occasion to mention their medicinal qualities in a speech. Afterwards Henry Clay referred to "The Bethesda mentioned by the Senator from Missouri." Loutre Lick was on a tract of ground, 460 acres altogether, which was granted by the Spanish governor at St. Louis in 1799 to Nathan Boone, the son of Daniel. Boone sold the place to Major Isaac Van Bibber in 1815. Van Bibber was an orphan who had been raised by the Boones. In 1821 he tried to manufacture salt from the lick, but without satisfactory profit.

At Lebanon, artesian boring tapped a vein of "magnetic water." Erwin Ellis described the peculiar quality of this medicinal spring: "Go into the engine room, make it perfectly dark and let a little steam out by the stopcock. Then put the end of your finger in the steam. Each little drop, as it forms on your finger from the condensation of steam, will show a spark of electric light. You can stand in the steam, and as the drops form on your whiskers and hair they will give out enough electric light to make the features distinguishable. If you let the steam from the water play on the blade of your knife you will find that it will magnetize so that you can pick up a pin or a nail. I don't pretend to understand how the electricity or magnetism is carried in the water, but what I tell you has been demonstrated many times."

Monegaw Springs in St. Clair County took the name of a famous Osage Indian chief who lived and died near by. In the space of about a city block are 102 of these springs and no two of them are exactly alike in their properties. There are black, yellow and white sulphur waters of varying degrees. Some of the springs are saline; others chalybeate. About 1851 the government sent out from Washington scientific men to inspect the Monegaw Springs. The examination showed that this sulphur water was without superior in the United States. The medicinal qualities were declared to be of great value. In the pioneer period, many cures of chronic ailments like rheumatism and dyspepsia resulted from visits to Monegaw. Physicians before the Civil war sent patients long distances to these waters. At that time steamboats ascended the Osage to Osceola and above. They brought cargoes to replenish the stocks of merchants who supplied goods in job lots to stores, not only in Southwest Missouri, but across the border in the Indian Territory and Kansas and Arkansas. There were wholesale houses in Osceola which carried stocks valued at $100,000. When Lane and his raiders came over from Kansas in 1861 to burn Osceola they carried away a wagon train of plunder which the leader estimated to be worth $1,000,000. St. Clair County is a region of wonderful springs besides those of Monegaw. A few miles southwest of Osceola are salt springs. At Taberville are sulphur springs. In many other places are found medicinal waters.

Two Ancient Misses.

Many years ago, a third of a century or more, a distinguished lawyer of Missouri, who loved his State and occasionally allowed poetic fancy right of way over briefs, wrote these lines on "Two Ancient Misses":

KANSAS CITY IN 1855

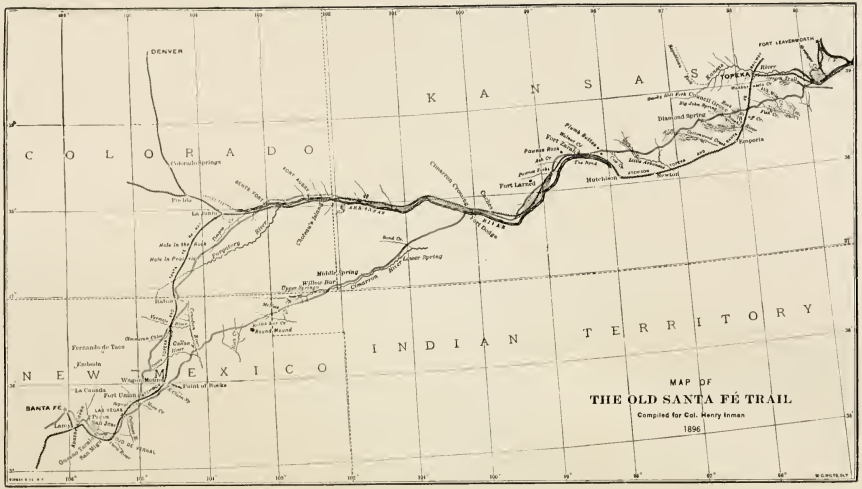
"I know two ancient misses
Who ever onward go,
From a cold and rigid northern clime,
Through a land of wheat and corn and wine,
To the southern sea where the fig and the lime,
And the golden orange grow.

"In graceful curves they wind about,
Upon their long and lonely route
Among the beauteous hills;
They never cease their onward step,
Though day and night they're dripping wet,
And oft with sleet and snow beset,
And sometimes with the chills.

"The one is a romping, dark brunette,
As fickle and gay as any coquette;
She glides along by the western plains,
And changes her bed each time it rains;
Witching as any dark-eyed houri,
This romping, wild brunette, Missouri.

"The other is placid, mild and fair.
With a gentle, sylph-like, quiet air,
And voice as sweet as soft guitar,
She moves along the vales and parks,
Where naiads play Aeolian harps—
Nor ever go by fits and starts—
No fickle coquette of the city,
But gentle constant Mississippi.

"I love the wild and dark brunette,
Because she is a gay coquette;
Her, too, I love of quiet air,
Because she's gentle, true and fair;
Land of my birth! The east and west
Embraced by these is doubly blest—
'Tis hard to tell which I love best."



MAP OF THE OLD SANTA FE TRAIL

CHAPTER VIII.

TRAILS AND TRACKS.

The Old Wilderness—Ghost Pond—Trail Transportation—Tactics of Freighting—A Temperance Pledge—The Day's Routine—Recollections of a Veteran Trader—The Fast Mail Stage Line—The Trail's Tragedies—Amateur Surgery—Pony Express—The Old Stage Driver—Kenner of Poudingville—Benton's Change of Mind on Internal Improvements—Missouri's First Formal Railroad Movement—Promotion of the Missouri Pacific—Ground Broken on the Fourth of July—A Great Day on the Edge of Chouteau's Pond—Railroad Celebrations—Official Openings—Transcontinental Mail by Stage and Rail—A Rapid Change of Gauge—Primitive Construction—The First Train Out of St. Joe—Beginnings of Big Systems—Origin of the Wabash—Paramore's Narrow Gauge—A Missourian Originated Railway Mail Service—An Historical Mistake—State Bonds at Heavy Discount—Missouri the Pioneer in Rate Regulation—Governor Fletcher's Recommendation—Profit Sharing Was Possible—Liens Gave State Control—Railroad Companies Accepted the Regulation Condition—State Operation of the Southwest Branch—Receipts Greater than Operating Expenses—Gould's Purchase of the Missouri Pacific—Deals with the Garrisons and Thomas Allen.

I suggest in any disposition you make of this road there be reserved the right of the State to regulate the charges for carrying freight and passengers and that a penalty be attached for exceeding such rates. * * * The present is perhaps the best occasion for requiring (in all cases where it may be legally done) of all railroads a small annual tribute to the State, which could be so insignificant in amount as not to interfere with the profitable operation of the roads, but which would in the aggregate ultimately grow to be a sum sufficient to carry on the state government without the levy of any taxes on the people for state purposes.—*Governor Thomas C, Fletcher to Missouri Legislature.*

Almost due south from Springfield is the course of the "Old Wilderness Trail," or road as called in later years. It is 120 miles long. It crosses the Ozark range. The southern terminus is Berryville, Arkansas. On the entire route there are only two breaks where hills worthy of the name are encountered. One is at the Finley creek crossing. The other is at the White river crossing. This Old Wilderness road is one of the most novel stretches of mountain travel to be found anywhere. To parallel a range and maintain a ridge level is not so extraordinary. But perhaps nowhere else can a mountain range be crossed at right angles without a succession of hills. This north and south transverse ridge of the Ozarks is a strange freak. It crooks and curves, but it never runs out. In places it broadens until it makes a table land, on which settlers have cleared homesteads and made good farms. In other places it narrows until there is just room for a wagon road. You look one side down a steep slope of 500 feet, with peaks and ridges jumbled together beyond. You look down the other side a like grade and see as far as the vision reaches the bald knobs bobbing up in all directions. On either side lead trails to the stiffest of mountain climbing. But before you extends a level road, somewhat flinty, but with no grades up and down which horses can not trot, and over which a bicycle might not be wheeled with comfort.

The bald knobs are not the least interesting freaks of this Ozark region. When Farmer Wade went to Congress from the Springfield district his colleague, Major Warner, introduced him to a Massachusetts member one day.

"Farmer Wade is a bald knobber," said Major Warner.

The Massachusetts man looked inquiringly a moment, and as his eyes fell on the polished dome of Farmer Wade's thinker, he responded:

"Ah, yes, I see. Bald knobber is very good."

The Massachusetts man builded better than he knew. If there is anything in nature which can be compared to an entirely bald head, the kind that takes on high polish, it is one of these bald knobs of the Ozarks. You may be in the midst of a heavy growth of white oak and pine. There is forest all around. But through a vista you get a glimpse across the range of a great round knob, without so much as a scrub oak or a rock upon it. Grass, which glistens in the sunlight, grows all over the knob so luxuriantly as to hide any minute unevenness of surface. Right in the midst of other hills and ridges clothed in forest stands the bald knob without a sign of foliage, with nothing but its grassy coating. At first sight it is hard to convince one's self that nature is responsible for the knob's baldness.

Ghost Pond.

A landmark on the Old Wilderness road is Ghost pond. A hundred yards to the east of the road is a depression. It is a kind of natural sink. In the center is an acre of dark-colored water. Grass grows down to the edge of the pond. A few stumps project above the surface. Two or three trees have fallen halfway in the water. The forest is all around. People who travel the Old Wilderness road and know all about it do not often stop to water or to camp at Ghost pond.

A band of bushwhackers came up the Old Wilderness road on a foraging expedition during the war. They camped at the pond and went on the next day to Galena, a dozen miles. Here they killed three old men, among the most prominent citizens, Cox, Davis and Baker. They took 150 head of cattle and what plunder they could carry and started back for the Old Wilderness road and Arkansas. The alarm was sounded, and the Stone County Home Guards rallied at Galena as fast as they could travel over the mountain trails. Capt. Baker, a son of one of the victims of the guerrillas, organized the pursuit. The Home Guards overtook the bushwhackers on Bailey's creek. They spread out and climbed along the mountains on both sides of the trail. With their superior knowledge of the country the Guards were able to pick off the bushwhackers with little loss to themselves. The bushwhackers at last abandoned the cattle and fled. The Home Guards seemingly gave up the fight. In reality they followed the bushwhackers and prepared a trap. Finding himself as he supposed beyond pursuit, the guerrilla chief went into camp at the pond. The Home Guards crawled up on all sides, and at the crack of dawn opened fire. It was a slaughter. Of the 120 men who came up from Arkansas only twenty crossed White river on the return. Nine bodies were taken from the little pond.

Magnitude of Trail Transportation.

The Missouri firm of Majors, Russell and Waddell took a contract from the Government to convey across the plains as much as 16,000,000 pounds of supplies at a time. This required an investment of $2,500,000. The supplies were taken

SANTA FE TRAIL MARKER

A MISSOURI PACK TRAIN TO SANTA FE, 1820

up the Missouri river and landed at the outfitting points. Such a contract as that indicated called for four thousand wagons, fifty thousand oxen and one thousand mules. This will give some idea of the magnitude which the trail business reached.

The system which these Missourians developed in the business of freighting across the plains was interesting. Before any one was accepted he was required to sign this contract: "While I am in the employ of Majors, Russell and Waddell, I agree not to use profane language, not to get drunk, not to gamble, not to treat animals cruelly, not to do anything else that is incompatible with the conduct of a gentleman and I agree if I violate any of the above conditions, to accept my discharge without collecting any pay for my services."

Perhaps the hardest part of the pledge was that relating to profane language. The duties of the teamster required him to yoke, to herd, to unyoke and to drive twelve oxen from thirteen to fifteen miles a day, drawing a wagon loaded with three tons of freight. The teamster was known in the language of the train as a "bullwhacker." At night the wagons were placed end to end, forming an oval, and within this wagon-bounded corral were driven the oxen before the starting hour. As nearly as practicable the train was made to consist of thirty wagons. Early in the morning the thirty "bullwhackers" took thirty yokes upon their shoulders and lined up around the corral. Then came the command from the wagon master, "Yoke up." The "bullwhackers" plunged into the herd of cattle, each selected a steer for a place on one side of the tongue of his wagon. Whether the steer was wild or tame the "bullwhacker" must slip the bow around the neck and put the yoke in place. Then he began a search among the three hundred or four hundred kicking, bellowing, hooking steers for a nigh or an off ox to complete the tongue yoke. Having secured his wheelers the "bullwhacker" drove them out through the gap of the corral and fastened the ring of the tongue to the yoke. The beginning was thus made. With another yoke on his shoulder the "bullwhacker" entered the corral and picked the "off leader" and the "near leader." He drove this pair to a wheel of his wagon on the inside of the corral and made them fast. Then with a third yoke he went in search of the pair of "swing cattle" who were to follow immediately behind the leaders. Then a fourth pair was yoked and the fifth pair. The leaders and the four yokes following attached to the chain were driven through the gap and placed in front of the wheel pair. In this way the "bullwhacker" completed his motive power for the day. If the train was about starting on the long trail and the cattle were wild it might require two hours to yoke up. After the cattle were broken and the "bullwhackers" had become expert the twelve oxen could be yoked up in fifteen minutes.

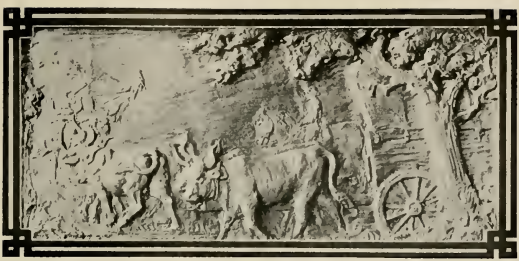
It was necessary to exercise no little care in making the selections, especially for the wheel pair and the leaders. The wagon master was in command with all of the authority of the captain on a ship. He kept close watch on the teams until they were made up and marked. If a "bullwhacker" was careless he might select the oxen most easily handled. Such animals were slow and lazy. They were known as "dead-heads." If a team was made up of "dead-heads" it would fall behind. The wagon master made it his business to see that the wild and the lazy oxen were so distributed as to give uniform speed to the several teams. If he found that one team had too many slow and lazy oxen he required the "bullwhacker" at the next yoke-up to trade with some one whose pairs were wild and

lively. After some days out when a wagon master had distributed the oxen so as to stop lagging and to obtain from all about the same rate of speed he ordered the "bullwhacker" to mark each of his steers. After this the "bullwhacker" in yoking up obtained the same team from day to day.

A story was current in Missouri during the freighting days about an Irishman who entered the employ of Majors, Russell and Waddell. This man was green, a recent arrival in the country. In yoking up he took the twelve oxen that were easiest to handle. As the result he found himself in the possession of twelve "dead-heads," and as the result delayed the movement of the train. The wagon master went into the corral one morning and yoked up the team for the Irishman, making different selections. He told the Irishman to keep the team the next day and thereafter just as he had yoked it. The Irishman wanted to know how in the world he was going to be able to do that when oxen all looked alike to him. "Put a mark on each of them," ordered the wagon master. At the next stop there was serious trouble in the Irishman's team. The wagon master ran to the scene to see what was the matter. The Irishman replied that he was putting a mark on each of the beasts as he had been told to do. The wagon master replied that that was all right, but how did he mean to mark them. "I am going to punch the left eye out of every one of them," said the Irishman, "then I will know that I will have no more trouble yoking the devils. I can slip up on the blind side and have them yoked before they know I am there."

The Customs of the Trail.

A day's travel was divided usually into two drives of from six to seven or eight miles each. The trains started early in the morning. The drives were made to reach the most favorable camping places where grass and water were plenty. The first drive was started as soon as it was light enough to see. Somewhat before noon the wagons were corraled and the cattle were given the feed. In hot weather the yoke-up for the afternoon drive was not ordered until three or four o'clock. The drive on such days was continued until nine or ten o'clock. When the cattle were unyoked they were turned over to the night herder who kept watch over them as they moved about seeking the best grass. One man could take care of three hundred or four hundred head of oxen at night because it was only necessary to keep track of the leader. In the herd of a train there developed very soon after the start on the trail one animal which all the others recognized as a leader. Wherever the leader went the rest of the herd followed. The night herder having located the leader, got off his mule, drove a pin in the ground, attached a long rope that allowed the mule some range, rolled himself in his blanket and went to sleep. This was the night herder's course when the grass was plentiful. After they had grazed about three hours the oxen would obtain in that time sufficient feed and would remain quiet, lying down until near morning. When grass was scarce the leader would wander about the plains, all the herd following him, a longer time, thus requiring the night herder to follow and keep awake. With the first appearance of gray in the east the night herder rounded up the oxen and started back for the corral. He might have a mile to drive or possibly five times that distance. When he was within hearing of the corral he shouted, "Roll out! Roll out! Roll out!" This was the signal for the "bullwhackers" to prepare breakfast and be ready to yoke up. The meal on the trail consisted of



SANTA FE TRAIL MARKER

A FARM ADVISER IN THE FIELD

potatoes, fat meat, flapjacks and black coffee with such game as was brought in by the hunters.

"Yoke up!" was the first order that came from the master of the caravan as soon as breakfast was over. Then the yoking and chaining went on. "All's set" was the answer as each teamster completed that work and he who could respond first was the best man. "Fall in!" was the next order and the long line of wagons was formed. "Stretch out!" commanded the wagon master. The yokes creaked, the wheels rattled and the train moved at oxen pace.

Walter B. Waddell, a resident of Lexington, grandson of a member of the historic firm of Alexander, Majors and Waddell, said that often a single train would require 300 mules. To each wagon were allotted twelve mules or six yoke of oxen. Drivers were paid from $25 to $50 a month and were supplied with rations. The time of a trip from Lexington, which was one of the principal starting points, to Santa Fe was between eighty and ninety days. Ordinary freight consisted of beef, bacon, corn, dried fruits, beans and peas, all carefully packed and under cover. The rate was ten cents a pound. Each wagon was expected to earn from $500 to $600 a trip. Missouri's great mule industry had its early encouragement in the Santa Fe and overland traffic.

John D. Turley's Recollections.

The Turleys of Saline County, two generations of them, followed the Trail trade from 1825 down to the Civil war. Judge John D. Turley, eighty-five years old, at his home near Arrow Rock, gave Walter Williams, president of the Old Trails Association, this account of his experiences:

"We fought Indians across the entire continent and carried on a most profitable trade in merchandise with the Mexicans. We bought whisky from the distilleries in Missouri at 16 to 40 cents a gallon and sold it in Taos at $3 a gallon. It was terrible stuff, too. We diluted it with water, making two gallons out of every gallon, but even then it was terrible. The ox teams had six yoke of oxen and the ordinary load for a wagon was 7,200 pounds. A load of 3,000 pounds is a good wagon load now. We took our merchandise to Taos or Santa Fe, opened a regular store and would sell out our entire stock in two or three months. The remnants of our last stock my father traded for Mexican sheep at $1 a head, took the sheep to California and sold them at $10 a head. I sold sassafras root at $4.50 a pound in Taos. We traveled about twenty-five miles a day. The last trip took forty-nine days. We met on that trip Rose, said to be the handsomest Indian woman in the West. My father made his first trip in 1825 and the Turleys stayed on the trail until nearly the opening of the Civil war. Various tricks were played on the Mexicans. There was a tariff on every load of goods brought into Mexican territory. The tariff was so much a wagonload. If the wagon was empty it was admitted duty free. Some traders would load the goods just outside the Mexican territory into half the wagons and drive in with half the caravan made up of empty wagons, thus paying but half the duty. The fandango—a kind of public dance—was the chief form of social entertainment. The Spanish girls at the fandangoes were sometimes treated to ice cream and whisky. It is a devilish combination."

The Fast Stage Line.

The Missouri Commonwealth was published at Independence in the palmy days of the Santa Fe Trail. A copy of it issued in July, 1840, and preserved in the office of the editor of the Examiner, gave this account of the starting of the fast overland mail line following the gold discoveries in California:

"We briefly alluded some days since, to the Santa Fe line of mail stages, which left this city on its first monthly journey on the 1st instant. The stages are got up in elegant style and are arranged to convey eight passengers. The bodies are beautifully painted and made water-tight with a view of using them as boats in ferrying streams. The team consists of six mules to each coach. The mail is guarded by eight men, armed as follows: Each man has at his side, fastened in the stage, one of Colt's long revolving rifles; in a holster below, one of Colt's long revolvers, and in his belt a small Colt's revolver, besides a hunting knife; so that these men are ready in case of attack, to discharge 136 shots without having to reload. This is equal to a small army, armed as in the ancient times, and from the looks of this escort, ready as they are either for offensive or defensive warfare with the savages, we have no fears for the safety of the mails. The accommodating contractors have established a sort of base of refitting at Council Grove, a distance of 150 miles from this city, and have sent out a blacksmith and a number of men to cut and cure hay, with a quantity of animals, grain and provisions, and we understand they intend to make a sort of traveling station there and commence a farm."

Tragedies of the Trail.

Missourians met tragedies on the Trail. One of the earliest and most thrilling was in 1828, not long after the United States commissioners had negotiated with the Indians at Council Grove the opening of the Trail. A large wagon train made the trip from Franklin, Missouri, to Santa Fe and disposed of the goods carried at good profits. The Missourians had come as far as the Arkansas river to a place near what is now Lamar, Colorado, when they found the Comanches camped across the Trail. The Indians pretended to be friendly. They invited the party to stop in their camp, offering food and care of the stock. The Missourians pushed through. The Comanches followed and attacked. For an hour there was a running fight. Then the Comanches retired. Of what followed Walter Williams, in his journey over the Trail in 1911, obtained this account from Joseph H. Vernon of Larned, Kansas, who heard the story from old trailsmen in the early days:

"When night came on the Indians resumed their attacks, endeavoring to stampede the horses so that they could chase them off and then capture them. Their attempts were almost successful several times during the night and they were only kept from accomplishing their purpose by tying the bell mare to one of the wagons and jingling the bell every time the Indians charged. The next day the Comanches renewed the attack as vigorously as ever. Forming in a circle, they galloped round and round the ill-fated caravan, shouting their demoniacal warwhoops in a most fiendish manner. So fierce were the harassing tactics which they used that the little line of prairie schooners succeeded in advancing only five miles during the day. This annoyance was kept up night and day for a week until the travelers were almost exhausted from loss of sleep.

"Finally one day about noon the Indians drew off and retreated as if giving up the conflict. The little party congratulated themselves at having outwinded their opponents and decided to stop, cook a square meal and let the horses graze a while. Hardly had they turned the animals out when, with a hideous whoop, the marauding rascals came over the top of a nearby hill and, charging the herd, stampeded them before the luckless travelers could offer any resistance. One of the party, in an endeavor to save some of the stolen stock, was wounded sixteen times, but succeeded in making his way back to camp. The fight continued intermittently for some time, but when the good marksmanship of the whites began to tell on the ranks of the painted demons they withdrew to wait for the coming of darkness to finish their work. The little band of white men was then indeed in a most desperate situation. Their wagons, it is true, formed a good fortification, but there was no way of telling how long the Indians would keep up the siege, knowing as they did that it would be only a matter of time until the whites would die of thirst. To remain with the caravan meant certain death if the Indians persisted in their attacks. The only possible escape was to get away under cover of darkness. This they decided to do, if possible.

ROBERT FORSYTH

LOUIS A. BENOIST

INDIAN ALARM OF MISSOURI OVERLAND TRAIN ON THE CIMARRON RIVER

Leaving in the camp the goods and much of the silver, for which they had sold merchandise in Santa Fe, they took $10,000 and started. Their escape was undiscovered. They traveled for two days and nights with nothing to eat but a few prickly pears and then stopped to rest, camping near the present site of Las Animas, Colorado. Most of the party were in a very weak condition after their exhausting experience and it was evident that they could not stand the weight of any heavy burdens, so they determined to 'cache' the silver, keeping only a small sum for each man. Proceeding to a small island in the Arkansas river, they buried their treasure between two large cottonwood trees and, after carefully obliterating all evidence of the secret hiding place, they continued their journey toward the settlements. After several days of forced marching they reached Pawnee Rock, near where Larned now is, where they had hopes of falling in with some caravan and obtaining relief.

"Their condition was indeed deplorable. At Cow Creek it was decided that the strongest members of the party, leaving the others, should push on in advance, reach Independence as soon as possible and send a relief party out in quest of the weaker members of the party, who in the meantime would struggle on as best they could. The sufferings of those who pushed on were terrible indeed. Knowing the lives of the weaker ones whom they had left behind depended on their haste, they moved with all possible energy. It was getting late in the fall, and they had no blankets to protect them from the chill wind. Some of them were barefooted, and their feet, bruised and bleeding, left bloodstains at every step on the trail. The continual exertion of their forced march and the lack of wholesome food weakened their condition to such an extent that they became almost wholly deaf, not being able to hear a gun fired at a distance of only a few feet. Finally, after existing for eleven days upon one turkey, one coon and some wild grapes, they reached a settlement about fifteen miles from Independence. Half-naked, footsore and in an almost complete state of collapse, they were taken to Independence. With the quick sympathy of the frontiersman, a rescuing party was formed and sent out to rescue the other members of the expedition. They were found scattered along the trail, looking more like skeletons than human beings. After spending some months in Independence they decided to retrace their steps to find their buried treasure. Learning that the United States Government intended sending a military escort as far as the Mexican boundary line with a caravan in the spring, they decided not only to go after the money which they had cached on the Arkansas river, but also to fit up another wagon train and go on to Santa Fe. The caravan left Fort Leavenworth during the early part of May and arrived at the Mexican border without experiencing any serious difficulty. The Americans soon found their hidden treasure. Late in the fall the entire party arrived safely at the Missouri river, and, dividing their treasure, departed for their homes. This was the first military escort ever sent across the plains on the trail with a caravan. It was under the command of Maj. Bennett Riley, for whom Fort Riley, Kansas, was named."

Amateur Surgery on the Trail.

A tradition of the trail which has survived the generations is the wonderful surgical operation Richard Gentry performed. A Missourian named Broaddus attempted the feat of drawing his rifle muzzle foremost over the end gate of a wagon. As was to be expected he received the load in his left arm, shattering the bone. The time was August. Inflammation set in. Broaddus gritted his teeth and said "no" to amputation until he was apparently dying. Then he consented. There was no surgeon. Gentry took a hand saw, a butcher knife and an iron bolt. He filed a finer set of teeth on the back of the saw, whetted the butcher knife to razor edge and put the bolt in the fire. With the knife the arm was circled down to the bone. A few strokes of the saw cut through that. Then the hot bolt was applied until the stump was seared and the blood flow stopped. In a few weeks Broaddus was well.

Among the many Missourians who engaged in the Trail trade were John S. Jones, Thomas C. Cartwright and Thomas F. Houston.

Five Dollars a Letter.

The pony express came in as a fast mail feature of the overland trail. It was organized by the same Missourians who had made a success of the trail traffic. With the discovery of gold and the sudden migration of thousands to California there arose a need for quicker transit of mail. Five dollars was charged for each letter. The thinnest paper was used. The distance was nearly two thousand miles from St. Joseph to San Francisco. It was covered in eight days. There were eighty riders in the saddle constantly, forty on the way from St. Joseph to California and forty coming eastward at the same time. With those kept in reserve a force of four hundred riders was employed for the pony express. The service continued about a year. It ended when the Pacific telegraph was completed and began sending messages. To connect with the pony express the Hannibal & St. Joe railroad, only recently completed, put on a fast mail. The hero of the first run of this train was Engineer Add Clark. He drew the mail from the Mississippi to the Missouri, 206 miles, in a little over four hours. Crowds assembled at the stations to see and cheer. At the St. Joseph terminus a pony stood near. The mail clerk jumped from the mail car, ran with the little bags of mail and threw them across the back of the pony. The rider plied his spur and dashed to the landing where the ferry boat was waiting. In less than a minute after the train stopped the pony express was on the way across the Missouri river.

Hampton Ball's Stage Driving Days.

One of the last of the Missouri stage drivers was Hampton Ball who died at Jonesburg in 1911. He was of the Virginia Balls, the family to which George Washington belonged. At eighty-one Hampton Ball was tall and erect, muscular and active. He accounted for his splendid health by his "temperance, independence and outdoor life." As early as 1847 Mr. Ball drove the stage on the Boone's Lick road. "Why, sir," he once said, "we never heard of such a thing as a stage coach robbery on our route. I recall that James Huntington, a large contractor, at one of the taverns in northeast Missouri, put $6,000 in an open drawer in a public room in one of these inns, and left it there all night. I told him that I believed it would be dangerous; that there might be some stranger—not a Missourian, of course—who would steal the money.

"'You don't think any of the guests at this hotel would be mean enough to steal, do you?' was Huntington's indignant reply. .

"I knew all the old stage stand keepers," Mr. Ball continued. "Kenner at Paudingville was one of the greatest. He could play a fiddle that would almost make the trees dance. He was jovial and generous and one of the most profane men I ever knew. He did not mean to be profane, but he swore almost as readily as some people whistle. Although he ran a public house, there was never any meal served at his table on which he did not ask the blessing. The great pioneer Methodist, Rev. Andrew Monroe, stopped one day at his house. The stage coach driver suggested that Kenner ask Monroe to ask the blessing.

"'No,' said Kenner, 'I ask my own blessing at my own table.'

"And he did. On another occasion, in a single breath, Kenner concluded asking the blessing thus: 'And for all these benefits we thank thee, O Lord. Amen. Kick that blanked dog out from under the table!'

"We did not always stick to the road," he said. "There were no fences. When one track became too muddy or too rough with ruts we drove out on the prairie

OVERLAND TRAIN ORGANIZED TO LEAVE WESTERN MISSOURI FOR CALIFORNIA FOLLOWING THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD

or made a new road through the woods. Wild hogs were through this region in large numbers. No one fattened hogs. The hogs lived on the mast, which they found plentiful in the woods. I have seen from the stage coach many a time a farmer shooting a hog, from which he would make bacon. I was a clerk at $6 a month, or rather a boy working in a store for that amount, when I was offered 40 cents a day and board as a stage coach driver. I got my employer's permission to accept the new job and went to work at it.

"We married earlier in those days than now. Nowadays a man is not an old bachelor until he passes 50 and a woman is not an old maid until she gets to be 40, and, you know, she is never that old before she is married. When I was young, girls married at 14 and boys before they were 20. My wife had $12.50 in silver and I had $151 in silver, which was our total wealth when we got married. We built a log cabin and went to work. The high price of living did not bother us then. It did not require so much for us to live. I don't think we were any less happy, however."

Bledsoe's Ferry is an historic crossing of the Osage in Benton county. In pioneer days, there was a trail and later a road which crossed Missouri diagonally from northeast to southwest. It began at Palmyra and ended in the Cherokee Nation. Bledsoe's Ferry was the halfway place. Near Bledsoe's was a large settlement of the Shawanoese or Shawnees.

Benton, the Prophet.

"Benton was not a Southern Democrat," said George G. Vest, "he was a National Democrat. He appreciated more thoroughly than any man of his era the possibilities of that vast country west of the Mississippi, destined to become the seat of empire on this continent. I heard him at a little town on the Missouri river, standing with his right arm extended, declare, with the air and tones of an ancient prophet, 'There is the east; there is the road to India.' And upon his bronze statue in Lafayette park in St. Louis today, upon the pedestal, are engraved these prophetic words. He declared, and men laughed at him when he said it, that this continent would be bound together by bands of iron which would carry our produce to the Pacific slope to feed the innumerable millions in Asia and the Orient."

In February, 1849, Senator Benton presented to the Senate his bill "to provide for the location and construction of a central national road from the Pacific ocean to the Mississippi river, with a branch of said road to the Columbia river." That was the year of the discovery of gold in California and of the great rush of gold seekers across the continent. In setting forth his views on the bill, Senator Benton used these prophetic words:

"When we acquired Louisiana, Mr. Jefferson revived this idea of establishing an inland communication between the two sides of the continent, and for that purpose the well-known expedition of Lewis and Clark was sent out by him. About thirty years ago I began to turn my attention to this subject. I followed the idea of Mr. Jefferson, Lasalle and others, and attempted to revive attention to their plans. I then expressed the confident belief that this route would be established, immediately with the aid of the American Government, and eventually, even without that aid, by the progress of events and the force of circumstances. I go for a national highway from the Mississippi to the Pacific, and go against all schemes of individuals or of companies, and especially those who come here and ask of the Congress

of the United States to give themselves and their assigns the means of making a road and taxing the people for the use of it.

"I propose to reserve ground for all sorts of roads, railway, plank, macadamized. More than that, room for a track by magnetic power, according to the idea stated, I believe by Professor Henry, and, to me, plausibly pursued by Professor Page, of the Patent Office, if that idea ripens into practicability, and who can undertake to say that any idea will not become practicable in the present ages.

"An American road to India through the heart of our country will revive upon its line all the wonders of which we have read and eclipse them. The western wilderness from the Pacific to the Mississippi will start into life under its touch. A long line of cities will grow up. Existing cities will take a new start. The state of the world calls for a new road to India, and it is our destiny to give it, the last and greatest. Let us act up to the greatness of the occasion and show ourselves worthy of the extraordinary circumstances in which we are placed by securing, while we can, an American road to India—central and national—for ourselves and our posterity, now and hereafter, for thousands of years to come."

Early Railroad Projects.

St. Louis had 10,000 inhabitants when Mayor John F. Darby sent a railroad message to the board of aldermen. That was the first formal railroad project in Missouri or anywhere west of the Mississippi. The time was February, 1836. The road then proposed was to run from St. Louis to Fayette in Howard county. Acting on Mayor Darby's message, the board of aldermen called a meeting of the citizens. The meeting appointed a committee to draw up an address. In effect the address was a call to the counties interested to send delegates to a railroad convention to be held in St. Louis in April, 1836. Eleven counties were represented. The delegates were entertained at the expense of the city and were banqueted. Two projects were endorsed. One of them was a railroad south from St. Louis to Iron Mountain. The other was for a railroad to St. Charles and westward through the counties north of the Missouri river.

At the next session of the legislature, 1836-7, George K. McGunnegle, a representative from St. Louis, introduced a bill to charter the St. Louis and Iron Mountain and the bill passed. That was the beginning of railroad legislation in Missouri. The legislature declined to vote aid to the enterprise.

For ten years after St. Louis began the agitation for railroads Benton and his following opposed government aid to them. Coming back from Washington in 1839, the Senator said in a speech: "Ever since the day when General Jackson vetoed the Lexington and Maysville road bill, internal improvement by the general government was no longer to be considered as among the teachings and doctrines of the democratic party. It is the old, antiquated, obsolete and exploded doctrine of Henry Clay's 'American system.' Look at Illinois, where whig rule obtained for awhile, overwhelmed in debt, unable to pay the interest on her bonds. Look at Missouri, a State free of debt—a State governed by democracy."

Benton's Conversion.

In 1849 Benton reversed himself. He made the speech more frequently quoted than any other in what he liked to call the "six Roman lustrums" of his senatorial career. The occasion was the national convention held in St. Louis to promote the building of a transcontinental railroad from the Mississippi to San Francisco. Benton participated. Enthusiasm reached its highest pitch when with all of his oratorical magnetism, he pointed toward the west and exclaimed: "There is the east. There is India!" The words of prophecy gave Harriet Hosmer the inspira-

tion for the statue of Benton which stands in Lafayette park. Advocacy at last of that which he had most strenuously opposed won for Benton his greatest renown.

The invitation to Benton to participate in the convention was carried by John F. Darby, one of the leaders in the movement. He said to the Senator, as he afterwards narrated: "Colonel Benton, we expect you to aid us in this matter. St. Louis from her central position is entitled to have the road start from here. We shall have opposition and much to contend with. Douglas is striving hard for the Presidency, and he will try to have the Pacific road start from Chicago instead of St. Louis, run through Iowa, and give us the go-by. Should Douglas succeed in his presidential aspirations, it will give him additional power and influence."

The reply of Senator Benton, as Mr. Darby reported it, was: "I shall be there, sir; I shall attend the convention, and advocate the building of the road from St. Louis to San Francisco. Douglas never can be President, sir. No, sir, Douglas never can be President. His legs are too short, sir. His coat, like a cow's tail, hangs too near the ground, sir."

Miss Hosmer's conception represents Benton holding a map and looking down to it. One who was present described Benton as assuming his most impressive pose, throwing back his head and stretching out his right arm to indicate the course, as he said in deep tones:

"Let us beseech the national legislature to build the great road upon the great national line, which unites Europe and Asia—the line which will find on our continent the bay of San Francisco at one end, St. Louis in the middle, the national metropolis and great commercial emporium at the other end—the line which will be adorned with its crowning honor, the colossal statue of the great Columbus, whose design it accomplishes, hewn from the granite mass of a peak of the Rocky Mountains, overlooking the road—the pedestal and the statue a part of the mountain, pointing with outstretched arm to the western horizon and saying to the flying passenger, there is the east—there is India!"

Promotion of the First Missouri Railroad.

The Pacific railroad movement was born in St. Louis the year that flames swept the business district and 6,000 deaths from cholera decimated a population of 60,000. In May of that year Isaac H. Sturgeon introduced in the common council the resolution calling the national convention and in October the convention met. The movement reached the legislative stage in Congress thirteen years later while Missouri was under the Civil war cloud. Political expediency moved the line far to the northward of the city where the campaign of education for a transcontinental railroad had received its earliest and greatest impetus. Missouri not only lost the transcontinental railroad, but for many years saw it operated to its disadvantage.

Popular was the movement which led to the building of the first railroad for Missouri. Public meetings were held. A charter was obtained. At the meeting held on the 31st of January, 1850, the project passed beyond the stage of addresses and resolutions. Subscriptions were called for. James H. Lucas offered to be one of three to make up $100,000. John O'Fallon and Daniel D. Page promptly joined him. These gentlemen subscribed $33,000 each and tossed a coin to determine who should have the privilege of taking the odd $1,000. John O'Fallon won it. Thomas Allen, J. and E. Walsh, Joshua B. Brant and George Collier signed for

$10,000 each. A subscription list was opened at the Merchants' Exchange and committees were appointed to canvass the several wards of the city. Within two weeks, before the middle of February, citizens of St. Louis had subscribed for stock in the Pacific railroad as it was then called to the amount of $319,000.

There were 165 contributors to the bonus of $96,950. These subscriptions were gifts outright, not for shares of stock. James H. Lucas headed the list with $11,000. Edward J. Gay gave $5,000. One of the subscribers was living until the spring of 1909—J. B. Gazzam, who was a member of the firm of Douglas, Gazzam & Co. The name of Peter Richard Kenrick appeared; the archbishop's contribution was $1,500.

As work progressed subscriptions continued to come in. The building of the Pacific railroad was a popular movement through the ten years before the Civil war. St. Louisans made overland journeys along the projected route and held mass meetings in the counties. In 1855 the individual subscriptions had reached nearly $1,000,000. The city of St. Louis had subscribed $500,000 and the county of St. Louis the same amount. The county of St. Louis had issued $875,000 in bonds to aid the construction. Actuated by the public spirit which attended every step in the building of the first railroad from St. Louis westward, the president of the company served the first year without salary. The next year he accepted a salary of $1,500. After that he resigned, arguing that change of presidents would contribute to maintain popular interest in the project. In four years of the decade beginning with 1850 the people of St. Louis subscribed $6,400,000 to four railroads. About one-half of this amount was voted in corporate capacity. The other half was subscribed by individuals. The four enterprises thus encouraged were the Missouri Pacific, the Iron Mountain, the North Missouri, now known as the Wabash, and the Ohio and Mississippi, now the Baltimore and Ohio.

Ground Breaking Ceremonies.

The Fourth of July was ground breaking day for the first steam railroad out of St. Louis. Captain Henry Almstedt fired his national salute at sunrise. Shortly after seven o'clock, the military and the civic bodies began to report to Grand Marshal Thorton Grimsley on Fourth street. Flags were flying everywhere —from the engine houses, the newspaper offices, the hotels, the business houses. Shortly after eight o'clock officials of the State, the governor and his staff wheeled into Washington avenue and the long column started for Mincke's ground on the edge of Chouteau's Pond just west of Fifteenth street. At the head of the procession were escorted officials of the State, the president, directors and engineers of the Pacific railroad, the orator of the day, the judges and officials of the courts, the mayor, the aldermen and city officials and the editorial corps of St. Louis.

Then came the Grays and the Dragoons, and the Missouri Artillery, and the Yagers and the Swiss Guards. The fire department and a long line of civic societies followed. At the speakers' stand near the pond, the band played the Grand Pacific Railroad march which Mr. Balmer had composed for the day. Thomas Allen, the president of the company, told of the popular movement which had led up to the event they were celebrating. His estimate of the cost of the road from St. Louis to Kansas City and of the business it would do is interesting. He said: "We have found our distance across the State to be about 300 miles, and our grades easy, the maximum not exceeding forty-five feet to the mile and

CUPPLES STATION, ON SAME SITE, 1914

CHOUTEAU'S POND, ST. LOUIS, 1840

that occurring only on a short distance. The cost is estimated below the average cost of railroads, at about $20,000 per mile, or about $6,000,000 for the whole completed."

President Allen said that the investigation made indicated that the road the first year after completion would do passenger business of $457,900 and freight business of $470,200, a gross profit of fifteen per cent on $6,000,000. It was thought the cost of operation might be forty to fifty per cent of the gross earnings. When Mr. Allen concluded, a prologue in verse composed for the occasion by A. S. Mitchell, the newspaper man who had become secretary of the railroad company, was recited by J. M. Field, the brilliant writer and actor. Edward Bates delivered the oration of the day. He dwelt upon the resources and possibilities of the Mississippi valley, but before he finished he emphasized the ambition of these first Missouri railroad builders: "But whither does it tend? When you have constructed the road to the frontier of the Missouri, what power can stop it there? Beyond lie the extended plains of the Missouri and the Arkansas, New Mexico, Utah, California, Oregon, the Pacific and the old Eastern World."

The governor of the State, Austin A. King, was prevented by illness from being present. To the mayor of St. Louis, Luther M. Kennett, fell the duty of throwing the first dirt. President Allen presented the spade. Saying he would proceed "to make the first cut in the line of the Pacific railroad," the mayor, with the band playing the "Governor's March," led the way to the edge of the pond and began to dig. As the first dirt was thrown the crowd cheered lustily.

Railroad Red Letter Days.

From 1850 to 1860 every beginning of a new railroad and completion of a division and every progressive step of consequence in railroad building were celebrated with enthusiasm. When the North Missouri, now the Wabash, was built to St. Charles there was celebration. When ground was broken in 1852 at Hannibal for the Hannibal and St. Joseph, now the Burlington, a boat load of St. Louisans went up to the barbecue. In those days all men of affairs in Missouri were holders of railroad stock. They subscribed because it was considered a civic duty. At the opening of the Missouri Pacific to Hermann, ladies attended the feast. When the old North Missouri extension from Macon to Iowa was started Mrs. Isaac H. Sturgeon lifted the first shovel of dirt.

Notable days for St. Louis were those of 1852 and 1853 when the first railroad went into operation. On the first day of December, 1852, the first locomotive whistle west of the Mississippi river sounded at seven o'clock in the morning. The locomotive stood on the Pacific railroad track just west of Fourteenth street. Thomas Allen, president of the Pacific, T. S. O'Sullivan, Mr. Copp, secretary of the company; William R. Kingsley, and a few others connected with the road climbed on board for the initial trip. Charles Williams, the machinist, operated the engine. The train was run out to the end of the track laying a short distance beyond the Tower Grove crossing. This was the beginning of railroad operation in Missouri.

A little later St. Louis celebrated the formal opening of the first completed section. The directors of the company, members of the legislature who were passing through St. Louis on their way to Jefferson City and a few others were invited to have what was for many of them their first experience in "riding on

the rail." The section of road then opened was from the St. Louis terminus to Sulphur Springs as it was then called—afterwards Cheltenham. Two coaches were occupied by the guests. The distance traveled was about five miles. At Sulphur Springs lunch was served and speeches of congratulation were made. Mayor Kennett, Edward Bates and James H. Lucas made speeches. "For a new road, we may say advisedly that there is not a better built road in the Union," the paper commented next morning.

The next railroad red letter day for St. Louis was the 19th of July, 1853, when twelve passenger cars carried over 600 official guests out to Franklin, as it was then called, to celebrate the opening of the first division, thirty-nine miles long. A couple of months before that the road had been put in regular operation to Kirkwood, named after the first chief engineer. The board of directors had resolved that "the fare for passengers from this time forth is not to exceed three cents per mile, with proper and liberal deduction for in and out passengers." The board also ordered that trains should stop at "Rock Spring, Cheltenham, about five miles; the River des Peres, a little beyond Sutton's; and Webster College, which is two and one-half miles this side of Kirkwood." The St. Louis Grays, with Jackson's band of the regular army accompanied the excursion train to Franklin, now Pacific. Franklin consisted of a depot building in a forest of large trees. Those passengers who had watches timed the journey from St. Louis and expressed their agreeable surprise that the time, allowance being made for all stops, was one hour and fifty-nine minutes. Newspaper history preserves the comment that this was considered "a fair speed for a new, partially unballasted and untried road." After the banquet there were speeches, of course. One of the most significant was made by Hon. Luther M. Kennett, who congratulated the audience that the cars were of St. Louis manufacture and "drawn by a locomotive made in St. Louis and by St. Louis mechanics, Palm and Robertson, to whose enterprise and public spirit the company and the citizens of St. Louis generally are indebted for so important a movement toward our city's advancement to wealth and prosperity." The cost of the construction of the thirty-nine miles Mr. Kennett stated had been "a trifle over $1,600,000." The Missouri Pacific was completed to Kansas City in the fall of 1865.

It is told of one Missourian that when he was called upon by railroad promoters to donate right of way across his farm he replied: "Take it, gentlemen; take all you want—everything I have if necessary; only leave me my wife and children." When railroad building was new in Missouri, a farmer who was in town heard some one say the construction gang was about ready to lay rails. He hunted up the superintendent and asked if the company wanted 3,000 good, sound white oak rails.

In the zeal to push railroad enterprises across the State, bonds were issued when the markets were depressed. To the Iron Mountain railroad the State gave aid in the sum of $3,501,000. Some of these bonds sold as low as 67. The $3,000,000 of Hannibal & St. Joe bonds sold for $567,304.94 less than par. The discount on $4,350,000 North Missouri bonds was about $560,000. The only state bonds issued to help railroad building which brought par were those for the Platte railroad.

CHARLES G. WARNER

S. H. H. CLARK

D. R. GARRISON

A. A. TALMAGE

Overland Mail by Stage and Rail.

The arrival of the first overland mail made the 10th of October, 1858, a notable day for St. Louis. When the Missouri Pacific train steamed into the Seventh street station, there was great cheering from the assembled crowd. John Butterfield stepped from a car. He was overwhelmed with congratulations. The Hon. John F. Darby delivered an address of welcome. Butterfield responded. The mail was escorted to the postoffice on Third and Olive streets and with ceremony delivered to the postmaster. It had come through from San Francisco in twenty-four days, twenty hours and thirty-five minutes, a great achievement for that period. Previously the mail service between the Pacific coast and the States had been by way of the Isthmus of Panama. Shorter time was demanded. The government established the overland mail with Butterfield as agent. The first mail stage left San Francisco September 16, 1858. The route was from San Francisco to Los Angeles, 462 miles in 80 hours; to Yuma, 282 miles in 72 hours, 20 minutes; to Tucson, 280 miles in 71 hours, 20 minutes; to Franklin, 360 miles in 82 hours; to Colbert's Ferry on Red river, 282½ miles in 65 hours, 25 minutes; to Fort Smith, 192 miles in 38 hours; to Tipton, Missouri, the railroad terminus, 318½ miles in 48 hours, 55 minutes; to St. Louis by railroad, 160 miles in 11 hours, 40 minutes.

The builders of the Pacific, now the Missouri Pacific, decided on five and one-half feet as their gauge. The minority protested and urged the adoption of the gauge of George Stephenson, which was becoming general in the eastern States—four feet, eight and one-half inches. This was met by the unanswerable argument that the Mississippi would never be bridged at St. Louis and the city might with entire safety adopt its own railroad gauge. Within a little more than a decade, the bridge was in course of construction. St. Louis was agitated over suggestions of methods to reduce the Missouri Pacific to standard gauge—four feet, eight and one-half inches. Daniel R. Garrison—in railroad circles they called him "Old Dan," because there was a nephew Daniel—found the way. And when the thing was done the whole city marveled at the ease of it. The conditions were economy and minimum of interference with business. In a single day the 300 or more miles of track was reduced from five feet, six inches to the standard. Only one rail was moved inward. Before that was started, the track layers drove the new inner line of spikes into the ties the entire distance. Early one morning the tracklayers drew the old inner line of spikes, moved the rail inward against the new line of spikes and fastened it there. The road was ready for operation before night.

Pioneer Railroad Building.

John David Foote was fifteen years old when he began railroad building in Missouri. That was in 1857. True to this State of steady habits, Mr. Foote was still a railroad man living in northwest Missouri fifty-three years afterwards. He recalled some of those pioneer experiences in Missouri railroad grading, first trains, and big snow storms:

"I commenced driving team on construction when I was fifteen. Each teamster looked after two carts and two horses. Ox teams hauled the grading plows through the cuts. Twenty-five cents a day and board was my wage. The men who did the shoveling got 50 cents a day and board. The first contract I worked on was a mile west of Stewartsville.

I was only a little fellow then and it was hard for me to handle the harness on the big mules. So Tom Martin, the contractor, told Mike Shay to make me 'jigger boss.' The 'jigger boss' was the fellow who handed out the reg'lars to the boys on the work. It was an old-fashioned whisky, strong enough to burn a cut through the hills, as well as a plow, if they'd only thought of using it that way. All the laborers were Irishmen, great, brawny fellows, ready for a scrap or frolic on any occasion, and they'd think a contractor was walking on the constitution of the country if he didn't give 'em their jiggers when they got dry, which was some frequent.

"Mike Fox was working a team on the dump one day when it came time to minister to him. It seems he had got a pretty good jag on before I came along, but I didn't know that. When I poured out the usual allowance Mike put his big fingers around the cup so it would hold more and put away his double-jigger at a swallow. Next thing I knew Mike, his horse and cart were rolling bumpety-bump down the high embankment. Finally they landed at the bottom and Mike found himself sitting down amid the wreck.

"'Johnnie,' he called out, 'would you moind fetching yez jigger down here—I don't believe I can get up there.'

"But that ended my job as jigger boss. They blamed Mike's mishap on me, and appointed a man who had the firmness to say no when the applicant already had enough.

"When they were laying the track on the Cameron and Kansas City branch, as it was then called, in August, 1867, the people of Liberty were so anxious to get the road completed there as soon as possible that they made a contract to pay the company a large bonus if the rails were laid and spiked by a certain date. We were rushing hard, but 6 o'clock of the last day found us with still three-quarters of a mile to go, and the time would be out at midnight. Mr. Weed was superintendent, and he was some worked up over that bonus. He told us we had to get in before the clock struck 12, if the boiler bust. To make it worth while he promised us double pay that night, and said every saloon in Liberty would entertain us free from midnight on till morning, they having been prepared for the occasion. You know in those days there weren't any temperance societies, and they didn't make such a hullabaloo about drinking as they do now. Most everybody drank, more or less.

"Scattered along the right-of-way were headlights and lanterns for the men to work by. And we did work, I tell you! We thought that track had to be in there on time, or the world would come to an end. You never saw such a busy crowd. The people came out to watch as we got near town, and when the last spike was driven against the rail that marked the end the crowd cheered like they do when they elect their man President. The job was finished before 12, and the town run wide open the balance of the night.

"When the engine came along, pushing its car of rails, spikes, etc., it was the first time a great many people there had ever seen a railroad train. The engine whistled and the bell was rung until everybody in town was aroused, and soon the entire population came down to the track to see what was going on, and to lend a hand in the cheering.

"While I was working on construction I got to see many sights like that. The advent of the railroad was the biggest sort of thing that could happen, same as a passenger airship would be now, I reckon. When the first train was run out of St. Joe to Easton they had a big picnic and barbecue. The engineer and fireman—two heroes of the occasion—went over to the grounds to get their dinner, and when they came back their little engine—little as compared with the engines of today—was surrounded by men, women and children, curiously peering under at the works and everything they could see. The crowd was so thick that many were forced in close. It must have been a suggestion of the Old Nick that prompted the engineer to climb aboard and let loose a wild volley of shrieks from the whistle. In a second pandemonium had spread her wings and was tumbling the people about like corks in a gale. The engine hadn't budged an inch, but they supposed when they heard that fearful noise it would certainly do something, and none wanted to take chances on which way it might take a notion to go. I thought that engineer ought to have been stood on his head in his own tank; he just leaned out of his window and laughed till the tears run down his cheeks. Some of the people didn't stop running till they got way back in the woods. The effect on 'em was about the same as if a platoon of soldiers had fired directly at 'em. You see, an engine was an uncanny thing then, and people thought they were liable to blow up at any time, just like a racing steamboat.

"The worst snow I have any recollection of occurred about thirty years ago. It was accompanied by a hurricane, which filled the big cuts to a depth of eight feet and more. About one hundred and fifty men were put to work with shovels on the snow west of Cameron. We started in Saturday night and worked all day Sunday and far into Monday without a rest. There was a long, high embankment, swept clean by the wind, and then a long deep cut, in which the snow was deep and compact. There were five engines coupled together, waiting to butt through, but first we dug large holes to the track about fifty feet apart, so as to give the engines a 'foothold.' Every pound of steam was crowded on when the signal was given, and the train of engines came on like a hurricane, cleaving the snow like the prow of a battleship and sending a spray fifty feet in the air. And that without a snowplow, just the naked engine. The distance was about a quarter of a mile, and though they slowed down considerably, they managed to pull through. The head engine butted its stack and headlight off, and the engineer couldn't get out of his cab until they dug the snow out of the gangway. It was sure a Santa Claus string of engines when that job was done."

The Beginnings of Systems.

The Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad, the first to cross Missouri, started at Hannibal in the office of John H. Clemens, father of Mark Twain. This meeting was held at Hannibal in the spring of 1846. Z. G. Draper was chosen president, and R. F. Lakeman, secretary. At the next session of the legislature, in 1847, the charter was obtained. Then followed enthusiastic meetings and conventions all along the proposed route. And then the movement slumbered until 1850. In 1851 the legislature began the voting of bonds on condition that the company raise and expend corresponding amounts. The counties and the towns voted bonds. That was the method of railroad financing in Missouri before the war. In the fall of 1851 ground was broken at Hannibal with a great procession, much oratory and bell ringing and cannon firing. The next year Congress voted 600,000 acres of good land in aid of the road. Contracts were let but construction dragged. It was not until February 13, 1859, that the first through train ran. The rate was five cents a mile and some times more for passengers. The road was known in Missouri as "Old Reliable." The Hannibal & St. Joe was started from both ends. It was completed in Mumpower's field two miles east of Chillicothe at seven o'clock in the morning of February 13. The junction of the two ends was celebrated by the transportation of several barrels of water from the Mississippi at Hannibal to St. Joseph where the barrels were emptied into the Missouri. This as the orator said typified the union of the two great water courses of the American continent.

The original idea of the Wabash was a railroad from St. Louis and St. Charles northwesterly along the dividing line between the Mississippi and the Missouri river valleys to the Iowa line and thence to Des Moines. The name was the North Missouri. This road was chartered in 1851 and reached Macon in 1859. Not until 1864 did the North Missouri take over the two shorter roads, the Chariton and the Missouri Valley and build through to Kansas City.

When Paramore built 700 miles of three-feet gauge road through Missouri and Arkansas and into Texas with only $12,000 a mile bonded debt, it seemed as if standard roads with larger indebtedness could not compete. There was much sentiment in St. Louis favorable to the narrow gauge idea. But it died out and the narrow gauge became standard. Samuel W. Fordyce, first receiver and then reorganizer of the Cotton Belt, as the road was called, worked out the railroad problem demonstrating that a standard gauge was best.

Railway Mail Service Originated in Missouri.

"The father of railway mail service" was General William A. Davis of St. Joseph. Senator Cockrell and Representative James N. Burnes assembled documentary evidence of this paternity. General Davis left papers which embraced drawings of cars and similar data showing what he was planning as early as 1862. He was postmaster at St. Joseph at one time and for many years connected with the service. He took great pride in the efficiency of his office and when crowded with work used to go out on the railroads fifty or sixty miles to get that much additional time in sorting and arranging mail matter. This gave him the idea that much of the work then being done in the offices could be transacted en route, and that a great deal of time could be saved in the transmission of matter. On the 5th of August, 1862, Mr. Davis reported to the assistant postmaster general what was the practical beginning of railway mail service:

"I have the honor to report that in obedience to verbal orders received through Mr. Waller, special agent of the department, one of the clerks and myself left here on Saturday, 26th, so as to be in Quincy on Monday, 28th ult., to commence the distribution of the overland mail on the Hannibal and St. Joe Railway. Finding that the mail cars had not been arranged according to promises made to Mr. Waller, instead of going to Quincy I proceeded to Hannibal and succeeded in getting cars temporarily fixed, in which, though with some inconvenience, I think the work can be done until the new cars are ready. The distribution was commenced on Monday at Palmyra, and I assisted the clerk, going up as far as Clarence, at which place I turned back with the clerk who had come down to go up. On Tuesday assisted up to the same point and turned back, and distributed the mail going up on Wednesday myself. We have now gotten through with a week's service, and can confidently report that when the accommodations are furnished that are promised by Mr. Hayward, superintendent of the road, the distribution can be done entirely to your satisfaction. The excuse given by the officers at Hannibal for not having cars ready was that they had been daily expecting both Mr. Hayward and Mr. Nettleton, neither of whom had arrived when I got there on Saturday. Mr. Hayward got home on Wednesday last and I saw him on Friday. He promised to have the cars got up specially for the mail service, and have them run through to West Quincy. This will be all that is necessary to secure the entire success of the distribution on the road, providing that we have competent men to do the work."

John L. Bittinger, who was postmaster at St. Joseph following General Davis, wrote a letter:

"Mr. Davis had been in the service of the department for over forty years and knew every detail of the service, and had handled the overland mail from the start. The exigencies of the war rendered the operating of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad exceedingly difficult, and almost every train would be behind time. As the overland mail coaches were expected to leave on their journey across the plains promptly, of necessity they frequently had to go without a great portion of the eastern mail. Mr. Davis conceived the idea of distributing the mail on the cars, and laid the plans before me. I was satisfied they were good, and urged him to go ahead and request authority from the department and experiment. He was granted the necessary authority, and, with clerks detailed from the St. Joe office, under his personal supervision the railway mail service between Quincy and St. Joseph was soon in successful operation. How credit ever came to be given to any other person than Mr. Davis for originating this service I never could conceive."

The assistant postmaster general at the time, A. N. Seevely, referring to the report and to the letters of Maj. Bittinger and others, said: "These letters have

revived recollections of my conversations with Mr. Davis and personal observations which I had the opportunity of making in 1863 at St. Joseph, and on the cars between that place and Hannibal, and I now feel quite well satisfied that Messrs. Bittinger and others truly state the facts concerning Mr. Davis' work in connection with the postal car service. I talked with Mr. Davis in St. Joe during my visit there, preparatory to a trip on the overland stage, and believe that the idea of assorting mails on the cars, instead of delaying them for that purpose in the distributing post office in St. Joseph was entirely original with himself."

Many years afterwards the United States Government prepared a history of the railway mail service from its inception in 1862 and gave the credit of it to another man in whose honor a statue was erected. When the manuscript copy of this history was examined it appeared that red ink lines had been drawn through the name of William A. Davis and the mention of his connection with the first organization.

The Right to Regulate.

Of the millions for which the State became responsible through aid of railroad construction, Missouri, after years of legislation and waiting, got back about two-fifths. But the State also acquired the conceded right to regulate rates on freight and passenger traffic. To the statesmanship of Governor Fletcher, Missouri owes this wise reservation of the right to regulate. That Missouri did not pioneer the way to partnership by the State in the profits of railroad operation was because the lawmaking power ignored a second suggestion of the governor. In the same message that urged the provision for rate regulation, Governor Fletcher said: "The present is perhaps also the best occasion for requiring (in all cases where it may be legally done) of all railroads a small annual tribute to the State, which could be so insignificant in amount as not to interfere with the profitable operation of the roads, but which would in the aggregate ultimately grow to be a sum sufficient to carry on the state government without the levy of any taxes on the people for state purposes."

When in 1865 the Fletcher administration entered upon the solution of the railroad problem in Missouri there were 826 miles of road in the State. When in 1868 the last of the foreclosures and sales were completed there were 1,394 miles and on the Southwest Branch, which the State had operated, 2,000 men were making the dirt fly. Fremont, who was dispossessed of the Southwest Branch, had been the head of the Republican ticket for the presidency in 1856. Fisk, who succeeded Fremont, to successfully demonstrate railroad operation by the State, was to become a national standard bearer of the Prohibition party. The roads which state money built and on which the State expended about $20,000,000 are today the trunk lines of the Missouri Pacific, the Iron Mountain, the Wabash, the Frisco and the Burlington system in Missouri. They are the main stems of 7,000 miles of railroad valued at more than $350,000,000 within the limits of the State.

Soon after the Civil war the governor of Missouri, Thomas C. Fletcher, addressing a special message to the legislature, said:

"I suggest in any disposition you make of this road there be reserved the right of the State to regulate the charges for carrying freight and passengers, and that a penalty be annexed for exceeding such rates. It is not an inappro-

priate occasion to add, in this connection, that so far as you have power over the several railroads, by existing circumstances, this right ought to be reserved to the legislature, and thus as fully as possible provide for the protection of the people from exorbitant charges on the part of these corporations, which have a monopoly of a business that might be used to the great detriment of the people."

At that time the State practically owned every mile of railroad in Missouri. Of one road the governor had taken actual possession, he was operating it. The other roads, while being operated by companies, belonged to the State by virtue of long existing default on the bonds which the State had issued to the companies to aid construction. Foreclosures were impending in all of these cases. Nothing stood in the way of seizure save the question of future policy. Should the State take charge of the roads which its money had built and run them? It may seem strange but the fact is that not even minority sentiment supported the affirmative. Several sessions of the legislature were required to work out the problem.

The roads were uncompleted. Only one of them had reached the western border of the State. Millions had been absorbed in construction. Large sections of the State were entirely without the expected facilities. Of the first consideration in the adjustment were terms which would insure more construction. For what had been spent the legislators and the public gave only secondary thought. In driving bargains the State endeavored to recover something of what had been invested, if that word may be used, but the amount of money was not deemed of so much importance as the condition of future building.

In the foreclosure of the state's lien and in the sale of the road to the new company, as each settlement was made, was found the opportunity to which this far-sighted governor drew attention. The experiment of railroad ownership is an historical fact. Of greater significance, perhaps, is the regulation feature which was made part of the readjustment of relations with the railroads of Missouri.

When the recommendations for foreclosure and sale were made Missouri had no rate power over railroads. Charters granted from 1847 to 1857, the period of railroad beginning and construction, authorized the companies to fix their own passenger and freight rates. These charters, in specific terms exempted the railroads from the operation of the statutes on the subject of rate regulation. Like some other western and like some central States, Missouri, yielding to the strong popular desire to stimulate railroad construction, granted charters with extremely liberal provisions. But, as was not the case in many other States, Missouri, through the disastrous effect of the Civil war, found the opportunity to amend radically her relations with the railroads.

Urged repeatedly by Governor Fletcher the general assembly, as one railroad after another was foreclosed and sold, inserted in the bills which became acts a provision subjecting the roads to rate regulations. This provision the railroad companies opposed but were compelled to accept. The only concession made was that the right of rate regulation by the State should not become effective until ten years after the passage of the act by the legislature of 1868. It is a rather curious fact that the railroads of Missouri in that day seemed to have found a legislative champion in the person of a Mr. Lawson. The member having

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that name offered the amendment cutting out the provision for rate regulation. He was defeated by a vote of sixty-four to forty-two. Those opposing the rate regulation provision were about equally divided between the Republican and Democratic parties. At that time, shortly after the close of the war many residents of the State were disfranchised. The Republicans had a majority in the legislature. By the series of acts the right of rate regulation after ten years was not only stipulated by the legislature but was formally accepted by the reorganized railroad companies as one of the conditions upon which they regained their properties.

An Experiment in State Ownership.

Missouri's experiment in state ownership of railroads was not of popular choice. It resulted from circumstances chief of which was the Civil war. Conditions at the time seemed most disastrous. They prompted legislation which gave the State a commanding position toward the railroads, which made Missouri the successful pioneer in the field of government control of common carriers. In actual possession and operation of railroad property the State had an experience novel and interesting, although not very important in the light of the railroad management of these times. The governor of Missouri became a railroad manager. He established rates, ran trains, maintained the tracks, even added betterments to the property, and showed balances on the right side of the ledger. The governor was proud of the record of railroad management by the State. He gave the people the facts in his messages to the general assembly. But he did not advise continuance of state ownership of railroads. In fact, he told the legislature and the people that "the paramount want" of the State was completed railroads. In that view popular sentiment coincided. State ownership found no advocates, notwithstanding the experiment on a scale somewhat impressive for those days was entirely encouraging.

Missouri did not yield readily or extravagantly to the early agitation for railroads. In 1836 and the years following there were importunate advocates of state aid of railroads. Mass meetings were held. Conventions were organized. Ringing resolutions were adopted. Illinois was contributing millions of dollars of state aid for railroads within her borders. The influence of this boom of the nearby neighbor was felt on the west side of the Mississippi. It did not, however, result in action by the Missouri legislature. Partly owing to inherent conservatism, partly because of the waterway facilities, Missouri moved slowly in the building of railways.

State Policy in 1850-60.

The policy of state aid to railroads began in Missouri in 1851. Charters were granted and bills were passed authorizing the issue of bonds, guaranteed by the State, to construct railroads. The condition attached to the aid was that the railroad company must put up $50,000 of its own funds for each grant of $50,000 bonds by the State. This policy was given free trial until 1855 when the people of Missouri made the disagreeable discovery that the State had authorized the issue of $9,000,000 bonds; that the railroad building was progressing very slowly; that the cost was twice or three times the original estimates; that these bonds which had commanded a premium when issued were below par and selling at an

alarming discount. A change in the policy was imperative, but the change that took place seems inexplicable to this generation which cannot realize the railroad mania of that decade before the war. The railroad companies admitted that they were at the end of outside resources. They had raised and spent all that could be obtained in subscriptions from counties, cities and individuals. They made the astounding proposition that the State authorize the issue of $10,000,000 more in aid bonds, $19,000,000 in all. They asked that this aid be made available to them as they contributed, not dollar for dollar as before, but one dollar of their money for two dollars of state bonds. Fine promises were made that with this aid the roads would be pushed through to the western and southern borders of Missouri. Strange to tell, the legislators were convinced by the reasoning that with this additional $10,000,000 the roads would be completed and that without it the State might lose what had been put in. The bill passed, authorizing the issue of $10,000,000 to be applied in the proportion of two dollars of state money to one dollar of railroad subscriptions.

Governor Price's Veto.

Governor Sterling Price vetoed the bill and in doing so he said to the general assembly: "The bill is tantamount to a measure to bankrupt the treasury and to blast the reputation of the State." He charged that the companies in bad faith had sold aid bonds and used the proceeds to pay interest upon previous issues instead of for construction. But, the assembly passed the bill over the veto. During two years the bonds were issued on the new basis of two dollars of the people's money for one dollar of the railroad money. The railroad building went on slowly through Missouri.

In 1857 came the financial crisis. The issue of aid bonds was suspended. Tempted again by the hope of a spurt which might rush the roads to completion the legislature authorized large issues of bonds on condition that the railroads expend small sums, practically giving to the companies these issues. Beginning with 1859 the companies, one after another, ceased paying interest on the aid bonds. The State, to maintain its credit, was compelled to issue and sell additional bonds to meet the defaulted interest. In the spring of 1861 came the war. The companies stopped building railroads. The State stopped paying interest on the bonds. The results of the ten years' policy of aid to railroads showed state bonds issued as follows:

Pacific railroad	$ 7,000,000
Southwest branch	4,500,000
Iron Mountain	3,501,000
Cairo and Fulton	650,000
Platte county	700,000
North Missouri	4,350,000
Total	$20,701,000

The discount and commission for the selling of these bonds were $2,713,826. The net cash to the railroads was $17,927,174. And not one of the railroads was completed. Cities and counties had contributed through subscriptions $7,200,000. The state aid had been $2.61 for every dollar put in from city, county

and private subscriptions. Of private subscriptions to stock the companies had obtained only $1,500,000. Of the $27,917,000 put into Missouri railroads in the decade before the war, $26,400,000 was public funds, or about $17 of the people's money to every dollar raised by the railroad companies from private investors. St. Louis county and city lost $5,450,000.

The Railroad Problems of 1865.

With the return of peace in 1865, Missouri faced a railroad problem that required four years for solution. It held first liens on the roads. Principal and interest of this railroad aid debt reached $31,735,000, before the policy of settlement had been fully carried out. No advocacy of permanent state ownership was developed. Popular sentiment almost universally demanded completion of the roads across the State. Under such conditions of public feeling Governor Fletcher recommended and the general assembly passed measures which at the same time foreclosed the liens and transferred the roads on conditions intended to expedite construction and to save as much as possible on the bonded debt. Each road presented a problem somewhat different from the others. One road which gave the State most trouble and which prompted the experiment in railroad operation by the State was known then as the Southwest Branch; it is now a part of the main stem of the Frisco system. Of this road the State took actual possession under circumstances which Governor Fletcher explained to the general assembly in a special message in January, 1868, as follows:

"The Southwest Pacific railroad was disposed of to General John C. Fremont who offered for it, under all of the circumstances, a very liberal price. He was then represented and believed to be wealthy and able to influence a large amount of capital for such an enterprise. He united it with the Atlantic and Pacific railroad, a corporation which was organized under an act of Congress with power to build a railroad from Springfield, Missouri, to the Pacific ocean, with a grant of land for that purpose exceeding in quantity and value any grant ever made to a corporation in America. He paid $325,000 to the State, as required by the terms of the sale. The Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company laid down the track and extended the road to Little Piney, a distance of about twelve miles from its former terminus, built one or two bridges, and partially constructed one across the Gasconade and did some grading west of that point. On the expiration of one year from date of sale I was satisfied that the sum of $500,000 had not been expended in the work of 'graduation, masonry and superstructure of the extension of the road' as required by the contract. The contractors and laborers were not paid. But little work was being done. The means and credit of the company appeared to be exhausted. All of its operatives and employes were unpaid. And no reasonable ground remained for hope of a compliance on its part. Under the power given me by law I took possession of the road and appointed General Clinton B. Fisk, agent, to operate it until the general assembly shall otherwise dispose of the same for the purpose of foreclosing the State's lien or mortgage."

The Southwest Branch Experiment.

A report of about six months operation of the road by the agent of the State shows receipts to have been $118,970.83. The expenditures for the same period were $112,006.38. General Fisk retained the working organization of the road. As the receipts exceeded expenses, he paid the officers and employes the salaries

and wages past due, applying in this way during the six months the sum of $18,535.29. The report further shows the purchase out of the receipts of several thousand ties. An engine house was built at Little Piney. A tank house at Sullivan was added to the equipment. The report concludes: "Extensive repairs have been made on engines and cars and the track has been placed in most excellent condition."

In a special message the governor recommended that road be given away to secure its completion. Legislation paved the way for the organization of a company which guaranteed extension. The agent of the State, General Fisk, assisted in the organization of the company, continuing to operate the road at a profit over running expenses until the company was ready to give the guarantees required and to take over the property.

The strongly controling motive which prompted the state administration in the policy toward the railroads during the reorganization period is very well shown in the message which Governor Fletcher sent to the legislature upon the foreclosure and sale of the Iron Mountain. He said:

"It is my opinion that this road should have brought a larger sum, but the paramount want of the southeast, of St. Louis, and of the State was the completed railroad, and not the contingency of a few thousand dollars more from its sale, which, if obtained would be no adequate compensation for delay, or even risk of delay, in the long deferred enterprise. The owners of this road are now citizens of and property holders in St. Louis. They have obtained possession of it at a price which they can afford to pay. The State has constructed railroads which have built up the commerce of St. Louis until that commerce is strong enough to build railroads. So short a line as this and one which will redound so materially to the benefit of every interest of the city will surely find St. Louis capital, enterprise and energy to build it."

One of the oldest and best informed citizens of Missouri, connected with the Southwest Branch and associated with General Fisk in the reorganization period, replying to an inquiry for his recollections of state operation of the road, wrote: "What we of the southwest wanted was the completion of the road and to that end we bent all of our energies."

How Gould Bought the Missouri Pacific.

Jay Gould bought the Missouri Pacific Railway in November, 1879, paying therefor $3,800,000. Three days earlier he could have closed the contract for half that sum. At the time Gould was controlling the Wabash and was very apprehensive about competition by the Missouri Pacific. B. W. Lewis, for many years a prominent Missourian, had been president of the old St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern. On the consolidation it became a part of the Wabash. Lewis was placed in charge of affairs of the Wabash representing Gould. He had intimate acquaintance with the Garrisons who controlled the Missouri Pacific. By reason of that personal understanding Lewis was able to preserve pleasant relations between the Wabash and Missouri Pacific managements. Commodore C. K. Garrison of New York was the moneyed man behind the Missouri Pacific. His brother was the chief executive officer. Between Commodore Garrison and Mr. Gould there was no good feeling. It was gossip that the commodore had said if Gould ever came into his office he would have him put out.

MAJOR WILLIAM CHRISTY

ROBERT CAMPBELL

ARRIVAL OF MISSOURI OVERLAND TRAIN AT SANTA FE

CHAPTER IX.

MISSOURI'S INDIAN WARS.

Raids from the North—A Grand Jury Warning—The Battle of Sweet Lick—No Monotony at Fort Osage—"Big Hands" Clark—The Lincoln County Forts—"General" Black Hawk—The Zumwalt Sisters—An Indian's Courting—How Black Hawk Repaid Hospitality—Farming and Fighting—The Battle of the Sink Hole—Raid on Loutre Island—Stephen Cole's Desperate Encounter—Skull Lick—The Boone's Lick Campaign—Montgomery County's Tragedies—Jacob Groom's Heroic Act—Captain James Callaway Ambushed—The Battle of Prairie Fork Crossing—The Pettis County Mystery—A British Officer's Tomb—Fort Cooper—Captain Sarshall Cooper's Defiance—When Settlers "Forted Up"—The Seven Widows of Fort Hempstead—Killing of Jonathan Todd and Thomas Smith—Fort Cole—A Long Chase—Treacherous Miamis—Braxton Cooper's Fight for Life—Stephen Cooper's Charge—Christmas Eve Mourning—Good Old Hannah Cole—The Council at Portage des Sioux—Auguste Chouteau's Diplomacy—Death of Black Buffalo—Big Elk's Peace Oration—Intrigues of British Fur Traders—Captain O'Fallon's Scathing Report—Reminiscences of John B. Clark—The Big Neck War—The Cabins of the White Folks—The Battle with the Iowas—A Remorseful Chief—Father De Smet.

Put in your minds that as soon as the British made peace with us they left you positively in the middle of a prairie without shade or cover against the sun and rain. The British left you positively in the middle of a prairie, worthy of pity. But we Americans have a large umbrella which covers us against the sun and rain and we offer you, as friends, a share of it.—*Colonel Auguste Chouteau at the Indian Council, Portage des Sioux.*

The United States Government expended one thousand million dollars in Indian wars within the boundaries of this country. Such was the estimate made by an army officer. Of this billion dollars the amount required for the settlement of Indian troubles in Missouri was insignificant. During two generations the French pioneers of Missouri lived in almost continuous peace with the Indians. The rapid immigration following the American flag in 1804 brought fighting. But with the Indians who lived in Missouri the settlers had few serious difficulties. They suffered far more from the war parties of braves which came down from the North, some of them traveling hundreds of miles to prey on the little communities near the Missouri river. That region lying north of the Missouri and west of the Mississippi was raided at intervals for ten years. Bands of the Sacs, the Iowas, the Foxes, the Pottawatomies came into what was called the "St. Charles district," now St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren Counties.

Even before the white settlements these northern Indians came to the Missouri river country to fight other tribes. Wetmore's Gazetteer of Missouri, published in 1837, said that on Sweet Lick in Monroe county "there is a battle field so thickly covered with the bones of combatants slain there as to deserve a high place in the annals of blood-letting. The conflict was between the Sac and Fox Indians and the Sioux. Tradition does not particularize the battle, nor are we able to determine to which nation of these red warriors victory was awarded by the Great Spirit."

The situation on the Missouri frontier was anything but monotonous. Brackenridge, who went up the Missouri with Manuel Lisa, told of an incident at Fort Osage. He gave the story as narrated to him by an officer. The trouble had been adjusted ten days before the Lisa party arrived. About fifteen hundred Osage warriors had camped near the fort. Two hundred of them had just come back from a raid on the Iowas. Brackenridge spelled the name "Ayuwas." The braves were so lifted up over the exploit that they insulted the soldiers in the fort. One of these warriors defied a sentinel at his post. The sentinel was commanded to fire over his head. This producing no effect the warrior was seized by a file of men, which he at first treated with indifference, declaring that if he was confined he would get some of the white man's bread. His tune was changed, however, by a liberal application of the cat-o'-nine-tails to his back. The Indians were excited. They rushed forward with their arms. But the soldiers paraded and made ready a few cannon. The Indians thought proper to retreat. They maintained a threatening attitude for a few days. To show their spite they killed a pair of oxen belonging to Mr. Audrain, the settler near the fort. The officer at the fort sent for the chiefs and told them that unless two horses were given for the oxen he would fire on the Indian village. The chiefs complied; the pipe was smoked, and all matters were adjusted.

Lincoln County Forts.

In the region which afterwards became Lincoln County there was conflict between the white settlers and the Indians. Major Christopher Clark was the first American to settle permanently near Troy. He located about three and one-half miles southeast of that city. Other settlers followed and established themselves along the Mississippi and along the Cuivre. Major Clark had trouble almost immediately upon his settlement. He was called "Big Hands" by the Indians. Several times wandering bands fired at his cabin, and on one occasion shot into the stable and killed a horse.

In 1804 three sons of William McHugh who had settled on Sandy Creek were killed at the ford. They were boys of from eleven to fifteen years. They had been sent about a mile from home to bring in the horses. Dixon, an Indian scout, was with the boys at the time, but escaped. The situation became so serious that a number of forts were built. Major Clark constructed one of these primitive buildings of defense. He placed in it 7,000 pounds of pork and other provisions for the use of those settlers who might have to seek for shelter. This was known as Clark's Fort. On the site of what is now Troy, Wood's Fort was built. Stout's Fort was located near Auburn. The most important of these fortifications was on the river bluff near Cave Spring. This was called Fort Howard in honor of Governor Benjamin Howard, who for a short time was governor of the territory, but who resigned to become commander of the rangers.

Black Hawk's Treachery.

Black Hawk, the Sac chief, was a frequent visitor in Northeast Missouri previous to 1810 and even later. His Indian name was "Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak." The literal translation of this Indian name is Black Sparrowhawk. Black Hawk was not a chief in time of peace. He was a leader of hostile parties in time of war and that gave him the title of war chief. The British made use of him in the

war of 1812. They gave him the uniform of a British officer and called him General Black Hawk. They gave him command of five hundred Indians and expected to use him in attacks upon American settlers of Illinois and Missouri. Before the war of 1812 Black Hawk spent some time in the settlements of what is now Lincoln County. He attended dancing parties and took part in the quadrille, or, as it was commonly called then, the "French Four Dance." For a while he was allowed to live at the house of Adam Zumwalt which was on the south side of the Cuivre River in the northern part of St. Charles County. Zumwalt did whiskey distilling in a small way. He had four daughters, lovely girls, named Elizabeth, Rachael, Mary and Catherine. Black Hawk paid special attention to one of them and offered to buy her for a dozen horses. The girls utilized Black Hawk's infatuation by making him bring them water from the spring, dig potatoes, cut wood, telling him that that was the way to win a white wife. The settlers treated Black Hawk well, depending upon his influence to protect them from the Sacs. The Indian repaid this good treatment by making a special request in 1812, when the British gave him his uniform and his command of five hundred Sacs and Fox Indians, that he be allowed to make an immediate attack upon the Northeast Missouri settlements, explaining that he had spent much time there and was well acquainted with the situation. The British General Proctor, however, refused and sent Black Hawk into Michigan and Northern Ohio. The war chief came back with the Sacs tribe on Rock river in Northern Illinois in 1813. The next spring he descended upon Missouri settlements of his own accord. He had about fifty braves when he landed from canoes on the 10th of May near Cap-au-Gris. Dividing his party he led one band into the timber near McLean's creek. The other party he sent up the Cuivre to make a pretended attack on Fort Howard. This second party killed a ranger named Bernard who was scouting out from Fort Howard in the woods. The alarm was given and the rangers, under Lieutenant Massey, came out of Fort Howard and drove the Indians up the Cuivre but without a fight. Black Hawk and his followers remained in Northeast Missouri looking for parties to waylay and massacre. On the 15th of May, half a dozen men and boys escorted by five rangers went up the Cuivre to sow turnips for one of the settlers. At that time the pioneers had left their farms and were in the forts. It was known that Black Hawk and his followers were somewhere in the vicinity. Two of the men, Fred Dixon and Roswell Durkee, were riding one horse. As they passed by the place where Black Hawk and one of his party were concealed the Indians fired. Durkee was wounded. Dixon was thrown from the horse and ran. Black Hawk pursued him, and was about overtaking him when Dixon stopped, picked up a big stick and turned toward the Indian. Black Hawk looked at Dixon and then ran away although he was carrying his rifle, tomahawk and knife. Years afterwards Black Hawk, in the so-called autobiography of him, explained why he ran away from Dixon. He said, "I knew him; he had been at Quash-qua-me's village to learn my people to plow. He was a good man and I did not wish to kill him." The fact was that Dixon had never been an instructor of the Indians and was a good fighter. He had been present at the murder of the McHugh boys in 1804. Dixon recovered his horse and attempted to save Durkee, but the latter had been scalped and was dazed. He could not understand what was wanted. Dixon was forced to abandon him. The Indians came upon Durkee. Black Hawk afterwards said, "He was staggering like a drunken man,

all covered with blood. This was the most terrible sight I had ever seen. I told my comrade to kill him and put him out of his misery. I could not look at him." Other members of Black Hawk's band opened fire upon Dixon's party and killed James Bowles, one of the rangers. There were four boys in the party that had gone out to sow turnips. They were swimming in the creek when the attack by Black Hawk's band occurred. Benjamin Allen rode up to them, took his son Edwin on the horse and told the other boys to hide. The little fellows ran from the water, caught up their clothes and crawled into a hollow log. Black Hawk came up and jumped on the log. He afterwards said, in his autobiography, "that he saw the boys hiding but thought of his own at home and let them escape." One of the boys who hid in the log was Chauncey Durkee who became a prominent citizen of Lewis County. In telling of the experience he said that he looked through a knot hole and saw Black Hawk very plainly.

The Battle of the Sink Hole.

"The battle of the Sink Hole" was one of the few Indian fights in Missouri which could be given such a formal title. It was fought near Fort Howard in what is now Lincoln county near Cap-au-Gris. A company of mounted rangers under Captain Peter Craig had been raised in Cape Girardeau county and had gone to Northeast Missouri to defend the settlements against Black Hawk's force. One of the participants in the battle was Colonel John Shaw, a hunter and explorer who had been looking for gold in the Ozarks. He joined the rangers and was in the Indian campaign of 1814. His account of the battle of the Sink Hole was given to the Wisconsin Historical Society.

"About noon five of the men went out of Fort Howard to Byrne's deserted house on the bluff, about one-fourth of a mile below the fort, to bring in a grindstone. In consequence of backwater from the Mississippi they went in a canoe and on their return were fired on by a party supposed to be fifty Indians, who were under shelter of some brush that grew along the bluff near Byrne's house, and about fifteen rods distant from the canoe at the time. Three of the whites were killed and one mortally wounded, and as the water was shallow the Indians ran out and tomahawked their victims. The people in the fort fired on the Indians across the backwater, a few inches deep, while another party of about twenty-five ran to the right of the water with a view of intercepting the Indians who seemed to be making toward the bluff or high plain west and northwest of the fort.

"The party of twenty-five and Captain Craig's soon united. On the bluff was the cultivated field and deserted residence of Benjamin Allen. The field was about forty rods across, beyond which was pretty thick timber. Here the Indians made a stand, and here the fight began. Both parties fired. As the fight waxed warm the Indians slowly retired as the whites advanced. After the fight had been going on perhaps some ten minutes the whites were reinforced by Captain David Musick, of Cap-au-Gris, with about twenty men. He had been on a scout toward the head of Cuivre river, and had returned to within about one-half mile of the fort, and about one and one-half miles of the scene of the conflict, and had stopped with his men to graze their horses. Hearing the firing they instantly remounted and dashed toward the scene of battle. Dismounting in the edge of the timber on the brow of the bluff and hitching their horses, they rushed through a part of the Indian line, and shortly after the enemy fled, a part bearing to the

right of the sink hole toward Bob's creek, but the most of them taking refuge in the sink hole, which was close by where the main part of the fighting had taken place. About the time the Indians were retreating Captain Craig exposed himself four feet beyond his tree and was shot through the body and fell dead. James Putney was killed before Captain Craig, and perhaps one or two others. Before the Indians retired to the sink hole the fighting had become animated, the loading was done quickly and shots rapidly exchanged. When one of our party was killed or wounded it was announced aloud. The sink hole was about sixty feet in length, and from twelve to fifteen feet in width and ten or twelve feet deep. Near the bottom, on the southeast side, was a shelving rock under which some fifty or sixty persons might have sheltered themselves. At the northeast end of the sink hole the descent was quite gradual, the other end it was much more abrupt. The southeast side was almost perpendicular. The other side was about like the steep side of a house.

"On the southeast side the Indians, as a farther protection in case the whites should rush up, dug under the shelving rock with their knives. On the sides and in the bottom of the sink hole were some bushes which also served as something of a screen for the Indians. Captain Musick and his men took part on the northeast side of the sink hole, and others occupied other positions surrounding the enemy. As the trees approached close to the sink hole these served in part to protect our party. Finding we could not get a good opportunity to dislodge the enemy, as they were best protected, those of our men who had families at the fort gradually went there, not knowing but a large body of Indians might seize the favorable occasion to attack the fort while the men were away engaged in the exciting contest. The Indians in the sink hole had a drum made of a skin stretched over the section of a hollow tree, on which they beat quite constantly, and some Indian would shake a rattle called she-shuqui, probably a dried bladder with pebbles within, and even for a moment would venture to thrust his head in view, with his hand elevated, shaking his rattle and calling out, 'peash! peash!' which was understood to be a sort of defiance, or, as Black Hawk, who was one of the party, says in his account of that affair, a kind of bravado to come and fight them in the sink hole.

"When the Indians would creep up and shoot over the rim of the sink hole they would instantly disappear, and while they sometimes fired effectual shots they in turn became occasionally the victims. From about one to four o'clock p. m. the firing was incessant. Our men generally reserved their fire until an Indian would show his head. All of us were studying how we could more effectually attack and dislodge the enemy. At length Lieutenant Spears suggested that a pair of cart wheels, axle and tongue, which were seen at Allen's place, be obtained and a moving battery constructed. The idea was entertained favorably, and an hour or more was consumed in its construction. Some oak floor puncheons, from seven to eight feet in length, were made fast to the axle in an upright position and portholes made through them. Finally the battery was ready for trial, and was sufficiently large to protect some half a dozen or more men. It was moved forward slowly, and seemed to attract the attention of the Indians, who had evidently heard the knocking and pounding connected with its manufacture, and who now frequently popped up their heads to make momentary discoveries. It was at length moved up to within less than ten paces of the brink of the sink hole on the south-

east side. The upright plank did not reach to the ground within some eighteen inches, the men calculating to shoot beneath the lower end at the Indians. But the latter from their position had a decided advantage of this neglected aperture, for the Indians shooting beneath the battery at an upward angle, would get shots at the whites before the latter could see them. The Indians also watched the portholes and directed some of their shots at them. Lieutenant Spears was shot dead through the head, and his death was much lamented, as he had proved himself an intrepid officer. John Patterson was wounded in the thigh, and some others behind the battery were also wounded. Having failed in its design the battery was abandoned after sundown. Our hope all along had been that the Indians would emerge from their covert and attempt to retreat to where we supposed their canoes were left, some three or four miles distant; in which case we were firmly determined to rush upon them and endeavor to cut them off totally. The men generally evinced the greatest bravery during the whole of the engagement.

"Night was now coming on, and the reports of half a dozen guns in the direction of the fort by a few Indians, who rushed out of the woods skirting Bob's Creek not more than forty rods from the north end of the fort, were heard. This movement on the part of the few Indians who had escaped when the others took refuge in the sink hole was evidently designed to divert the attention of the whites and alarm them for the safety of the fort, and thus effectually relieve the Indians in the sink hole. This was the result, for Captain Musick and men retired to the fort, carrying the dead and wounded, and made every preparation to repel a night attack.

"The men at the fort were mostly up all night, ready for resistance, if necessary. There was no physician at the fort, and much effort was made to set some broken bones. There was a well in the fort, and provision and ammunition to sustain a pretty formidable attack. The women were greatly alarmed, pressing their infants to their breasts, fearing they might not be permitted to behold another morning's light, but the night passed away without seeing or hearing an Indian. The next morning a party went to the sink hole and found the Indians gone. They had carried off all their dead and wounded except five dead bodies left on the northwest side. From all signs it appeared some thirty of them were killed or wounded. Lieutenant Gray reported eight of our party killed, one missing and five wounded. The dead were buried near the fort and a man sent to St. Charles for medical assistance. Lieutenant Gray assumed command."

The killed in Captain Craig's company besides himself and Lieutenant Spears, were Alexander Giboney, James Putney, Antoine Pelkey, Hubbard Tayon, and François Lemmey. The wounded were John Patterson, Benjamin Hall and Abraham Letts.

A Grand Jury Warning.

The grand jury at St. Louis impressed with the dangerous situation made this presentment to the court at the June term, 1805:

"Destrict of Louisiana
"Destrict of St. Louis

"We the Grand Jurors for the Destrict of St. Louis Having the Safety of the Inhabitants at Heart, and as a Great number of Savages are at Present in the Destrict and more are Daily Arriving—and Whereas some evil Disposed persons do Sell Barter or give to the

Said Savages, Speritious Liquors in such quantitys as to put them in a State of Intoxication, and thereby Endanger the lives and Propertys of the Said Inhabitants—We the Grand Jurors for the Destrict Aforesaid do ernestly request the Courts to take the Same Amediately into Concideration, and Devise such means as they in their wisdom may think proper to prevent the like in Future.

"John Biggs Foreman"

The Raid on Loutre Island.

In his narratives of the Indian wars of Missouri written for the Globe-Democrat more than twenty years ago, Major R. I. Holcombe told of these tragedies:

"In the summer of 1807 occurred a memorable and ill-fated expedition. A band of ten Indians, Sacs and Pottawatomies, came down, stole seven horses belonging to the settlers on Loutre Island, and started northward with them. Five islanders set out in pursuit. These were William T. and Stephen Cole, James Patton, John Gooch and James Murdock, all experienced frontiersmen, hardy and brave. On the evening of the second day out the party came in sight of the Indians on the Salt River prairie, in what is now the southern part of Ralls County. Moving forward a mile or so, and darkness coming on, they went into camp on the bank of Spencer Creek, intending to open friendly negotiations with the Indians the following morning.

"In this design, however, they were anticipated by the savages, who, well armed with rifles and other weapons, attacked them furiously in the night. Wm. T. Cole (commonly called Temple Cole), Patton and Gooch were killed in their blankets at the first fire. Murdock slipped under the bank of the creek near by, leaving Stephen Cole alone to contend with the enemy. Two Indians closed upon him. One of them stabbed him in the back from behind, the other encountered him in front. Cole, a very powerful man and a good fighter, wrested the knife from the hand of the Indian in his front and plunged it into his heart. He then turned upon his other assailant and was about to finish him, when all of the other Indians threw themselves upon him, and having to contend against too great odds, he cut his way through them and saved himself by flight, favored, of course, by the darkness, and after an arduous journey of three days and nights on foot—for he had been compelled to leave his horse in the hands of the Indians—he succeeded in reaching the island and Fort Clemson. Murdock did not return to the island for several days.

"Organizing another party, Cole returned to the scene of the fight and buried his dead comrades, all of whom had been scalped and otherwise mutilated. The body of the Indian he had killed was also found. Some years afterward the skulls of the murdered men were found, and thereafter the locality was known to the settlers as 'Skull Lick.' There is no name better known in the history of the Boon's Lick country than that of Capt. Stephen Cole. It was he who, in 1812, built Cole's Fort, the first county seat of Howard County, and it was for him Cole County was named. He was killed by the Indians on the plains in 1824 while engaged in the Santa Fe trade.

"In 1811 the Indians had committed some outrages in the Boon's Lick Settlements, in Howard County, and over near the Mississippi, on the Salt and Cuivre Rivers, in Pike and Lincoln. It was suspected that the perpetrators were the Indians of the Missouri. Gen. Wm. Clark, then in command of this department, made every exertion to detect them, but, as the American forces were not yet organized, he did not succeed. Indian forays from the north were repeated, and during the year 1812 from Fort Madison (on the Illinois bank of the Mississippi, a little below the mouth of the Des Moines) to St. Charles settlers were murdered and their homes destroyed by the savages.

"At last Gov. Benjamin Howard went to St. Charles and ordered Col. Kibbe, who commanded the militia of that county, to call out a portion of the men who were in requisition to march at a moment's warning. He organized a company of rangers for continuous service, with Capt. James Callaway, a grandson of Daniel Boone, as captain. This company was made up principally of St. Charles County men, all hardy woodsmen, active, skillful and bold. At intervals this company scoured the country from Salt River to the Missouri, and performed invaluable service.

"Gov. Howard also established a small fort on the Mississippi in St. Charles County, which was garrisoned by a company of regulars from Bellefontaine, under the command of a Lieut. Mason, and for him was called Fort Mason. Fort Clemson, on Loutre Island, was built at the same time. Throughout the settlements the pioneers themselves built a number of block houses, or so-called forts. There was Daniel M. Boone's Fort, in Darst's Bottom, St. Charles County; Howell's Fort, on Howell's Prairie; Pond's Fort, on the Dardenne Prairie, a little southeast of the site of Wentzville; White's Fort, on the Dog Prairie; Hountz's Fort, eight miles west of St. Charles; Zumwalt's Fort, near O'Fallon; Castlio's Fort, near Howell's Prairie; Kennedy's Fort, near Wright City; Callaway's Fort, near Marthasville, and Wood's Fort at Troy. But for these establishments and Gov. Howard's preparations it is probable that the whites in this part would either have been driven out of the country or exterminated.

Montgomery County Tragedies.

"The first victim of the Indian War of 1812 in Montgomery County was Harris Massey, a boy of 17, who was killed here, at the Loutre Lick, in the spring of 1813. In the previous winter his father, Thomas Massey, had left the shelter of Fort Clemson, where he had settled in 1809, and come to the Lick, having leased the land from Col. Nathan Boone. Massey had built a cabin on the north side of the little stream known as Sallie's Branch, and had cleared a small field on the south side. This field is now the site of the village of Mineola. Young Massey was killed under the following circumstances: His father had gone up the Loutre to examine some Indian 'signs' that had been discovered the previous evening. When he left he set Harris at work to plow in the little field. He directed the boy to tie his rifle to his back while at work, and, if the Indians appeared, to fire on them at once. After a time the boy, as is presumed, grew weary of carrying the gun, and set it against a tree near the cleared ground. About 10 o'clock a band of Sac Indians slipped down Sallie's Branch and, crawling under the bank, approached within 100 yards of the boy. Two Indians fired and the boy fell. With savage yells the 'noble red men' sprang out and, running up to the body, offered it every indignity. They tore off the scalp, and then mutilated the body in a manner not to be described.

"Mr. Massey's family at the house were in plain view of the tragedy. Ann Massey, one of the daughters, seized the dinner horn and blew one blast after another upon it. This seemed to disconcert the Indians and they soon fled. Mr. Massey heard the horn and hastened home. The Indians had not taken his horses, and he succeeded in making his way with his family to Fort Clemson, distant by the nearest trail eighteen miles. A party went out and buried the mangled body of the boy on the hillside, a little south of where he fell. Thereafter, for nearly two years, there was no attempt at settling the country back of the river by the islanders. They preferred to remain quietly under the protection of the fort.

"In the spring of 1814 occurred the next tragedy. A young man named Daniel Dougherty was killed by the Sac Indians at the Big Spring, in the southern part of the county. He belonged to the colony on the island, and volunteered to go up to a saltpeter cave on Clear Creek (about four miles southeast of Danville) to procure some saltpeter for making powder. At that time the pioneers made their own powder. As he did not return at the appointed time the colonists became uneasy, and Jacob Groom and Wm. Stewart volunteered to go in search of him.

"From Mrs. Lurinda Snethen, a daughter of Jacob Groom, I have obtained the particulars of the adventures of her father and his companion on this occasion. It seems they set out from the island on horseback, taking the trail to the cave by way of the Big Spring. Groom had formerly lived at the spring and knew the locality well. A quarter of a mile north of the spring, and 100 yards north of 'Possum Branch, as the two men were riding along, Stewart suddenly called out: 'Lord! Jake, look at the Indians!' Sure enough, there they were, only 100 yards in front, half of them mounted, all of them painted and armed—a swarm of them.

"The two scouts turned and fled. The Indians pursued them, yelling and shooting with rifles and bows. Crossing 'Possum Branch Groom's horse jumped with a mighty leap and the saddle turned, Groom's feet being out of the stirrups; but he clung to the horse, contrived to unfasten the girth and let the saddle fall. As they emerged into the clearing near

Groom's cabin at the spring the Indians gave them a volley of bullets and arrows. Both horses were badly wounded, and Stewart received a bullet in his ankle. A mile south, the Indians still in pursuit, Stewart's horse fell from loss of blood. Groom stopped and took Stewart up behind him, or else he must have perished.

"Luckily, both men reached the island in safety. There was, of course, great excitement, and pickets were at once put out and all the outlying settlers warned in. Capt. Clemson prepared the fort for an attack, but it did not come. In a few days Capt. Callaway's rangers came out and found the body of Dougherty half way up the hill from the Big Spring and buried it. The Indians had scalped and mutilated it, and it presented a sad spectacle. Jacob Groom lived to become an honored citizen of the country, and was for two terms a member of the Missouri legislature.

Captain James Callaway.

"But the most serious casualty that befell the settlers during the war was the defeat and death of that gallant spirit, Capt. James Callaway, and a portion of his company of rangers, at the junction with the Loutre of a small stream called the Prairie Fork, in the southern part of Montgomery County, March 7, 1815. I think I have stated that Capt. Callaway was a son of Flanders Callaway and a grandson of Daniel Boone. Distinguished for his intelligence, fortitude and courage, he was selected to command the company of rangers by Gov. Howard, and up to the time of his death was one of the most active, daring and efficient scouts in the service, and occupied a prominent position in the affairs of this district. He had been in many an Indian fight, and in August, 1814, he commanded the Missourians who formed a part of the force of Maj. Zachary Taylor that went against the British and Indians at the Rock Island. He bore a gallant part in the brave but unsuccessful assault on the strong, cannon-crowned intrenchments at that point, and on the American retreat he covered and protected the rear.

"On the 6th of March a band of some seventy-five or eighty Sacs and Foxes (some say Sacs and Pottawatomies) came down near Loutre Island and stole a dozen or more horses that were grazing on the mainland, and succeeded in escaping with them up Loutre Creek. The next morning, being in the country, scouting, Capt. Callaway, with fifteen of his rangers, came upon the fresh Indian trail made by the horse-thieves. Following it rapidly up, at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon they came upon the Indian camp and the stolen horses, guarded by only a few squaws. All the men were absent. The squaws fled upon the approach of the rangers, and were not pursued. It seemed that the Indians had scattered and retreated altogether, for no well-defined trail could be found, and it was decided to discontinue the pursuit; so, securing the horses, Capt. Callaway started with them and his men southward down the Loutre valley for the island.

"Lieut. Jonathan Riggs, the second in command of the rangers, was an old Indian fighter and a man of caution and good judgment. His suspicions had been excited by the disappearance of the Indians, and he said to Capt. Callaway that they had dispersed in order to mislead them, and that they meant to swing around to the southward and, forming an ambuscade, intercept the rangers on their way to the island. His advice was, therefore, that the return march should be made by a different route. But Capt. Callaway believed that the Indians had left the country and would not again be seen. Accordingly, he dismissed the suspicions of Lieut. Riggs and proceeded with his men by the route over which he had marched out that morning.

The Ambush.

"At the crossing of Prairie Fork, a hundred yards or more from the Loutre, the little command was attacked. Three rangers—Parker Hutchings, Frank McDermid and James McMillin—were a hundred yards in advance with the recovered horses. Just as they reached the south bank of the stream a volley of deadly shots rang out from the Indian ambuscade, and all three fell dead from their saddles on the shore.

"Hearing the firing and the fierce war-whoops of the savages, Capt. Callaway and his twelve men dashed bravely up, but they, in turn, received a murderous fire from their ambushed foes, who were concealed in the timber on a hill in front. Capt. Callaway's horse

was killed and he received a bullet through his left arm, escaping death at the instant by the ball striking his watch. He sprang from his horse and called out to his men: 'Cross the creek and charge them and fight to the death!' His men dashed forward and he essayed to follow by swimming the cold waters of the stream, then swollen to a considerable depth by recent rains and melting snow. Doubtless his wounded arm failed him, for when some of his men who had crossed looked back he was drifting and swimming down the strong and rapid current. Just then an Indian shot him in the back of the head, the ball lodging in his forehead, and he instantly sank.

"Lieut. Riggs and his comrades fought as best they could, but all their efforts availed nothing against a foe five times their number and well practiced, and at last the lieutenant gave the order to retreat. The rangers recrossed Prairie Fork, and, making a considerable detour, crossed it again a mile above, and the next morning succeeded in reaching the island. Two of the men were detached and sent east to Wood's Fort, in Lincoln County.

"Of the sixteen rangers six were killed, viz.: Capt. Callaway, Parker Hutchings, Frank McDermid, James McMillin, Thomas Gilmore and Hiram Scott. The last named, and a comrade named Wolf, were left on the south bank of the stream when their comrades recrossed. Wolf escaped to the island and was the first to bring the tidings of the disaster. Nearly every man in the party was more or less severely wounded, and every horse was struck. The loose horses of the settlers were of course lost. It was never certainly known that the Indians had more than one man killed. He was buried on the prairie, near the present site of Wellsville."

A Mysterious Tomb in Pettis.

A strange discovery made in Pettis County a few miles southeast of the present location of Sedalia was interpreted by the early settlers as evidence that the British were active in stirring up the Indian troubles in Missouri during the war of 1812. Several years after the war three Missourians, Joseph Stevens, Stephen Cole and William Ross, were hunting and exploring Central Missouri as far west as Knob Noster. They found near Flat Creek what appeared to be an Indian mound of unusual construction. On one side a hole had been opened as if by the digging of wolves. The Missourians crawled through and found a room about eight feet square and six feet high. The roof was supported by logs. On one side of the room was the body of a white man, apparently an officer in full uniform, including a cocked hat, lace stockings, morocco slippers, gold lace along the seams of the coat and gold epaulets on the shoulders. The body was seated on a log. The flesh had mummified so that it looked like leather. What attracted the hunters to the place was that the walls of the tomb arose several feet above the general surface of the ground. The logs which formed the roof ran up to a point. The walls and roof had been made of prairie sod cut deep. The tomb was protected from the rain and until the opening must have been pratically fire proof. A gold headed cane was beside the body. The theory of the early settlers was that this man had been a British officer who had come into Missouri during the war of 1812 for the purpose of stirring up Indian troubles. A later visit was made to the place by Joseph Stevens and James D. Campbell. It was found that the roof had partly fallen in and that only the skeleton and clothes remained. The epaulets were carried away and melted into a large ball of gold equal to the metal in fifteen or twenty dollars. Gradually time effaced this tomb.

The Cooper Colony.

Settlement began in Howard County with the arrival of Colonel Benjamin Cooper and his family from Kentucky in 1808. Cooper laid up his log house two miles southwest of Boone's Lick. He had cleared some ground and had planted

his first crop when Governor Meriwether Lewis notified him that he was on ground which still belonged to the Indians and that he must move eastward to some point below the mouth of the Gasconade. Cooper then settled on Loutre Island as it has always been called. Loutre means "Otter" in English. The island took its name from the very attractive Loutre River which empties into the north side of the Missouri. The early French trappers found otter on the stream and bestowed the title. They are said to have trapped in that locality long before the settlement of St. Louis. The ground known as Loutre Island is opposite the City of Hermann. As early as 1800 ten or twelve white families were living there. The Cooper family remained with the settlers on Loutre Island until the spring of 1810 when the colonel with the Hancock, Thorp, Wolfskill, Ashcraft, Ferrill and Anderson families went back to the vicinity of Boone's Lick and formed a settlement in the Missouri bottoms of what became Howard County. Within two years there were several hundred people living there. The war of 1812 came on. Cooper and his neighbors realized the danger from Indian attacks. They built three forts which they called Fort Cooper, Fort Hempstead and Fort Kincaid. Fort Cooper was southwest of Boone's Lick. Fort Kincaid was nine miles away to the southeast and Fort Hempstead was a little short of two miles north of Kincaid. Cole's Fort was on the south side of the river just east of Boonville. It was built that same year by Captain Stephen Cole. When they erected these forts in the vicinity of Boone's Lick the settlers organized a company of rangers with Sarshall Cooper as captain; Wm. McMahan, first lieutenant; John Monroe, second lieutenant, and Ben Cooper, junior ensign. There were one hundred and twelve men in the company, the older having had experience in Indian fighting before they left Kentucky and Tennessee. The neighborhood was so well organized that for three years, until the close of the war the Indians were not able to surprise the settlements, scouts who went out continuously giving the alarms whenever bands appeared in the neighborhood. From three hundred to five hundred Indians came down on three occasions to attack the Boone's Lick settlers but were discovered by the scouts in time for the settlers to prepare. Governor Howard, as soon as he knew of the declaration of war, sent a messenger from St. Louis to Boone's Lick, advising the settlers of the danger that the Indians might attack and telling them to come down nearer to St. Louis if they wanted protection. The suggestion was declined, Captain Cooper wrote to the governor a letter showing the stuff of which the Boone's Lick pioneers were made:

"We have maid our Hoams here & all we hav is here & it wud ruen us to Leave now. We be all good Americans, not a Tory or one of his Pups among us, & we hav 2 hundred Men and Boys that will Fight to the last and we have 100 Wimen & Girls that will tak there places wh. makes a good force. So we can Defend this Settlement wh. with Gods Help we will do. So if we had a fiew barls of Powder and 2 hundred Lead is all we ask."

The Indians succeeded in driving away about two hundred horses and killed many cattle and hogs. The settlers "forted up" as the expression was in those days. That is to say, they took refuge in the forts. They were obliged to neglect their farms. The only corn and vegetables that could be raised was on a few small fields near the forts. This made it necessary to depend largely on bear meat and venison. Whenever parties went out from the fort to cultivate fields they were in

force sufficiently strong to defend themselves. Some of the men and boys attended to the crops while others acted as scouts in the woods on every side. It was not unusual for a pioneer who was following the plow to carry his rifle slung over his shoulders.

One of the regulations of these "forted" communities was that any man assigned to guard duty who was found asleep must grind a peck of corn meal and present it to each widow in his fort. There were seven widows in the community which took shelter in Fort Hempstead. Besides the three principal forts of the Boone's Lick country there were a number of smaller forts. Settlers on the south side of the Missouri also felt the necessity of protecting themselves.

Victims in the Boone's Lick Country.

While the people of Boone's Lick country, by watchfulness averted massacres and general engagements during the war of 1812, they did not escape individual tragedies. Major R. I. Holcombe visited this bloody, debatable ground, searched the records and talked with old settlers. In 1892 he published in the Globe-Democrat a circumstantial and thrilling account of the tragedies:

"The first victims of the war in the Boone's Lick country were Jonathan Todd and Thomas Smith, of Fort Hempstead, who were killed by a band of Sacs and Foxes, in the western part of Boone County, in the spring of 1812. They were in search of some stray horses. While on their errand they came suddenly upon the Indians near Thrall's Prairie, not far from the present boundary between Boone and Howard. The exact particulars of the tragedy can never be known, but it seemed that the men made a brave defense. They must have retreated a mile or more, firing as they fell back and aiming well. The bodies of four dead Indians (some say six) were afterward found on their line of retreat. At last they were killed, both near together, at the point where they had halted for the final struggle. The Indians mutilated the bodies frightfully. They scalped them, cut out their hearts, cut off their heads and stuck them on poles by the side of the trail.

"The Indians, numbering perhaps 200, went eastward a few miles and crossed the Missouri, putting their rifles and other effects on small, crude rafts which they propelled by swimming and wading behind them, the water being at a low stage, before the 'June rise.' Their object was doubtless an attack on the supposed unsuspecting settlers on the south side.

"But the next day after the killing of Todd and Smith rumors of the trouble reached Cole's Fort, and two very gallant young scouts, James Cole and James Davis, were sent out to investigate and report. They crossed the river and went some miles without seeing anything of a suspicious nature. They then started to return, and recrossed the river five miles below Fort Cole. Half a mile from the river they suddenly discovered the Indians between them and the fort. The savages at once set after them, but without firing or yelling, fearing perhaps that the noise would alarm the people at the fort. The scouts set out for Johnson's 'factory,' a small trading post, 200 yards from the Missouri, on Moniteau Creek, in what is now Moniteau County, a distance of fully twenty-five miles. It was a long chase and a hard one, the Indians following them and occasionally coming within gunshot. They reached the 'factory' at dusk, and the Indians immediately surrounded the establishment, but did not attack, intending, probably, to do so the next morning.

"Cole and Davis, undaunted by what they had passed through, determined to make another attempt to reach home. They planned to cross the Missouri and make their way up the river to the Howard County forts, and from thence back to Fort Cole. At midnight they took up a plank from the floor of the 'factory,' crawled from under the building, and made their way to the Moniteau Creek, where they found a canoe in which they embarked and floated noiselessly down the stream. Just as they entered the river, however, an unlucky stroke of the paddle against the side of the canoe betrayed them to some Indians on the bank, who started in pursuit in two captured canoes. The scouts were forced to return to the south side and hide in the brush till daylight.

"The Indians pursued them to Big Lick, in Cooper County. Here, being hard pressed, the scouts halted and waited until their pursuers came within 100 yards, when both fired and each killed an Indian. The Indians returned the fire, but without effect, and the brave fellows succeeded in reaching Cole's Fort in safety. The Indians skulked about in the country for a day or two, but did not offer to attack the fort and soon recrossed the river.

The Treacherous Miamis.

"At this time there were about 500 Miami Indians encamped near the present site of the town of Miami, in Saline County. They had come out from Ohio and Indiana a year or two previously, and were supposed to be friendly. But when the war broke out many of these rascals embraced the opportunity to steal from and plunder their white neighbors at the forts whenever they could. At last, in July, 1813, a band of them slipped down into the Howard settlements, and four miles northwest of Boonville killed a settler named Campbell Bowlin (Bolen), of Fort Kincaid. Bowlin and Adam McCord had gone from the fort to Bowlin's cabin and field to care for some flax that had long been neglected. The treacherous Miamis, in ambush, fired on them in the field and Bowlin was killed. Their moccasin tracks in the field were followed to near the Miami village, thirty miles away.

"Col. Ben Cooper wrote a letter to Gov. Clark, at St. Louis, informing him of the circumstances and of the general conduct of the Miamis, and asking that proper action be taken against them. On receipt of Col. Cooper's letter Gov. Howard at once sent a force of rangers to the Miami village. The Indians surrendered and were escorted out of the country after the stolen property had been restored to the settlers.

Fort Cooper's Fighting Garrison.

"In September, 1813, Braxton Cooper, of Fort Cooper, was killed within a mile or so of the fort, as he was cutting logs for a cabin. He was a young man of considerable physical strength and great courage. He had his rifle and knife with him, and the broken bushes, marks on the ground, and other circumstances showed that he had sold his life at the highest possible price. He was found lying on his face. In his clenched right hand was his good knife, bloody from point to hilt; by his side lay his loaded gun. He was not scalped or mutilated, and everything indicated that he had put the Indians to flight before falling dead from his half dozen bullet wounds. Not far away was found an Indian's buckskin hunting shirt, with two bloody bullet holes in it. Cooper's faithful dog remained by his side, howling as if for help, until David Boggs and Jesse Turner crawled out to him during the night and recovered the body of his master.

"In October of the same year Stephen Cooper, then a boy of 16, and another young man named Joseph Still, both of Fort Cooper and belonging to the rangers, were sent up the Chariton River on a scout. They were returning, when, within about twenty-five miles of the fort, they were intercepted by over 100 Sac Indians. There was but one thing to do. The two rangers rode side by side steadily forward, their rifles on the cock, until within 100 yards of the savages, when both fired and then charged. Cooper killed a prominent 'brave' and Still wounded another. Reaching the Indian line Still was shot dead from the saddle, but gallant young Cooper dashed through, waving his rifle and cheering, and succeeded in escaping the shower of bullets, arrows and spears sent after him. As he rode a good horse and the Indians were afoot he was soon safe, and reached the fort in a few hours.

"The same month Wm. McLane was killed near the present site of Fayette. He, his brother Ewing, and four other men, went out to select a good claim for one of them. They came upon at least 100 Indians—presumably the same band encountered by Still and Cooper —and started to return. As they were ascending a slope from a ravine that empties into Moniteau Creek, the Indians fired and McLane fell from his horse with a bullet in his brain. The other members of the party escaped. The Indians scalped McLane, hacked his body to pieces, and from appearances had a war-dance over it. A strong party of rangers went out to punish the Indians if possible, but the crafty red men burned the woods and destroyed their trail so that it could not be followed. A week later, however, Capt. Cooper's rangers came upon five Indians encamped over in the Chariton timber and wiped them all out in a twinkling. On the body of one of the Indians was found a white man's scalp, which was believed to have been McLane's.

The Perils of the Salt Makers.

"Making salt at Burckhardt's Lick to supply the forts was a perilous business, but it had to be done. In an attack on the salt-makers at this lick in the spring of 1813 James Alcorn, Frank Wood and two other men drove off twenty Indians, killing three and wounding others. Frank Wood killed two, though he was suffering at the time with a severe wound in the arm received from the Indians a week before.

"In another attack on the salt-makers the workmen mounted their horses to retreat. In reining up his horse John Austin brought up the animal's head so as to shield his own person.

"The Indians fired and shot the horse in the head and it fell. Austin was extricating himself from the dead animal, every moment expecting a bullet or a tomahawk, when a companion, George Huff, fired on the advancing warriors and actually killed two of them at a single shot. The other Indians fell back and took to cover, while Austin and Huff took to their heels and escaped to Fort Kincaid.

"Over on the Cooper County side of the river, and especially in the neighborhood of Cole's Fort, there were other murders from time to time. A few months after the fort was built a strong band of Indians came into the neighborhood. At the time there were two parties from the fort out hunting. In one of these were two men named Smith and Savage, who on their way to the fort were attacked by the Indians. At the first fire Smith was severely wounded, but he staggered on to within fifty yards of the fort, where he was again wounded, two balls entering his body. He fell, and Savage turned to assist him, but, with the death agony upon him, the stricken man handed his gun to Savage, saying: 'I am done for; take my gun and save yourself, and help the people in the fort.' Savage then ran for the fort, and the Indians fired twenty-five shots after him before he could get inside the walls. The Indians ran up and scalped Smith, shook the gory trophy at his friends, and barbarously mutilated his body in plain view of the inmates of the fort, and then retired into the woods.

"There were only six fighting men in the fort at the time, and they were restrained from firing by old Aunt Hannah Cole, who urged that they could not afford to fight until the hunting parties had all returned. These parties did not all get in until late in the night.

"December 24, 1814, Samuel McMahan, a bold settler in the bottom near Arrow Rock, in what is now Saline County, was killed four miles west of Fort Cole. He was on his way to the fort to bring up his cattle corraled there. Two young men named Cole and Roup, and old Muke Box, were cutting a bee tree near the trail, and it was supposed that the Indians were crawling upon them when McMahan came riding along. They fired on him, shot him through the body, and killed his horse. He sprang up and ran toward the river, but the Indians soon came up with him, and killed him by three savage spear thrusts in the back. They then scalped him, cut off his head, and disemboweled him. Hearing the firing, Cole and Roup ran to the fort and gave the alarm. Muke Box climbed a tree, and as the Indians were returning in great glee from the killing of McMahan he shot one of them. The Indians, in some alarm, caught up the body and bore it off, limp and lifeless, but it was afterward found in a ravine a mile or more away.

Brave Sally Gregg.

"The same Christmas Eve Wm. Gregg, who had ventured to settle in the Big Bottom, on the Saline County side, was killed. He was crossing the river on his return to his cabin from Fort Cooper, and was killed in his canoe as he was paddling to the shore by some Indians in ambush on the south bank. His brave daughter, Sally Gregg, recovered the body and guarded it till help came. The next day the men at Cole's Fort, re-enforced by some of the Howard County Rangers, went out and secured the mangled remains of McMahan. James Cole carried in the body on the pommel of his saddle, and David McGee brought the head, wrapped in a sheepskin. The remains were buried on the site of the old Boonville Fair Grounds.

"The following day all of the settlers living in the vicinity of where Boonville now stands repaired to the house of good old Hannah Cole, in East Boonville, and within a week they had built another good, strong cabin fort. It stood on the edge of the bluff, which was very steep at that point, and on that—the river—side was inaccessible to an attack. Arrangements were made for a plentiful supply of water from the river in case of siege. A huge well bucket was fashioned from a hollow log and a sort of flume constructed from the fort down into the

water. The bucket was let down and drawn up through this flume by means of a rope and windlass. As soon as the fort at Hannah Cole's was completed, the old fort at Capt. Stephen Cole's a mile away, was abandoned and all the settlers gathered into the new fort. But these precautions proved unnecessary, as the killing of McMahan and Gregg was virtually the end of the Indian war in the Boone's Lick settlements, although small bands of the savages occasionally roamed through the country a year or so, running off stock and committing like depredations."

The Council at Portage des Sioux.

The government of the United States, after the acquisition of the country, made Auguste Chouteau a colonel and looked to him to help solve immediate Indian problems. Having stirred up the hostility of the tribes as a part of the campaign of 1812, the British government, under the treaty of Ghent, in 1814, imposed upon the United States the responsibility of making peace among the Indians. And the United States selected Auguste Chouteau as one of the commissioners to bring about a general treaty. Always influential with the Indians, Colonel Chouteau achieved his greatest feat in diplomacy with the redmen at the council held at Portage des Sioux, across the Missouri River a few miles above St. Louis. He made a telling talk at that council, using with rare judgment figurative speech so effective with Indians. He said: "Put in your minds that as soon as the British made peace with us they left you in the middle of a prairie without shade or cover against the sun and rain. The British left you positively in the middle of a prairie, worthy of pity. But we Americans have a large umbrella which covers us against the sun and rain and we offer you, as friends, a share of it."

Auguste Chouteau was a man of pleasing countenance, light-haired, with high forehead and a straight nose, always smooth shaven and carefully dressed. At Portage des Sioux, while one of these Indian conferences was in progress, a chief, Black Buffalo of the Teton Sioux, died. This might have been interpreted as a bad omen by the Indians. The white men were disturbed over the event. But Bik Elk, chief of the Omahas, averted the danger by an oration. He said:

"Do not grieve—misfortunes will happen to the wisest and best men. Death will come, and always comes out of season; it is the command of the Great Spirit, and all nations and people must obey. What is past and cannot be prevented should not be grieved for. Be not discouraged or displeased then, that in visiting your father here you have lost your chief. A misfortune of this kind may never again befall you, but this would have attended you perhaps at your own village. Five times have I visited this land, and never returned with sorrow or pain. Misfortunes do not flourish particularly in our path—they grow everywhere.

"What a misfortune for me that I could not have died this day, instead of the chief that lies before us. The trifling loss my nation would have sustained in my death would have been doubly paid for by the honours of my burial—they would have wiped off everything like regret. Instead of being covered with a cloud of sorrow—my warriors would have felt the sunshine of joy in their hearts. To me it would have been a most glorious occurrence. Hereafter, when I die at home, instead of a noble grave and a grand procession, the rolling music and the thundering cannon, with a flag waving at my head, I shall be wrapped in a robe, (an old robe, perhaps,) and hoisted on a slender scaffold to the whistling winds, soon to be blown down to the earth—my flesh to be devoured by the wolves and my bones rattled on the plains by the wild beasts.

"Chief of the soldiers—your labors have not been in vain; your attention shall not be forgotten. My nation shall know the respect that is paid over the dead. When I return I will echo the sound of your guns."

The British Influence.

In his management of Indian affairs, General William Clark encountered and combatted influences more dangerous than the savage natures of his wards. General Clark's jurisdiction extended over tribes anywhere west of the Mississippi River. Near the British border there were the bloody evidences of intrigue in the years when there was supposed to be complete peace between Great Britain and the United States. Benjamin O'Fallon was the United States agent for Indian affairs up the Missouri. He reported to General William Clark at St. Louis. In the summer of 1823 after General Ashley and his party of fur traders had suffered severely from the attacks of the Arickarees, Captain O'Fallon sent word that General Ashley believed from many circumstances "The British traders (Hudson's Bay Company) are exciting the Indians against us to drive us from that quarter." Captain O'Fallon added his own view to General Ashley's suspicions. He wrote:

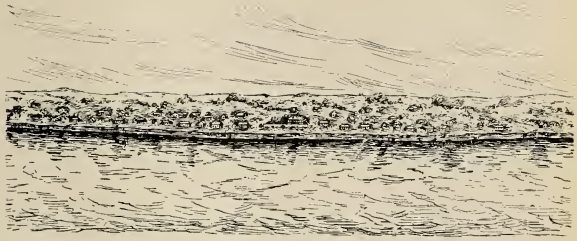
"I was in hopes that the British traders had some bounds to their rapacity; I was in hopes that during the late Indian war, in which they were so instrumental in the indiscriminate massacre of our people, that they had become completely satiated with our blood, but it appears not to have been the case. Like the greedy wolf, not yet gorged with the flesh, they guard over the bones; they ravage our fields, and are unwilling that we should glean them. Although barred by the Treaty of Ghent from participating in our Indian trade, they presumed and are not satisfied, but being alarmed at the individual enterprise of our people, they are exciting the Indians against them. They furnish them with the instruments of hell and a passport to heaven—the instruments of death and a passport to our bosoms."

Recollections of John B. Clark.

General John B. Clark in a reminiscent talk at his home in Fayette told of the service against the Indians performed by the Missourians after their own homes were safe. "The troubles that Daniel Boone and Cooper and the other early settlers had around here with the Indians were pretty much over when I came to Fayette. Along in 1812 there was a good deal of fighting in this and in Boone and Cooper counties. They had forts near Fayette. But when we came in 1818 it was pretty safe right around here. I commenced studying law in 1819 in old Judge Tompkins' office and was licensed by the supreme court in 1824 to practice. In 1823 the county seat was moved from Franklin, on the river, to Fayette, and I was appointed county clerk, I held that office for ten years. In '24 they elected me a colonel of militia, and in '27, brigadier-general. That meant service in those days. In 1832 the Black Hawk war broke out. The governor ordered me to take a regiment of mounted men and go under General Scott. We were out three months and must have had forty battles. Scott was fighting Black Hawk and his forces over in Illinois. I was ordered to keep along the west bank of the Mississippi and prevent the Iowas and other tribes from crossing over to join Black Hawk. They kept trying and we were in for a fight almost every day. That service lasted three months. I received a bullet in the foot, a wound in the head and a broken leg before I saw the end of it."

Big Neck, Leader of the Iowas.

The "Big Neck war" occurred in the summer of 1829. It was one of the last of the more serious troubles between Missourians and Indians. Big Neck was a leader among the Iowas. His war name was Mo-an-a-hon-ga, which means



ST. LOUIS IN COLONIAL DAYS

AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU

WILLIAM CLARK

Governor of Missouri Territory and Indian Agent

"great walker." The tribe also knew him as "The-man-not-afraid-to-travel." In 1824 Big Neck went to Washington with General William Clark. The party included several chiefs and warriors of the Iowas, headed by White Cloud, the principal chief. The purpose of the trip was to make a treaty. The Iowas had been living in the northwestern part of Missouri along the Chariton. Settlers were coming in. The government desired to obtain the lands of the Iowas and offered in payment the sum of five hundred dollars a year for ten years. The treaty was made, Big Neck participating. According to the terms the Iowa Indians were to move from the land purchased. While he was in Washington Big Neck had his portrait painted. From that he appears to have been a fine specimen physically without anything to indicate why he should have been given the name he commonly bore.

After the Indians came back from Washington, Big Neck disputed that provision of the treaty which required them to move from Northern Missouri. He claimed that his band should be allowed to live in what was known as "the Clinton Country" until the last of the ten annual payments in 1834. The Clinton Country of that day embraced what are now Adair, Sullivan, Putnam and Schuyler counties.

In 1824 settlers began to crowd into the vicinity of Big Neck's band. They formed near the present city of Kirksville a settlement which was called "The cabins of the white folks." There were ten or twelve families in the settlement. Up to that time the Clinton Country had been a favorite region for hunters. The Big Neck war started in July, 1829. Major Holcombe in 1892, as the result of much investigation of records and after gathering the recollections of the oldest inhabitants, wrote this graphic account of the war for the Globe-Democrat:

"Big Neck and his band of about sixty persons came down from the far North and encamped on the Chariton, some miles above the cabins. He asserted that he was on his way to St. Louis to see Gen. Clark, and try to get back his lands. According to the accounts of the old settlers the Indians were very insolent, visiting the cabins, demanding food, threatening the whites, etc. The savages, some of whom spoke English, said: 'This is our country. What are you doing here? You must leave or we will drive you away.' It was alleged that the stock of some of the settlers was killed and their gardens and fields plundered.

"As might be expected the Indians told a different story. 'Ioway Jim,' or 'Maj. Ketcher,' as he was sometimes called—an Indian who spoke good English and who was well known to the early settlers of North Missouri—afterward deposed that his brethren were not the aggressors. He said that while the band was in camp, resting from their long journey, a party of whites came up to them with some kegs of whisky. It was not long until the Indians were helplessly drunk, and then the whites swindled and robbed them of their horses, blankets, and nearly everything else of value, shamefully mistreated some of the women and girls, and then decamped. Recovering from their debauch, the Indians realized how dearly they had paid for the whisky, and being hungry, one of them shot a settler's hog and brought it into camp. Big Neck rebuked this forager, saying: 'That is wrong. It is true we have been robbed and are hungry, but the hog was not ours, and you should not have shot it.'

"The settlers became alarmed. Some of them sent off their wives and children. A messenger was dispatched down into the lower settlements for aid. On the night of July 24 he reached the house of Wm. Blackwell, in Randolph County, with the startling intelligence that the Indians were on the warpath! Before many hours the news had spread throughout that county and into Howard. A company of armed and mounted Randolph men, about seventy-five in number, under Capt. Wm. Trammell, were in the saddle by noon of the following day and marching for the scene of disturbance; that evening they went into camp on the

Chariton, at what was known as the Grand Narrows, now in Macon County. The next day they reached the cabins, forty miles or so from the Narrows.

"At a council on the morning of the 27th the whites determined to expel the Indians from the country, and, recruited by the men at the cabins, Capt. Trammell again set out. In the meantime Big Neck and his band had retired some miles up the Chariton and had again gone into camp. The whites advanced to the camp, and after a reconnaissance of the situation, Capt. Trammell swung his men around to the northward and coming up formed a line in the rear of the Indians. Dismounting his men 100 yards away, leaving every fourth man to hold horses, the Captain, followed by his men, advanced to the wigwams and called for an interpreter. 'Ioway Jim' stepped forward, gun in hand, and Capt. Trammell said: 'You must all leave this country at once, and stay away. The land belongs to the whites and you have no right here.' Big Neck, through the interpreter, answered: 'The land is ours. We will leave when we please. I am going to see the Red Headed Governor (Gen. Clark) about it, and he will say I am right.'

"Ioway Jim asserted that Big Neck had his pipe with him in token of his friendly disposition, and the Indians were certainly not in condition to fight. Capt. Trammell was a man of reasonable prudence and good judgment, and doubtless the difficulty would have been amicably arranged then and there, but for the reckless and reprehensible conduct of a hot-headed settler at the Cabins named James Myers.

"Hardly had Big Neck spoken, when Jim Myers fired his rifle and shot dead the chief's brother. The Indian fell backward, shot through the breast, giving a terrific war-whoop as he tumbled to the ground. Another settler named Owenby fired, and his bullet killed a little Indian child, the daughter of the Indian killed by Myers.

"The Indian squaws, with characteristic shrieks and yells, now began to fly; the Indian men came forward, loading their guns and stringing their bows as they advanced, and the battle was on. They raised a terrible yelling and whooping, and their battle cries were actually so unearthly that they demoralized some of the whites. Only fifteen men, it is said, obeyed Capt. Trammell's order to fire. The remainder broke for their horses and away from the field. Only two or three of Trammell's men fired more than once. The Indians, however, fought well, using their rifles and bows to good advantage, considering the wooded character of the ground. The fight was soon won, and Big Neck, supported by Mau-she-mo-ne (the 'Big Flying Cloud'), rallied the Indians for pursuit, and chased the whites for a mile or more.

"During the fight a settler named Wm. Winn shot a squaw, the wife of the Indian and the mother of the child killed by Myers and Owenby, and the sister-in-law of Big Neck. As she fell she called out: 'My brother, I am going to die innocent; avenge my blood!' Ioway Jim leveled his rifle and shot Winn in the thigh, fracturing the bone and bringing him to the ground. Big Neck himself jerked a gun from the hands of one of his men and shot and killed Jim Myers, who had opened the fight. Owenby, who shot the Indian child, was also killed. Several other whites were wounded. Capt. Trammell received an arrow in his body, which was not extracted for some days, or until he had reached home, and he died from the wound a day or two later. He had ridden a hundred miles with the weapon in his vitals, but with uncommon fortitude bore his sufferings without a murmur, and busied himself in caring for his men, especially for the wounded, though none were so badly wounded as he. A few of the Indians were wounded, among them being the wife or squaw of Big Neck; she had a severe scalp wound from a bullet. Four or five of the white men's horses were either killed or captured.

"When the Indians returned from the brief pursuit of the whites they scalped the bodies of Myers and Owenby and otherwise mutilated them. Winn was found on the battleground, with his thigh broken and unable to escape. Preparations were immediately made to burn him. He begged for his life, but his appeals were unheeded. A pile of sticks was soon raised and fired, and the body thrown upon it. As the flames rose Big Neck came forward, and, pointing to the Indian dead and wounded, addressed the dying victim in these bitter terms:

"'See there! Look! You have killed those dear to me—my brother, his wife and her child. See the blood as it runs before you. Look at that woman you have killed; her arm was never raised against a white man. That child never wronged any one. They have gone to the Great Spirit. I came to meet you with the pipe of peace in my mouth. I did no wrong.

You fired on me, and see what you have done! See my own squaw with her head bleeding; though not dead she is wounded. Now, listen. You are not a brave; you are a dog. If you were a brave, I would treat you as a brave; but as you are a dog, I will treat you as a dog!'

"Here Big Neck paused, and, with his knife drawn, sprang upon the writhing body of the fated white man, dragged him from the fire, scalped him, and then cut open his breast, tore out his heart, bit off a piece and ate it, and threw the remainder back into the flames. This incident was related by Ioway Jim to Gen. Hughes, and was corroborated by finding the half-burned and mangled body of the unfortunate Mr. Winn.

"The retreating whites hurried from the battlefield down the Chariton valley, and, being mounted—save a few who lost their horses during the fight—easily escaped. Reaching the Cabins, they hurriedly gathered up the women and children, and, pushing rapidly on southward, traveled all night without halting until within five miles of Huntsville. From here the women and children were sent on into Howard County. The Indians did not burn the cabins and destroy the settlement, as they easily might have done, but the next day after the fight retreated northward in alarm at the probable consequences that might follow.

"Tidings of the affair, magnified and exaggerated, of course, soon spread among the settlements along the Missouri, and there was intense excitement. A considerable force of militia, under Gen. P. Owens, of Fayette, was raised, by order of the governor, and marched to the scene. A regiment or battalion of this force was commanded by Gen. John B. Clark, Sr. A company of seventy-six men from Chariton county, under Maj. Daniel Ashley, acted independently. A company of Randolph and Howard county men, acting as scouts, and led by Capt. John Sconce—a noted old Kentucky Indian fighter, and who subsequently commanded the Ray county company of the Missouri regiment in the Florida war of 1837—was sent in advance to reconnoiter. It reached the scene first and buried the bodies of Myers, Owenby and Winn, and then returning met the commands of Owens and Clark.

"When Gen. Owens came up to the scene of the encounter there was, of course, not an Indian to be found. Big Neck had retreated northward to the Des Moines river. Capt. Sconce's company was sent on the trail and followed it forty miles. On the trail, not far from the battlefield, Capt. Sconce found the body of an Indian, presumably the brother of Big Neck. It was in a sitting posture, tied to a tree, and very elaborately dressed, decorated and ornamented with a profusion of beads, porcupine quills, silver and brass rings, a Masonic brooch, etc., and on the ground at its side lay a bow and quiver of arrows and a fine pipe tomahawk. When the scouts returned and reported that the Indians had left the country Gen. Owens marched the men of his command back to their homes.

"Meanwhile Gen. Atkinson, at Jefferson Barracks, had ordered Col. Henry Leavenworth to take a detachment of regular infantry from the then cantonment of Leavenworth (now Fort Leavenworth) and assist the militia. The agent of the Ioways, Gen. A. J. Hughes, was also ordered to co-operate. At that time there was a camp of Ioways in the forks of Grand river, near the present site of Chillicothe. Capt. Daniel Ashby, with the Chariton company, had been sent by Gen. Owens to this town to see if the Indians were assisting Big Neck. He found them perfectly quiet, or, as they expressed it, 'ar-ro-pee,' friendly and all right every way, whereupon he marched eastward and joined Gen. Owens on the Chariton. Gen. Hughes delivered eleven of the principal Grand river Ioways to Col. Leavenworth (who had advanced into the country with his troops) as hostages for the good conduct of the band, and then Col. Leavenworth returned to the fort."

The agent of the Iowas, General Hughes, concluded that Big Neck must be taken personally if further trouble along the Chariton and Clinton was to be averted. With four men the agent took up the trail of Big Neck's band and followed it nearly four hundred miles up through the unsettled Iowa country. On Skunk River, Hughes met a Sac chief, whose name was "The-Bear-Whose-Screams-Make-The-Rocks-Tremble." This chief directed the agent to Big Neck's camp and sent ten Indians to help take the prisoner. General Hughes reached the village very early in the morning and just before sunrise stepped into Big Neck's lodge. He told him that he must go to answer for the troubles in Missouri.

"I'll go with you," the Indian answered. "A brave man dies but once, cowards are always dying." Big Neck and his band were conducted by Hughes and his four companions to the Mississippi near Fort Madison. The Indians were observed to be holding consultations. Hughes expected an outbreak. He ordered his men to get their guns ready. Big Neck had sent the squaws and children forward to the river bluffs. Unexpectedly there appeared coming down the river a fleet of boats filled with United States soldiers under Lieutenant Morris. The squaws ran back from the bluffs to General Hughes and begged that Big Neck and the braves be spared.

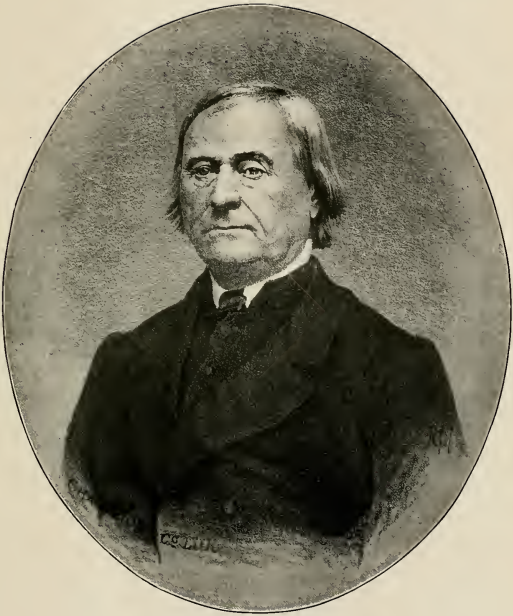
The Indian agent was certain that but for the appearance of the troops he and his men would have been murdered. Selecting Big Neck and about ten or twelve of the Indians who admitted they had been in the fighting along the Chariton, Hughes put them aboard the boats and took them to St. Louis. There it was ordered that they be put on trial for murder and that the trial be held in Randolph County. Big Neck and the others were taken to Huntsville under guard to protect them from the settlers as well as to insure their presence in court. The trial resulted in a verdict of not guilty, the jurors rendering it without leaving their seats. Big Neck, instead of rejoicing over his discharge, went into mourning. He blackened his face. Referring to the treaty he had made at Washington and to the subsequent troubles that actually brought it on, he said: "I am ashamed to look on the sun. I have insulted the Great Spirit by selling the land and the bones of my fathers; it is right that I should mourn always."

Big Neck continued in mourning according to the traditions until he was killed in a fight with a band of Sioux who had stolen some of his horses in the Upper Des Moines country. It is tradition that after he had been shot and while one of the Sioux was taking his scalp, Big Neck drew his knife with one hand, reached up with the other, pulled his assailant down to the ground, stabbed him to death, scalped him and then fell dead across the body. After the fight the Sioux warrior lay stretched on the ground with Big Neck lying across him with the scalp in one hand and the knife in the other.

The scene of "the Heatherly War" was near the border between Mercer and Grundy counties. Those counties were not established and while the territory was a part of Carroll County, two men, one named Dunbar, were killed. A party of Indians was in the vicinity at the time but was not hostile. The Heatherlys made their appearance in Clay County claiming that the Indians had murdered the two men. Two companies of militia were ordered out under Colonel Shubael Allen and sent to the locality. Upon investigation it appeared that the Indians were innocent; that the charge against them had been made to cover up a crime by white men.

Father DeSmet a Whole Peace Commission.

To St. Louis the government looked for controlling influence of Indian troubles long after the border line had been moved far westward. Among the prized papers of St. Louis University is a letter from the Peace Commission giving credit and thanks to Father DeSmet for preventing an Indian uprising in the Northwest as late as 1868. The St. Louis missionary left a bed of sickness to go among the Sioux and pacify them. He addressed one war council of 30,000 braves. Father DeSmet repeatedly rendered most valuable service in averting Indian troubles.



FATHER P. J. DE SMET, S. J.
"Black Gown," the Indian's friend

He went out as commissioner at the request of the government when an outbreak was threatened. On one of these occasions General Harney was at the head of the expedition; when the forces reached that part of the west where the outbreak was threatened, Father DeSmet left the camp and went alone among the Indians. Assembling a party of chiefs, he brought them with him to General Harney and was the chief agent in bringing about a treaty of peace. He crossed the plains eight or ten times. He made half a dozen trips to Europe in the interests of the Indians. He was devoted to the theory that the Indians might be civilized. The purpose of his trips abroad was to enlist sympathy for the Indians and to obtain for them agricultural implements and money, and to influence the young men on the other side of the water to take up the mission of civilization work among the American tribes. In 1859 Father DeSmet took a small skiff at Fort Benton and with three oarsmen descended the Missouri River, making as many as eighty miles a day.

CHAPTER X.

MISSOURI'S UNDERWORLD.

Roark Peak—The Devil's Den—Fate of the Guerrilla—The Sentence of the Home Guards—Nature's Ammonia Completes the Work—Henry T. Blow's Exploration—Tradition of Spanish Treasure—A Visit with Truman S. Powell—Descent into the Amphitheater—Great White Throne—Through Registry Room to the Gulf of Doom—Lost River Which Makes Onyx—Fat Man's Misery—Rest Room—Mystic Lake and Mystic River—Blondy's Throne—Mother Hubbard—The Dungeons—Sentinel Rock and Shower Bath Room—Thirty Miles of Passages—Tales of Marble Cave—Wonders of Hahatonka—Bishop McIntyre's Lecture—A Pretty Stretch of Boone's Lick Road—The Caves and Bottomless Pit of Warren—Grandeur of the Canyon at Greer—Old Monegaw's Self Chosen Sepulchre—Devil's Lake—Fishing Spring—The Lost Rivers—Senator Vest's Experience on the Roubideau—Cave Decorations by the Indians—Persimmon Gap—Mark Twain's Cave—Dr. McDowell's Gruesome Experiment—Tragedy of Labbadie's Cave—Perry County's Subterranean World—Missouri's Long and Varied List of Underground Wonders.

But nature, as if unable to place all of the attractions designed for this imperial domain on the surface, has invaded the dark recesses of her mountains and given to Missouri caves of immense and wondrous magnitude and beauty. Say to an American tourist that Switzerland had discovered a cave finished in glittering onyx, and millions of American money would be spent in visiting it, and volumes would be written upon its fascinating beauty, yet in Missouri such caves, rivaling in magnificence and brilliancy the royal splendors of Solomon's Temple, designed and finished under the Supreme Architect to evidence the unlimited resources and wondrous skill of nature's God, are numerous and in the profusion of our dazzling wonders attract but little attention.—*From an old Bulletin of the Missouri Board of Agriculture.*

Hunters and early settlers visited Roark Peak before the Civil war. They crawled down the crater-like depression where had once risen the summit of Roark. They leaned over the edges of the long narrow gap in the rock bottom of the crater. They looked down into a hole which semed at first to have neither sides nor bottom; it was without form and void. Strange noises came to the strained ears. Imagination helped eyes to see gleams of light and shadowy forms. "The Devil's Den," these early visitors called it. A closer acquaintance with his satanic majesty was not sought by them.

At the close of the war a guerrilla leader came back to his home on White River. He had bushwhacked. He had been a spy against his more loyal neighbors. Assassinations and house burnings and horse stealings and all the various crimes of that period were laid to his log cabin door. For self-protection the people of Stone County had formed themselves into a regiment of home guards. The guerrilla's return was soon known. One night a company of the guards called at his house. When the guards rode away he was with them. Without talk or laughter the escort and the guerrilla walked their horses along the river until they came to the Old Wilderness road. They turned northward and fox trotted along the flinty trail which follows the ridge, one of the widest of the Ozark vertebræ. Four miles from the river the party turned sharply to the east. The road was left

for what was scarcely more than a bridle path. It curved to keep on the spur of the ridge and wriggled to dodge the trees. Straight up Roark Peak the captors and prisoner rode and halted on the rim of the crater. All dismounted. With his hands firmly tied and his legs hobbled so that he could not use them for defense, the guerrilla was made ready for a doom that was the refinement of the horrible. He knew "The Devil's Den." He had been familiar for years with the associations and superstitions of the place. The time was early morning. When the sun comes up over the bald knobs to the east it makes this Ozark country look like a favored region of the gods. The home guards stood in a fringe on the rim of the crater, looking down at the narrow black gap in the bottom 200 feet below. By the appointed executioners the guerrilla was half carried, half dragged along the steep side of the great bowl. In the center of the gap dividing it into two parts there is wedged a great keystone. The doomed man was seated upon this stone. In front of him and behind him the cave yawned. There could be no pity for such as he had been. The memory of four years of terror and of murdered friends rose up to drown all pleadings. A signal was given by the captain of the company. A strong hand was laid on the guerrilla's shoulder. In a second the keystone was unoccupied. The sound of something striking the flint heap far below barely reached the gap. Those guards who stood above, on the edge of the crater, heard nothing but the morning breeze among the pine needles. The little squad climbed up out of the crater and the command moved out to the Old Wilderness road. The night's work was done. Stone County people slept easier after that.

Cremation by Ammonia.

Nearly twenty years after the guerrilla went to his doom a woman came to Roark Peak on a mission. The cave had been opened. Access to the interior was for the first time in that generation possible. News of this had spread along the Old Wilderness road and had reached White River. The woman was the sister of the man. She came to tell the cave explorers the story of her brother, and to ask for the bones that she might take them away and bury them. The perpendicular plunge from the keystone was measured. The place on the side of the cave where life must have been dashed out was found. There was not so much as a button. But as they tramped and prodded around the spot the explorers' feet sank in a deep black substance which looked like rich garden mold, but gave out no odor. This substance was the guano of countless bats. When analyzed it showed the presence of 13 per cent of ammonia. The powerful agent had eaten up all traces of the bloody work of the Stone County Home Guards.

After the guerrilla died this was more than ever "The Devil's Den." Natives were satisfied with semi-occasional peeking. Some told weird stories of things seen and heard around the gap in the crater bottom. The more sensible shook their heads and said to all inquiring strangers that the den was "a good place to keep away from." These pioneer settlers of Stone and Taney and Ozark were East Tennesseans, originally. They came here before the war. They brought their East Tennessee customs with them. They settled upon the creeks and the knobs. They were the bravest of men and would fight at the drop of the hat. But they had their superstitions and fears. No highlander was ever more sensitive upon the subject of the uncanny than these Ozark descendants of East Tennes-

seans. And so the Devil's Den went unexplored because these men who feared neither each other nor "varmints" were content to live and die with the underground mystery unsolved by them.

Early Explorations.

In 1869 Henry T. Blow, of St. Louis, and a party prospected through this region for mineral. They heard of the Den and came to see it. A saw mill not far distant tempted them with the means of outfitting for a descent. They put timbers across the gap, and lowered themselves with ropes. The better part of a day was spent in clambering around the great amphitheater, and a single one of the connecting rooms was visited. But with scarcely more than a glance at the wonders the lead-ore prospectors climbed out of the cavern and went on.

From that visit the Den remained closed for thirteen years longer. In 1882 a party of Grand Army men at Lamar, in Barton County, organized for an outing. An uneasy spirit named Beaver came drifting through the country and told the story of the Devil's Den. But he coupled with his version of the mystery a tale of hidden Spanish treasure, of secret charts and of traditions dating back beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitants. Inspired by desire for adventure rather than by much credence in Beaver's narrative, the campers headed for Stone County, over a hundred miles southeast from Lamar. Thereby came about the discovery of the astonishing features of Marble Cave, as it was called for some years, but better known now as Marvel Cave. With the arrival of the Lamar party the exploration began.

The moving spirit in the Lamar party was Truman S. Powell, an officer in an Illinois regiment during the war. Powell had moved to Missouri years before, and was publishing the Barton County Record. That camping trip changed the whole plan of his life. The fascination of cave-exploring fastened itself upon him. After his first ramblings through the cave, the editor moved his paper to Galena, the county seat of Stone, and changed its name to the Oracle. He homesteaded a quarter section of land, the best and nearest he could find to the mouth of the cave. He devoted a great deal of time to cave study. Ten years after Mr. Powell began these explorations Marvel Cave was visited with him as a guide. Upon that personal observation is based the description given.

The Great Amphitheater.

Leading down the side of the crater to the gap where the guerrilla sat on the keystone is a flight of steps. A ladder completes the descent of the crater to the long, narrow gap or cleft which is, up to this time, the only known entrance to the cave. The top of a second and much longer ladder comes up through the cleft. This ladder is almost perpendicular. Standing upon the topmost rung one looks around upon nature in her most charming garb. Grass grows upon the sides of the crater. Large trees are about its rim. The mountain rose clambers over the keystone where the guerrilla sat, and is one great cluster of bloom in the first days of real summer on the Ozarks. The sun filters through the heavy foliage. The sweet mountain air, for this is 1,375 feet above the sea, is full of ozone and glorious to the lowest depth of the lungs. Ha! down a round. Charming nature is disappearing. Down another round. Space, dark, gloomy space, in front. No limit on which to steady the vision and the nerves in that direction. To the right,

quick. More space, and nothing but darkness beyond it. A look to the left. And one backward over the shoulder. It is all the same—space which can't be measured and which disappears in unstable gloom in all directions. The grip tightens on the rung. If that ladder should sway a brain would reel just a little bit. But the ladder doesn't so much as quiver. It is not according to rule to look downward in climbing. But the temptation is too great. Just one quick glance. It is regretted. The flaring lamp wick re-enforced by a quart of kerosene is about as insignificant as a match. The man who went down first looks like a pygmy. It's a long way to the bottom. Look upward. There is promise in the rift of sunshine which comes through the gap and falls athwart the ladder. That is something to measure by. Further and further behind the ray is left, and sixty feet below the feet rest on the top of the great cone of debris in the very center of the vast amphitheater. The guide looks up at the ladder illuminated by the sunbeam and shows himself a mind reader by remarking in a casual tone:

"We call that 'the Christian's Hope.'"

The foot of the big ladder is a place to stop and get bearings. When the top of Roark Peak fell down through the hole in the roof it landed in the center of a great amphitheater and remained there. Had some prehistoric man been standing on the highest point of Roark when the great event occurred he would have thought the bottom was falling out of creation. And when the mass stopped falling the prehistoric man would have found himself still standing on the highest point of the peak, but about three hundred feet lower than the altitude from which he had started. Instead of looking down great slopes and along the ridges of the Ozarks he would have been looking up through a narrow gap in a great roof of marble. One minute he might have stamped his foot and exclaimed: "I am monarch of all I survey," and the next his thoughts would have been "how in thunder am I going to get out of this hole?" It is sixty feet from the top of this interior cone to the marble roof. But so rapidly does the cone slope away that a few feet distant to a point directly under where the guerrilla fell, the drop from the keystone to the side of the cone is over 100 feet.

Space, space is the first impression at the foot of the ladder. Gradually the vision conforms to the gloom. The shadows roll back slowly. Directly above is the red marble roof, with the gleaming gap which leads to heavenly outdoors. The vision sweeps along the roof to darker portions and catches the first glimpse of the marvels. Great stalactites ten and twelve feet long fairly stud the roof and point downward with the suggestiveness of the sword of Damocles. The first survey of the cone from the top gives no idea of its size. A zigzag pathway down the southern slope is traversed over the broken rock half imbedded in the guano. From the bottom of the slope a backward look, shows a hill of 225 feet to where the ladder stands in its halo. And there, at the foot of the cone, the first adequate idea of the immensity of the amphitheater impresses itself. If the central cone or dump of debris was out of the way the Capitol at Washington might be put down into the amphitheater. The roofs of the Senate and House wings would not touch the marble top of the cave. The dome of the Capitol would not disturb a stalactite, and the Goddess of Liberty could poke her Indian headgear through the rift in the crater and see daylight. There is nothing in Mammoth or Luray, or any other American cavern, which reaches the dimensions of the amphitheater

of Marvel Cave. Seen the second time it seems greater than upon the first descent.

The Great White Throne.

"Well, there's the Great White Throne!" exclaimed the adventurous Powell as he halted with the original exploring party at the dump on the first entry in 1882. "The Great White Throne!" it is to-day and always will be. The name which first came to the explorer's lips was singularly appropriate, and it sticks. Built out on one side of the amphitheater, but far enough from the wall to leave a wonderful passage, the throne rises sixty-five feet from the base. It is round and built up by successive layers of rock, each set in a little from the one below, so as to give a symmetrical, tapering appearance. The color is pure white—dazzling in the flame of the torches.

They got "a native" down into the cave on one occasion. He was a man who wasn't afraid of his weight in wild cats, but he had the awe of the Devil's Den, entertained by all of the old inhabitants. As he stood in front of the throne the poor man was seized with a trembling fit. In broken voice he cried that if the Lord would let him out that time he would never do so again. They put a rope around him to steady him, and hustled him up the ladder as fast as they knew how. The way to the top of the throne is around to the rear and up the back by a scramble. The top is spacious enough to hold half a dozen persons. It affords a view of the whole amphitheater save where the shadows unsubdued by the largest torches still linger. Back of the throne rises a bewildering collection of the most fantastic imagery. There are stalactites and stalagmites. The formations from the top and the bottom meet and crowd each other. Elephant heads as true as Jumbo's look out from such a menagerie of freaks in water-formed rocks as the wildest dreamer never saw in fancy. There are moldings and carvings, devices of animals and of plants which nature never produced in living forms. Men who have seen this collection of bric-a-brac year after year still stop to study it bit by bit and to find new wonders in it.

The Great White Throne has an interior. Leaving with reluctance the bric-a-brac which rises above and to the rear of the throne, the visitor slides and bumps down to the path, and finds his way around to the foot of the throne and up further side to an entrance. Here the water has worked a peculiar wonder of its own. The roof of this interior of the throne is hung as closely as they can be placed with what looks for all the world like innumerable flicks of bacon in cold storage. In the sides of the pieces can be traced the streaks of fat and lean.

The Place to Register.

Out from the edges of the vast amphitheater lead half a dozen routes to as many strange features of the cave. In no two of the routes is there any sameness of travel or scenes. The most natural trip to make first is by a curving passage which begins almost behind the Great White Throne. It is a narrow alley, so narrow that two people of average size would find it hard to pass each other. The floor is of clay; the sides and arched roof of rock. If the passage had been hewn out by human hands it could not have been done more perfectly. The height at the opening permits one to stand almost erect. Gradually it is found necessary to stoop more and more. The passage curves and descends. Stone steps take

the place of the clay bottom. A warm current, 10 degrees higher than the temperature of the amphitheater, strikes the face. At the end of 250 feet the passage comes to an abrupt corner and there is the Registry Room. A great hall opens out, and the torch must be swung high overhead and all around to get an appreciative idea of the dimensions. On one side is a high wall covered with a coating of soft but very tenacious red clay. In this clay names and dates and sentiments can be traced with the finger. And here the restless American tourist is turned loose to get his fill of making his mark. When the cave was explored for the first time with any thoroughness in 1882, upon the wall of the Registry Room was found the record that the Blow party, from St. Louis, had penetrated to this depth in 1869. But the party went no further.

The Registry Room is 50 feet high, as square and perfect as if carved with purpose. The roof is as smooth as if plastered. At the further end of the Registry Room a chasm yawns. It is 130 feet down this precipice to the bottom. The roof is 50 feet above. This gives 180 feet from bottom to top. It is the Gulf of Doom. And a gulf of doom it would be to any one who, intent on viewing the Registry Room, should step backward into the chasm. The first time any one ever went beyond the Registry Room it was descent by rope 130 feet to the bottom of the Gulf of Doom. And the return was made the same way. But soon a passage was found—a continuation of the route by which the Registry Room is reached from the amphitheater. Keeping on down the steep passage without turning into the Registry Room, the visitor reaches a succession of ledges and ladders. The ladders were built where they are. No piece of wood longer than 10 feet could be dragged down, so short are the turns and curves. The timbers were spliced and the rounds were put in after the material reached its destination. Several of these ladders, with more or less difficult crawls between them, lead to Lost River Canyon. The opening is into the side of the canyon, which extends in both directions. The turn to the right into the canyon takes one to the waterfall. A short crawl ends in the Sullivan Room. Everybody straightens up and walks into a narrow hall, which curves first one way and then the other until it forms a perfect S. When this freak was first found there was a man named Harvey Sullivan in the exploring party. Some one called attention to the fact that the room was shaped like an S lying on its side. And another exclaimed, "We'll just call this the Sullivan Room." So it remains. The carved hall is 20 feet long and 8 feet high. Upon the roof nature has left a curious molding divided into figures unknown to geography, with little knobs as large as an acorn stuck along the dividing ridges of the panels. Lost River flows through the Sullivan Room and leaves on its way little pools that look like plate-glass. Just beyond the room the river spreads and ripples over a lot of rocks which appear as soft and smooth as so many feather pillows. There Lost River plunges downward 45 feet into a mass of spray, into the bottom of the Gulf of Doom. In Lost River the alchemy of nature is always at work. Of all the streams yet found in the cave this is the only one which coats everything it touches. A stick left in the water three months will be found covered with a transparent glass-like substance. The manufacture of onyx is in progress all of the time, though, of course, it will be ages before the water formation of today becomes the onyx of use.

The Gulf of Doom.

The top of the waterfall having been seen, the next thing is to reach the bottom of the fall and the floor of the Gulf of Doom. Backward through the Sullivan Room and into the hard crawling among the rocks the way is. At one place a rock splits the passage in two. The only course is to wriggle under or over. "Fat Man's Misery" the guide calls it. Just beyond Fat Man's Misery is the Hornet's Nest, a mass of water-formed rock with cells and color, so like the dangerous bunch hanging from the apple tree bough that one almost hears the angry buzz. And a little way from the Hornet's Nest there project down from the low roof of the passage two great knobs of rock. The man who misses the first is sure to measure the hardness of his head with the second. Originally there was a coating of clay on the knobs. One day a visitor struck a knob so hard the red clay broke and fell. He shouted to the guide:

"I have caved in my whole head. Take me out of here as quick as you can or I shall be dead before you get to the ladder. Oh! oh! oh!"

"I knew," said young Powell, "that if the man's skull was crushed in he wouldn't be talking, and I tried to relieve his mind. He wouldn't have it. He insisted that he had broken his head and that the pieces had fallen all around him. I went back, and after awhile I convinced him that the pieces were the red clay covering of the knob and not his head. But he had had a pretty hard bump."

And while he told his story the guide led the way down a couple of short ladders, along a passage and into the bottom of the Gulf of Doom, with its 180 feet from floor to roof. Lost River fell on what seemed like a heap of feather beds, but the spray and mist and the roar told that the piled-up mass with its soft look and smooth curves was onyx, formed by the long and continuous dashing of the water.

The Gulf of Doom, 900 feet below the top of the mountain peak and in the very heart of it, has its relations with the outer world. In times of excessive rains and freshets the Gulf of Doom fills with water to a depth of 100 feet, and as the rivers outside go down the water in the gulf falls.

Mysterious Cave Noises.

From the foot of the waterfall begins a crawl to further wonders. The explorer is now about a quarter of a mile below the rim of the crater and daylight. He has come a long way roundabout in the descent. He has climbed down nine ladders from 10 to 60 feet long. He has half slipped, half stepped along steep grades. He has walked through tortuous passages, sometimes erect and sometimes bent until his body was almost at right angles with his legs. He has crawled on his hands and knees. He has passed through tight places where he had to lengthen out his legs and drag himself by his hands. But having come thus far he should not turn back. A dash through the waterfall means only a little additional dampness. A more serious-minded way is to edge along the wall and get around the falling water. The torch shows a slanting wall in front. The guide calls it a "clay slide." The clay makes it possible to dig the toes in and gain footings. Up the clay slide at its steep angle goes the way, and the only way to Blondy's throne. This ascent of 65 feet looks all but impossible, until the guide shows that it can be done. When the top of the clay slide is reached there appears what could not be seen before, a wide, low opening. It is only 2 feet high. The bottom is of

damp red clay; the roof of smooth rock. This is the passage to the throne room. It is hands and knees for it now. But familiarity has already bred contempt for the moist clay. The crawl begins. In places the clay either rises a little or the roof lowers. Whichever it matters not. The only thing to do is to drop flat and wriggle along, until there is a little more space, and then one realizes how much easier it is to crawl than to wriggle. Three shallow pools of water are encountered on the way. Two of them can be skirted with care. Through one it is necessary to splash. From the head of the clay slide there is 600 feet of this kind of traveling. Just half way on the route is the rest room. Well named it is. There is space to rise and to stand erect and to stretch the arms. There are ledges to sit upon. And while all rest and nobody speaks, suddenly a murmur seems to come through the opening opposite. It is the sound of talking, surely. As the hearing is strained, the voice grows more distinct, but not a word can be distinguished. One day as Powell sat in the rest room with a visitor, the latter bent his head and exclaimed:

"Listen! Listen! There! She laughs!"

Imagination is reluctant to give up the theory of voices for the reality of echoes from falling water. One day Will Powell took an old fellow into this crawl passage to dig out some clay and make the way a trifle easier. Young Powell himself was at work in the passage leading to the foot of the waterfall, replacing one of the ladders. He had occasion to go up toward the amphitheater for material. He was not gone thirty minutes, but on his way back he met his workman crawling out.

"That clay is awful tough; I thought I'd come out and rest my back awhile," the old man explained. But he showed a disinclination to go to work again. Powell went with him. The old man hesitated a little and then asked:

"Say, do you hear that kind of grumbling noise in there?"

After he had been convinced that what he heard was really the water he took up his tools. Not many men can be induced to work in the cave. They raise the pick and involuntarily hold it suspended, as if they were fearful it might strike through a coffin lid and release some uneasy spirit.

Some of the Cave Mysteries.

Three hundred feet of crawling and wriggling beyond the rest room ends with a sudden up-raise of clay. It seems as if the end has come. But the roof rises just as abruptly as the clay does. The passage simply jogs upward and then downward and the throne room is there. In reality there are three rooms, if the two half partitions or narrowing portions be taken into account. But the Powells treat the three as one grand hall 300 feet long. The first thing the visitor discovers is a little lake 30 feet long and 20 feet wide. The water is as transparent as glass. The torch shows the bottom, and the depth appears to be about 15 inches, whereas it is many feet. Mystic Lake it is called. A large rapid stream flows into the lake from the south. There is no visible outlet. Yet the lake does not rise nor fall. Somewhere out of sight there must be an exit for the water, but no trace of it has ever been found. An arch overhangs the lake. It is about 8 feet high in the center and the sides pass down with perfect turns to the floor of the room. Beneath the arch hangs a bewildering array of stalactites. These pendants are of great variety in sizes. Some are dark and some are white. The Mystic River, as

it comes down to the lake, makes a tremendous noise over a succession of low falls and rapids. And this is the noise which, sifted through long and crooked passages, is easily mistaken for voices.

The onward way is up over the arch. Then it bears off a little to the right and brings one to the foot of Blondy's throne. The great white throne of the amphitheater was a marvel. But here is a throne ten times the size of that at the base and twice as high. For 120 feet the throne tapers up with story upon story of red and yellow and water-colored onyx. Across the base the width is 150 feet. With the aid of a long rope fastened to a stalactite it is possible to scramble up the side of the throne and enter the interior 75 feet above the base. In this is found a room 20 feet across and from 12 to 20 feet high. The floor is as white as snow. In the center is a tank of about the dimensions of a wagon box—8 feet long and 3 feet wide. The water in the tank seems to be quite shallow. An early explorer named Porter put his foot in to see what the depth really was. When he came to the surface the guide pulled out Mr. Porter by the ears. This interior room of Blondy's throne is hung with stalactites. In all of the ramifications of the cave there has not yet been found stalactite formation to compare with that in Blondy's throne room. Hundreds can be counted in the throne interior. They range in diameter from pipe stems to stove pipes, and in length from a few inches to 20 feet. Correspondingly in size and number the stalagmites come up from the floor to meet them. To the right hand of the entrance of the throne interior are the musical rocks. Two complete octaves can be rung from them by taps with a piece of iron. Some of these rocks give out sound as loud and clear as a large bell. Others are as fine as a piano note. Still others are as transparent as thick glass. The light illuminates them.

It is possible to reach the summit of Blondy's throne. That summit is crowned by a collection of spires. One great central spire is 4 feet through and extends far upward into darkness. Around it are ten or twelve smaller spires. Standing on the summit of the throne and throwing the light around, the explorer finds that the walls are covered with stalactites. Even at that elevation the roof is so far above that it is not visible.

The upper part of the throne from the interior room to the summit has been likened to a cupola. The similarity is striking. Crossing the throne interior to the side opposite from the entrance, one stands peering out into the great beyond. There is space and darkness above, below and all around. To this day it remains the great beyond. Leaning out from the interior of the throne the Powells have thrown flash lights and burned fire-balls without being able to know much more of the great beyond than that it is a vast chamber. Height and breadth are unknown. There is bottom, however, at the foot of a precipice of 100 feet. No human foot has yet trod the floor. The guides know that water flows through the great beyond. They can hear it. Whence it comes or where is goes, or how much there is of it they do not know. The Great Beyond is one of the several places where exploration has halted.

The Dead Animal Chamber.

Variety is the characteristic of Marvel Cave. No two parts or features are similar. Past the spring, direct from the amphitheater and straight as if an engineer had bossed the workings, goes a tunnel. The floor is of hard red clay;

the walls and arched roof of rock. Unlike some other portions of the cave this passage is very dry. A stooping walk gives place to the hands-and-knees posture, and then the prone position must be taken. The tunnel becomes a crevice which suddenly widens out into a large, low, vaulted room. This is the dead animal chamber. A chamber of horrors it might be called. The distance is 125 feet from the amphitheater to the chamber. On the last part of the way it is impossible to crawl or to turn. Mr. Powell, a thin, wiry man of great nerve and strength, was the first to make his way to the chamber. He came wriggling his way back to the amphitheater and told his associates that he had seen 500 dead animals.

"Five, five, five," exclaimed the skeptical Dr. Jones in derision, and then he made ready for the trip. But when he got back the first words that came from his lips were, "Not five hundred, but five thousand."

The floor of the vaulted chamber was not only covered, it was heaped with mummified remains of animals. Curled or stretched out, according to the natural way of going asleep, they lay by hundreds and thousands. Upon many the fur was so well preserved that they had the appearance, in the dim light, of sleeping. There were the remains of panthers, of wildcats, of 'coons, of opossums, of woodchucks, and underneath were skeletons of animals long ago extinct. A little stirring of the remains raised a cloud of dust which was suffocating. Subsequent examination of the dead animal chamber showed that the remains which lay in sight constituted only a small fraction of the number which had crawled in to die. Buried in layers of clay deposits, carried into the chamber at some remote period by floods, were countless other skeletons and mummies, chiefly of the feline tribe. Evidently this had been for centuries the place to die chosen by these kinds of animals. Some hundred have been carried or sent away. Government naturalists from Washington completed the shipment of a ton of the clay and its contents; together with a large box of the best preserved specimens to Washington. But no impression has been made upon the great chamber's grewsome contents. The scientists are greatly interested. The dying animals never came down through the crater and the gap in the roof of the amphitheater. They knew of some other entrance to Marvel Cave. That is more than the Powells, with all their searching, have been able to find. Why did the dying animals come centuries after centuries to the cool dry place, a natural tomb with wonderful preserving conditions? There is a revelation of instinct in the dead animal chamber.

Mr. Powell said that animals have crawled into the chamber and died since he has been living here. The carcasses are preserved, but in the process of mummifying they give off a strong smell, not offensive, however, like carrion. To make room for their last resting places these late comers have crowded back the remains of those gone before until they have choked up the crevice to the amphitheater.

Following the wall of the amphitheater around to the right from the dead animal tunnel, the visitor must look well to his steps. Down close to the wall is a well-like opening. To the bottom is 35 feet and it opens into the Powell and Hughes rooms, 30 feet long, 6 or 7 wide and 15 feet high. These rooms are only interesting for the large deposits of bat guano they contain. When the cave was first explored in 1882 the idea was to take out this guano and sell it. A whim and a tramway were constructed, but the distance of thirty miles over the mountains to the railroad wiped out the profits and the industry collapsed.

Beyond the entrance to the Powell and Hughes rooms the amphitheater has a great wing which is almost a part of itself. But the wing has been given the distinctive name of the Mother Hubbard room. When Mr. Powell first walked to the further end of the wing chamber and came front to front with a prodigious stone image he exclaimed to those following: "Hello! Here's Mother Hubbard." The figure is as shapeless as a Mother Hubbard dress and that suggested the name. But when Mr. Powell looked behind the figure and saw a large crevice he added from another chamber of his memory, "And here's Mother Hubbard's cupboard, sure enough." When the Powell boys read Haggard, they adopted "She" as the better title for the figure, but "Mother Hubbard" and "the cupboard" still stick.

The Battery and the Dungeons.

A crawl of forty feet from the extreme end of the Mother Hubbard room gives entrance to The Battery. It is through heterogeneous rock, and a rather ugly scramble. The Battery is sixty or seventy feet long and high. The appearance is novel even after the other features of Marvel Cave have been examined. A little stream crosses the room from right to left. A large gallery is well filled with water formations composed about one-half of guano. A queer combination it is. The Battery gets its name from the fact that it is the chamber most frequented by bats. At times the bats cover the walls entirely and give the room the appearance of being draped in velvet. Out of the Battery is a passage to the Spanish room, so called because of marks on the walls which somebody once thought were made by the Spanish explorers. That story Mr. Powell discredited. Beyond the Spanish room a passage so choked with broken rock as to be impassable extends nobody knows where. In this part of the cave is found a very hard and tough clay which, when scraped by a knife, takes on a rich polish.

Still further around the Amphitheater, just down the dump to the left of the big ladder, is a high crevice in which a man can stand erect and edge along sideways. The course is downward at an angle of forty-five degrees. The crevice comes to an end on the brink of a precipice. An Indian ladder—that is a pole with rounds thrust through it—furnishes means of descent thirty-five feet to the bottom of the precipice. Here is the Dungeon, twenty-five feet across and very high. With the ladder broken or lifted out there is no escape. Mr. Powell said he had found unmistakable evidence of some one having been confined in this horrible trap. From the bottom of the Dungeon is an opening to a second and smaller room, and from that room a desperate effort has been made to tunnel through the hard clay upward in the direction of the Amphitheater. This unfinished tunnel extends twenty feet and ends abruptly. In the main Dungeon all the loose stones have been collected and heaped up twelve feet high against the side nearest to the outlet fissure. But, standing on that heap, the prisoner would still be many feet below the fissure. The walls are too steep to permit of climbing out. In one place there is apparently a drilled hole in the wall for a staple. And when Mr. Powell first discovered the hole there seemed to be traces of rust around it. No skeleton was found in either of the Dungeons.

Freaks of Temperature.

Awe is not altogether responsible for the shivering sensation which comes with the first steps downward into Marvel Cave. From the summer temperature

of seventy on the mountain the transition is suddenly to forty-two at the foot of the Great White Throne. Only in the amphitheater and certain side passages is the temperature so low. The Powells learned to account for this by the presence of the bat guano. This deposit is not found in the registry room nor in the lower portions of the cave. There the uniform temperature is fifty-six. But where the guano is abundant the temperature is ten or twelve degrees colder. The explanation is found in the presence of thirteen per cent of ammonia in the guano. In other words nature, with the assistance of the bats, has produced chemical cold storage on a grand scale.

Almost opposite the big ladder and to the right of the Great White Throne some little distance stands a tall shapely rock, extending from the bottom to the roof of the amphitheater and back almost against the wall. It is "The Sentinel of the Spring." To the right of the sentinel is a passage and opening off that passage is a spring. The water comes trickling from above, and by constant dropping keeps a large basin full. This water is colder, a little colder than the atmosphere. Tasted where it drips it is pleasant. Above ground it is almost too cold for comfort. Unlike the water of the Lost River the spring creates no formations. No glassy coating follows a bath of whatever length in the basin. Just above the spring is another apartment reached by a short climb. It is the shower bath room. Walls and top are covered with moisture. The moisture seems to come from nowhere in particular, but it gathers as a jug sweats in hot weather and trickles down to form the supply of the spring. The theory of the collection of this water is one of the many freaks of Marvel Cave. It is that the difference in temperature between various parts of the cave and the collision of currents causes the water to condense from the warmer air and to collect in this shower bath chamber. Distillation, in other words, performed by nature on the spot, creates this supply of water for the bath room and the spring. Scientists to whom the conditions have been described have admitted the correctness of the theory. For the creation of the water supply no other explanation can be found. This purest and queerest of water is given credit for the cure of cases of diabetes. Just over the spring and on the side toward the amphitheater is the window shutter. The shutter slats are gigantic, but they are wonderfully perfect and lie in correct parallels.

Thirty Miles of Passages.

One of the first questions asked about a cave is, "How far can you go?" No satisfactory answer can be made to that question about Marvel Cave. There are, with Sentinel Rock as a starting point, several routes which have been followed long distances without end. If the amphitheater, into which visitors first enter, is taken as the starting point, it is possible to go in several other passages which have mysteries yet to be cleared up. The Powells have followed these different routes one after the other until they have come to rivers too deep to be forded or to precipices too great for ordinary means of scaling. In several directions journeys of at least five miles have been made. No less than thirty miles of chambers and passages has been explored. And how much more remains to be traversed it is not possible to estimate.

It is possible to leave the grand amphitheater at every point of the compass. Back of the ladder, directly opposite from the tunnel leading to the dead

animal chamber, is a series of eight or ten rooms, but the rock is rotten, and there is constant danger of something dropping. The Powells have never gone far in that direction, and they never take visitors in. This course is almost due north. To the northwest is a string of nine rooms with connecting crawls, but they contain no extraordinary features.

Almost where the amphitheater leaves off and the Mother Hubbard wing begins, a short passage leads into a room shaped so much like an alligator that it has been given that name. The alligator room is interesting chiefly for the fact that from it Wind Passage extends. The alligator room is ten feet wide and thirty feet long. Wind Passage is so crooked that nothing longer than a four-foot stick can be dragged through it. It is so low that wriggling is the only style of locomotion. And this piece of crawling is between eight hundred and one thousand feet over rocks and under rocks. The clay bottom, which is usual in Marvel cave passages, is not found in this. Through Wind Passage comes a current of air strong enough to extinguish any ordinary torch. Hence the name. Day and night, in all seasons, that draft blows through. Wind Passage comes to an abrupt termination at a precipice. The depth is about forty feet, and when the explorer has lowered himself by rope he stands in a large round chamber 200 feet across and very high. The guano and clay on the floor are dry, and a little kicking raises a great dust. This chamber has never been named. A passage not so contracted and tortuous leads out of the chamber. A crawl of about one hundred and fifty feet ends in a second room, which possesses the suggestive name of The Epsom Salts room. This room is 600 feet long and 200 feet high. In the center is a balloon-shaped sink fourteen feet in diameter and twenty feet deep. Epsom salts like frost work appears upon the walls. After Epsom Salts room is a series of eight large rooms, with short passages between. At the end of the last there is a fissure two feet wide in some places, in others narrowing to one foot. There are ledges on the sides. It is possible to shuffle along this fissure with a foot on either side. The fissure is sixty to seventy feet deep, and at the bottom is a stream of water. Probably there are rooms along the fissure, but the few times this most dangerous route has been traversed the Powells have been too intent on their footing to speculate on side issues. This fissure route is about a mile long. After traveling that distance the explorer bears off to the left and goes through a corridor that much resembles the one leading to the Dead Animal room. It is very low in places and extremely dry. Then comes a series of fifteen or sixteen rooms, and at last the straight high banks of a stream from twelve to fourteen feet wide and ten feet deep. The current is swift. No Name River this is called and it bars the progress of exploration in that direction until material can be dragged through for a bridge or a boat.

Three Rivers with Varying Courses.

The course of the No Name stream is westward. Mystic River's course is south. Lost River flows in still another direction. The streams flowing so vigorously through different portions of the cave account in part for the strong and diverse currents of air. The fact that they rise and fall with the rivers outside and feel the effects of rain and freshets seems to show that they have outside connections not a great way distant.

Lost River Canyon is where level heads are turned and confusion reigns. Where the ladders and passage coming down from Registry room bring one to the canyon stands a great rock, shaped like a thick slab. It is perpendicular as if set there by the square and compass and anointed by the oil and wine. This is Sentinel Rock. It plays an important part in the geography of the cave. If the explorer notes the rock as he returns from Blondy's throne and the waterfall, he looks backward over his left shoulder and sees the passage to the ladders and the way out. But if Sentinel Rock is passed the traveler is lost. Lost River Canyon has countless side passages and crevices. Six boys and six girls went down to the waterfall on one occasion and started back. They did not come out. As the time went by without sign of them, Mr. Powell descended. When he reached the ladder he could see the party crawling round and round through Lost River Canyon and its branches looking in vain for the way. Some of them had been there before, but they did not remember Sentinel Rock. They had become bewildered. Their lights had burned until only a bit of candle remained. At the first glimpse one of the party cried out, "Is that Editor Powell?" In a few moments a hysterical girl had the editor by the arm crying, "Papa, I'm going to get hold of you." She never released her grip until she saw blessed daylight coming through the gap in the crater.

Mr. Powell considers that one of his greatest feats was finding his way out from the foot of the waterfall without light. It was a feat wholly unintentional. Dr. Jones, an early and frequent explorer of the cave, came out one day insisting that he had found an entirely new route from the waterfall to Blondy's throne. He claimed that he had discovered a hole just back of the fall, and that it was much easier going. Powell didn't believe him, but he had had so many discoveries upset previous knowledge that after listening to the Doctor carefully he went down to see for himself. He carried with him a candle and a box of patent matches. Never noticing that the matches were only good when scratched on the box lid, he threw away the box. Reaching the foot of the waterfall Mr. Powell saw through the mist a dark spot which he had not observed before. Concluding that that was the hole Dr. Jones had mentioned, Powell dashed through the water towards it. He struck solid wall instead of space and reeled backward. The water put out the light. When he recovered from the shock he tried to strike a match, and then another and another. After repeated failures he realized the situation. Turning with his back squarely to the wall he started through the fall and for the passage. Feeling his way almost inch by inch, and stopping every few feet to think out the turns and chutes, he came at last to the Sentinel Rock. It took two hours to make the trip out but it was accomplished.

The Original Arkansas Traveler.

After a day of hard climbing and crawling Mr. Powell sat on the gallery of the Glade Echo homestead and talked most interestingly of Marvel Cave's history.

"I have," said he, "been told a great many things about the cave by the people round about here and I have given a good deal of time to investigating them. Many of the stories, I am satisfied, are purely imaginary. Some have foundation. The oldest reference to the cave in print was, I think, a short newspaper description. This was probably published a great many years ago and revived from time to time and started on its rounds. I found it printed in an appendix to a history

of Missouri published long ago. The curious thing about the account is that it doesn't locate the cave further than to say it is in the Ozarks. From the description, it seems that the writer was lowered into the Amphitheater and crawled perhaps as far as the Registry. He speaks of there being another throne about the middle of the Amphitheater. This prompts me to believe that since his visit considerable debris has fallen in through the slit in the bottom of the crater and covered up one of the thrones. I have a theory that this description of Marvel Cave was written fifty years ago, and that the man who visited the cave and wrote it was Col. Falconer. Falconer was the original of 'The Arkansas Traveler.' He is the character about whom so many stories are told. He had a place in Dade County, but he was seldom at home. Dressed in good clothes, riding a fine horse, he traveled all over this part of Missouri and Arkansas. Wherever he went he carried his fiddle. And he fiddled his way to the hearts of the pioneers while he explored their country. Falconer passed up and down the Old Wilderness road, then a mere trail, in his travels. He could hardly have failed to hear, from the hunters, of Marvel Cave, and it was just like him to visit the place and go down into it. He wrote what he saw, but never thought of telling the way to it or of locating it more definitely than in the Ozarks."

Traditions of Spanish Treasure.

When Mr. Powell began to explore the cave he heard many stories about it having been visited by the Spaniards at an early day. Some people believed that treasure had been hidden here.

"I have never been able to find any confirmation of these lost-wealth stories," said Mr. Powell. "We found upon our earliest visits the remnants of some old ladders, such as the Spaniards used. They are simply long poles with notches alternating on each side for footholds. The same kind of ladders are to be seen now in Mexican mines. Two of those poles, or sections of them, are now in the cave. You saw them in one corner of the Mother Hubbard room. The Spaniards roamed through this region looking for silver at an early day. It is altogether probable that they made ladders and descended into the cave, but I have never found any evidence that they mined there, or that they concealed any treasure. At one time I thought that I had found some inscriptions on the wall down near the Sullivan room and also on the wall in the Water Works room, but afterwards I became satisfied that they were due to natural causes.

"Next to these Spanish ladders I have mentioned," Mr. Powell continued, "the oldest relics I ever found in the cave were two whisky bottles. They were discovered on my first visit in 1882. Just such bottles, shaped like a canteen, were in use by the army many years ago. One of the bottles had blown in the glass a flag and a cannon and the date 1835. These were evidences that some one had been in the cave long before, perhaps at the time a body of regular soldiers passed through long before the Civil war. The first descent into the cave of which I have found any definite account was made by Harry T. Blow and a prospecting party in search of mineral in 1869. The prospectors went down into the cave and left a record of their visit on the wall of the Registry room. We found it there. From 1869 I don't think the interior of the cave was visited until our party came in 1882. There was no means of descent. We spent some time preparing a way to get down. A large tree was suspended from the slit in the floor of the crater.

Holes were bored and rounds driven through, making what is known as an Indian ladder. With that we made our descent."

Discomfiture of Dr. Beaver.

One of the most persistent upholders of the theory of hidden treasures in Marvel Cave was a man who called himself "Dr. Beaver." The Doctor was on hand at the time of the explorations of 1882.

"Beaver," said Mr. Powell, "claimed to be able to read Spanish. He also pretended to have a lot of information, charts, and so on, about the location of the treasure. He even insisted that he had been in the cave years before, but I am satisfied that he had never gone down until our visit. At first we paid some attention to Beaver, but gradually we all became confident there was nothing in him. Dr. Jones and I concluded to make a test of him. We found some pieces of slate and notched and scratched them so as to make them look as if they were intended to convey some secret information. Then we daubed clay on them and partially washed it off. We took bits of rope and rubbed clay into them and dried them to make them look old. We put these things on a ledge up back of the Great White Throne. The next day when we went down to continue the exploration we took Beaver along with us and gradually worked around to the ledge. We fixed it so that Beaver was in advance and so that he was the first to see the slates and rope. The discovery tickled him immensely. He carried the slates away and made a study of them with the aid of his alleged charts. After awhile he came back with a complete translation and a bigger story than ever about the buried treasure. We let Beaver run on for some time about the importance of the discovery. Finally Dr. Jones remarked:

"'Well, there's more in 'em than I thought there was when I made 'em."

"When he saw how he had been duped, Beaver was so mad he wanted to fight. He insisted that he would whip the Doctor, but of course we wouldn't let him. He lost all interest in the cave exploration after that, and disappeared."

Cave Stories.

One cave story of which Mr. Powell found partial confirmation was told to him by an old hunter. "In 1883," said Mr. Powell, "this old hunter heard that I had been exploring the cave. He had never been down, but he had hunted and trapped all through this region, and knew of the cave. He came all the way from his home over near Ozark to tell me the story. Thirty-seven years before, the hunter's narration ran, he and an Indian followed a bear to the crater above the cave. The bear crawled under a large rock which partially overhung the opening into the cave. The hunter and the Indian sent the dog in under the rock to dislodge the bear. It was a failure. Then the Indian drew his knife and crawled under the rock. He stabbed the bear. The bear jumped forward. Indian, bear and dog went through the hole and disappeared. The hunter listened long, but could hear no sound. He went home. After thirty-seven years the curiosity to know the sequel to that story prompted him to journey thirty miles across the mountain and see whether any trace of Indian, bear or dog had been found." Mr. Powell and the hunter went to the spot where the fatal encounter had taken place. Mr. Powell noted the probable direction of the fall. He descended into the cave, and, after a little search, found the skeleton of the bear. Of the Indian and dog there was no trace.

Another old resident of the region entertained Mr. Powell with the story of two dogs that had been lowered into the cave and turned loose. These dogs, the tradition ran, had after some days found their way out of the cave and returned to their master. The Powells tried this experiment until they felt sure there was nothing in it. They thought that it might lead to the discovery of an outlet on the level. But the cave has a strange effect on dogs. Instead of seeking an exit the unfortunate animals go wild with fear. They lose all of their ordinary sagacity. So far from making any effort to thread the passages they crouch down in the Amphitheater with their eyes on the opening far above them and howl and whine most piteously by the hour.

Another long ago tradition of the neighborhood was that the cave was used before the war as a hiding place for runaway negroes. A story is told of a hunter seeing a negro come out of what was supposed to be an outlet of Marvel Cave. This alleged outlet is in the glades of Indian Creek, not many miles from Marvel Cave. It goes by the name of the Nigger Hole to this day. But if there is a connection between the big cave and the hole it has not yet been traced. The theodolite has been used. It was shown that the Marvel Cave extends a long way in the direction of Indian Creek. The theory is that somewhere along the creek is the entrance by which the thousands of animals, prehistoric and more recent, found their way into the great chamber to die. It is instinct with the feline tribe to seek a hidden spot when the pangs of dissolution come on. It is also instinct which takes them into just such catacombs as the Dead Animal Chamber. Rarely, however, do they find a place where the mummifying conditions—the evenness of temperature and the dryness—are so perfect. Runaway slaves, numbers of them, made use of the smaller caves of this region for hiding and resting places on their way from Arkansas to Kansas. This is well authenticated, but there is nothing to show they descended into the great Marvel Cave.

Traces of mineral, zinc and lead are found in the cave, but nothing that is workable. There is tripoli also. And it is one of the standing jokes of the guides to prompt visitors to test their lifting powers on the rocks scattered about. When the visitors have strained their backs, the guide picks up a chunk of tripoli about ten times the size the largest rock that has been lifted and handles it as if it was a base ball. After the mystery is explained, there is a laugh all round.

Cave Sensations.

The sensations in the great caverns are very peculiar. They are altogether different from those experienced in mines. No man has ever been able to sleep in the Marvel Cave. Mr. Powell tried to perform the feat, but with all of his love for the cave and with all his steadiness of nerve, he has failed to make a comfortable night of it. The Powells have frequently passed nights underground, but they were engaged in exploration. The first impression upon lying down to sleep in the cave is of intense stillness. Then noises are heard and they grow more and more distinct. The strain on the nerves finally becomes such that sleeping is entirely out of the question.

"I went down into the cave one night intending to sleep there," Mr. Powell said, "just for the novelty of the thing. It never occurred to me that I couldn't do it. I picked out a comfortable dry place in the Mother Hubbard room and lay down. It was very still at first. Then I began to hear the dripping of water.

It was a long way off, but it sounded very sharp and grew louder. The next noise that took my attention was made by the bats. I could hear them flying about in the darkness over me. Their wings seemed to squeak. Next an owl flew through the amphitheater and gave a yell just as he passed Echo Point. The echo swelled the sound tenfold, and the yells seemed to come from as many directions. I jumped to my feet in spite of myself. Of course I recognized in a moment what it was and lay down again. Then I could hear the water rolling in rooms I knew were a quarter of a mile away. The sound seemed to grow louder and to come nearer. I heard the splashing of the waterfall still farther away. One thing succeeded another. It was useless to keep up the experiment. I came out of the cave and went to bed. Working in the cave at night is all right. You do not observe any difference from working down there in the day time, but sleeping is an impossibility."

The Amateur Scientists.

Of all the visitors the one who least impressed Mr. Powell was the genus scientificus.

"The most of these scientists," said Mr. Powell, "are very thick-headed. They don't know enough to amount to shucks." One day Mr. Powell was going by the cave, when he found an old man with four boys there. The old man said the party had "come all the way from Kansas to see the cave in the interest of science." While Mr. Powell was debating in his mind whether to follow the trail of a wounded deer or sacrifice himself to science two drovers came along. They, too, wanted to see the cave. The party was made up. The old man watched the preparations for the descent and took a good view of the long ladder. Just as the word was given and the party started the old man suddenly weakened and said:

"Well, boys, I've brought you this far. There might something happen. I won't go down."

Mr. Powell urged. The old man became more and more positive. The drovers saw the old man's fears rising, and they joined with Powell in insisting that having come as the guardian of the boys he must go with them or be remiss in his duty toward them. At length Mr. Powell announced his decision, that the old man must descend or the boys shouldn't; he wouldn't be responsible for their safety unless the old man went down. The scientist hung to the ladder, talked of his rheumatics, and finally descended. When he found himself on a firm footing his self-confidence returned in part, and he began to talk.

"Boys," he said to his charges, with much show of cheerfulness, "I promised to explain things as I went along. Now, this here cave has been a volcany once. All this rock you see gone out of here was biled out by fire. Them things you see down yonder is stagalmites. Them's nothing but melted rocks. They jest biled up and friz like you see 'em now. If we'd been on top of this hill when this was blowin' out, we'd better kept away. It'd been mighty hot."

Mr. Powell asked the scientist from Kansas what he thought had become of that which "blew out."

The old man studied a little and replied: "I reckon it must ha' run off down hill into the hollers. I didn't see nothing of it on top."

"How long ago do you think it happened?" asked Mr. Powell.

"Oh, it might have been 100 years," was the scientific reply.

The bats in the cave come to be on familiar terms with those whom they see daily. They will sometimes gather close around Mr. Powell and allow him to handle them, while a stranger can not get near without alarming them. On this occasion Mr. Powell put up his hand in passing near a wall and took down several bats, replacing them after a few moments.

"Right there, boys," broke in the old man, "ye learn the law of kindness. They know him, and he can handle them. If you'd take hold of 'em they'd wipe your lives out and eat your eyes out."

And then the scientist, who had never lost sight of the hole in the roof, insisted on going out, and made one of the boys go to the top of the ladder with him.

Rider Haggard Vindicated.

"I have read 'She' and 'King Solomon's Mines,' and those books which deal with wonderful caves," said Will Powell. "I never go up Lost River Canyon that I don't think of them. Haggard describes one long gallery which is almost identical with part of this canyon. I'll be darned if there isn't one place where the rocks are laid up in blocks sixteen feet long and three or four feet thick just as Haggard tells it."

"Haggard," said the father of the young guide, taking up the conversation, "describes in his books many cave effects which we find to be strictly true in our experience here. For instance, there is the crystallization which is forever going on under the fall. Haggard treats a like effect as a means of preserving human bodies. I don't know that this Lost River water will do that, but it will put a coating of crystal on a stick in three months."

Lost River Canyon is considered the most dangerous part of the cave because of its network of passages and the sameness of the region. Beyond Springstead Throne the canyon runs into a series of circular rooms, from five to ten feet high, looking just like so many circus tents. The voice room is one of these. It is reached by a crevice from Lost River Canyon about a quarter of a mile from Sentinel Rock. At all times it is possible to hear in this room a rumbling which resembles the human voice.

Near to the lower passage leading to the foot of the waterfall is the Neighborhood Room. It covers an acre of ground. Lost River is crossed nine times in the exploration of the room. The name grew out of a curious circumstance. One rainy day Mr. Powell and a companion in search of new cave territory went into this room. Mr. Powell left a candle near the entrance, and he and his companion started forward to examine the room. Suddenly his companion remarked: "Looks like this was a settled neighborhood. We just left a light behind us, and here is another." It was the light they had left, and as often as they started forward they brought up in a short time with their own light in front of them. Great as it is in width and breadth, the Neighborhood Room is only ten or twelve feet high. It was reached by a descent through a fissure and a crawl of thirty or forty feet.

The Geology of It.

"Marvel Cave," Mr. Powell said, "is not like Mammoth Cave. It is more after the order of Luray, in Virginia. It consists of many large rooms with

small connections. Mammoth is a succession of large rooms. But there is no room in Mammoth half as high from floor to roof as the amphitheater of Marvel Cave. Right in front of the Great White Throne the distance from floor to roof is 250 feet. The roof is a great sheet of marble. The depth of the cave is another extraordinary feature of it. I maintain that there are three distinct formations in view. In the Registry Room one can see the roots of the rocks of one formation. The Upper Silurian system ends there. In the lowest parts of the cave are to be seen the Archaic rocks. We actually run through the Lower Silurian complete. When Ladd, the geologist, was down here he thought the lower rocks might be metamorphosed. He wasn't quite willing to admit they were Archaic. I conjecture that they are Archaic because of the mica we find in them. A great deal occurred during the upheaval, and much of it can be seen in Marvel Cave. Capt. Anthony Arnold, of Springfield, spent a week here on two different occasions. His opinion is that the strata seen in the cave embrace three periods—the Sub-Carboniferous, the Upper Silurian and the Lower Silurian. I have had a good deal of experience with the geologists. Starting out from Galena to come over here they begin by contradicting me and saying that my theories are undoubtedly wrong, but after arriving and seeing they usually give up their preconceived ideas about the cave. It is a revelation to them in many ways. The onyx we find is a mere formation in the water in darkness. Ages of hardening are necessary to make it the article of commerce. In the top of the waterfall onyx is seen in the first stages of formation. As to the spring and the theory that the water forms from condensation owing to the counter currents of air of different temperature, I have sought the opinion of scientists. I wrote to Prof. Eaton, of William Jewell College, among others, giving him a detailed description of the conditions. He corresponded with the professors of the State University at Columbia, and they agreed that condensation was the principle which produced the steady dripping in the Shower-bath Room and the collection of water in the spring. I don't know that there is anywhere underground a freak of nature just like this spring, at least of such magnitude. There is never any lack of pure air in the cave. Currents enter from different directions and are very perceptible. The 10° difference in temperature in different parts of the cave mystifies visitors. Chambers on the same level have this difference. The explanation is found in the bat guano, I am satisfied. The temperature in the chambers where guano is found is 10° lower than in those where no guano is found. The guano contains 13 per cent of ammonia, and that produces the cold. Some scientists shake their heads at this, but they can find no other explanation."

Walter Williams on Missouri's Wonders.

Walter Williams found at Hahatonka "more natural curiosities than in any other similar share of the earth's surface." His visit prompted him to say of it: "At Hahatonka the big cave was seen by night. The entrance is made by boat under an overhanging weight of rock, which looks always ready to topple over. It suggested the River Styx, with Charon, the boatman. Once inside the cave and there were rooms of various sizes, shapes and oddities, a massive pillar, river disappearing, echoing corridors and other wonders. Bridal Cave, some distance away, is pronounced by cave experts to be the most wonderful in the world.

MOONLIGHT ON THE LAKE AT PERTLE SPRINGS

If Hahatonka were on a railroad it would have thousands of visitors where it now has one. Here is a cave more wonderful than Mammoth Cave, a spring surpassing in size any in the State, a natural bridge superior to the famous Virginia Natural Bridge. The ignorance of Missourians regarding the natural wonders of their own State is shown when reference is made to Hahatonka and other places of less attractiveness. The existence of these is scarcely known, and yet Missourians will wander off to the distant sections of the country to see caves, waterfalls, lakes and mountains far inferior in beauty. The Garden of the Gods is far-famed. It is surpassed by the Hahatonka regions. The Cave of the Winds is not the same high class as the Bridal Cave. Some patriotic Missourian should get up an expedition to explore Missouri. It would be a fine contribution to knowledge and understanding of the State and its greatness. Within the borders of the dozen counties lying in the south central portion of the State between the Missouri Pacific, the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway and the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad may be found territory that would require months to investigate and explore."

There is wide difference in human interest about caves. Walter Williams told of traveling through Missouri with a college professor whose lack of enthusiasm for underground exploration was summed up in, "All caves look alike. They are damp, muggy, smell of malaria. Bats live in them, and they taste of the flood. To see one cave is to see them all."

On the other hand, Henry Robbins, the editor, said of the late Bishop McIntyre, the educated and eloquent bricklayer: "His lecture on 'Wyandotte Cave' has probably never been surpassed in spoken English as a sustained effort. Ingersoll, who surpassed him in delivery, gave brief descriptions of superior polish, but McIntyre's lecture of two hours in length was entirely descriptive. The only criticism was that its very brilliancy palled. Like Bulwer-Lytton, he kept continually on the mountain-top without the relief of valleys. When the bishop was in St. Louis the writer told him of a traveling man who had been so charmed with the McIntyre description of Wyandotte Cave that he had, at considerable expense, made a special visit to the cave itself. His conclusion was: 'That man McIntyre is the biggest liar in America.'"

Warren County's Cave.

The main street along which the pretty town of Warrenton stretches for a mile and a half is known to this day as the Boone's Lick road. It was laid out and traveled in the pioneer's lifetime. Boone chose his last home well. Warren combines some of the most fertile slopes and valleys of Missouri, with some of the boldest and roughest gorges and bluffs. The combination is an unusual one. Here was a natural game preserve. The county has a number of large caves. Three miles from Holstein is one of the most notable. John Wyatt was out hunting bear and he followed one to the top of a high hill. Bruin dropped out of sight by a hole in the ground just about large enough to let him through. This was the discovery. This cave has been explored many times, but still contains an unsolved problem. One can travel for long distances underground. There are chambers 30 or 40 feet across. Skeletons show that great numbers of wild animals hibernated in these chambers. One passage leads to a chamber from which the stoutest hearted shrink. It is bottomless. Large stones dropped over

the edge give back no sound. The strongest torches thrown into the abyss go sailing down, the light growing fainter and fainter until it fades entirely away. The longest line let down fails to measure the depth. Not far distant from this cave is a high, rocky hill on the farm of Rudolph Kierker, where strange phenomena are observed. Every year, during the month of May, peculiar rumbling noises can be heard, seeming to come from the interior of this hill. At the same time one standing on the hill can feel beneath him a jarring motion. The oldest inhabitant does not remember the time when the haunted hill did not behave in this inexplicable manner during the month of May. In the vicinity of the cave and the animated hill have been found an extraordinary number of petrifactions. John Northcutt's farm, near Charette Creek, has a pond 60 feet across, the bottom of which no sinker has ever been able to reach. What the connections are between all of these mysteries of nature, the wise men of the Central Wesleyan College have never been able to explain.

Greer Spring Canyon.

Greer Spring is seven miles north of Alton, the capital of Oregon County. With its surroundings it might well become a state park, reserved for the delight of future generations of Missourians. A great volume of crystal clear water comes roaring from the base of two hills. It flows rapidly over a mossy bed between the hills for a distance of about a mile and joins Elevenpoints River. All who have seen Greer Spring have been of one mind in giving it a conspicuous place among the wonders of the Ozarks. After she had visited this wonder Luella Agnes Owen, the author, wrote: "Taking a last look at Greer Spring with its cave river, grey walls, gay with foliage, and all the harmony of color and form combined in the narrow canyon that was once the main body of a great cave, I recalled views on the Hudson River and in the mountains of Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania, and others out in the Rocky Mountains in Colorado and the Wausatch in Utah, but amid all their wonderful grandeur and famous beauty, could remember no spot superior to this masterpiece of the Ozarks."

Old Monegaw's Mausoleum.

Without war but very reluctantly the Osages gave up their Missouri homes. There is no part of the Ozark country more picturesque than that through which the Osage makes its course of innumerable windings. In St. Clair County great cliffs frown upon the beautiful river from the mouth of the Little Monegaw to that of the Big Monegaw. These cliffs are hundreds of feet high and several miles in length. They abound in caves. In places the summits of the cliffs overhang. The entrances of the caves are in some cases reached by difficult climbing. Here the Osages had natural fortresses. Monegaw was their chief. In a nation of red athletes of more than usual size, he is said to have been distinguished for his physical appearance. He was an Indian of great strength. He saw the white settlers coming in great numbers, and decided that migration to the promised reservation in the Indian Territory was best for his people. But he couldn't persuade himself to go with them. Calling the head men of the nation to a council in one of the largest of the caves, the chief said to them: "Go! But Monegaw is your chief no longer. My hunting ground has been

taken from me. My home on the Osage and the Sac is now in the hands of the white men. That which has been my home shall be my burial place. I will leave here only to go to the happy hunting ground beyond the skies."

Monegaw remained in the cave. His people left him. After a time he was missed. White men found his body and gave it burial with the weapons and war bonnet beside him. The old chief had starved himself to death. In several of these caves are still to be seen the evidences of the Indian occupancy. On the side of one cave are carved the figures of three braves with their war trappings. Seemingly the braves are walking single file on the warpath. Turtles have been carved as if swimming in the river. Indians engaged in a variety of activities are carved on the walls. Some are leading ponies. Others are swimming. Still others with bows and arrows are apparently out on hunting expeditions. One of the life-like representations is that of an Indian sleeping in a blanket. The cave to which the name of Monegaw is especially given has been explored nearly a mile. It has a ceiling in places forty feet high adorned with crystal formations.

Cave Waters.

Fishing Spring is in Crawford County, near Steelville. It comes from a large cave on the Meramec River. The water boils up in a basin fifteen or twenty feet across. It rises through three holes in the rock bottom in a modified geyser form. The spring, for a great many years, abounded in fish of the perch species. The method of fishing was to drop the line with heavy sinkers through one of the holes in the bottom of the spring. These openings are only three or four inches across. It was necessary to weight the line sufficiently to sink the hook eight or nine feet into a subterranean lake. At times not a single fish would bite. At other times fish were caught by the hundreds. These perch weighed about half a pound each. It is tradition that tons of them have been caught and carried away. The theory is that a very large underground lake is beneath the adjacent bluff.

In Webster County the Ozarks reach extraordinary altitude. In a depression on top of one of the highest ridges is a body of water known as the Devil's Lake. The water is located in what was called the Devil's Den. The den is oblong, the sides enclose nearly an acre. The den has steep sides, but can be entered by a narrow passage in the rock. At one end of the den is the so-called lake. Strange stories are told about the movement of the water level. Rains or water levels in the vicinity seem to have no effect upon the lake and yet there is a difference in the level of thirty feet between what are "low water" and "high water" by those familiar with the place. The lake is about three hundred feet in diameter. Apparently it has some distant underground connection. The water will rise to within fifty feet of the top and then sink to a depth of eighty feet. These changes take place, according to those who have lived in the neighborhood, with the rise and fall of the Upper Missouri in Montana. Many years ago there was an oak tree leaning over the lake. It was cut at a time when the water was low and fell nearly one hundred feet before it struck water. It passed below the surface and never came up. Several engineers state that the level of this lake is higher than most parts of the Ozarks and that the underground supply of water must come from great distance. One of the stories told of the Devil's Lake is

that two or three cedar logs appeared upon the surface. They were larger than any cedar trees which grow within a hundred miles.

Senator Vest had an experience with the mysteries of the Ozarks. He had heard of the Roubideau River. "Old man Haskell" was a well-known Ozark guide in his day. The Senator engaged Haskell. They took the Roubideau about twenty miles above Waynesville, the county seat of Pulaski. After several days of interesting experiences the Senator asked Haskell if they could not make the run down to the Gasconade. "I reckon we kin, sure enough, by sundown," the guide said. The Senator and the guide, after two hours' floating and pulling found themselves in a strong eddy which nearly upset the little boat and which finally landed them on a bar. There was the end of the river. The Senator appealed to Haskell. "What have you got to say about this? You are the guide. You said you knew all about this country and especially this river. Now where has it gone?" Haskell got out on the bar, put his hand over his eyes and looked up the stream and then looked down where the stream should have gone but where there was only dry ground. There was a road within a short distance and when Haskell saw a farmer coming up he shouted: "O mister, did yer see a river running anywhar down that way? I'll be danged if we hain't lost one." The farmer looked pleased as he took in the situation and answered, "About five miles down the road. Reckon you'uns want a lift. I'll take ye an' yer traps fur $3. Better look out; you'uns may get sucked under whar ye air now."

"What do you mean?" shouted Senator Vest.

The farmer replied, "That river don't go no further on top until you get below here five miles. It jist slips inter the gravel whar you are and don't show up till ye git ter Waynesville."

The Senator, the guide and the farmer lifted the boat into the wagon and rode to the vicinity of Waynesville, where the Roubideau makes its appearance, coming to the surface in the form of a splendid spring.

Lost rivers in Missouri are innumerable. In fact, the stream which does not lose itself several times before it concludes to run along on top of ground in an orderly fashion is an exception. A ride of half a day along some of the Ozark valleys will furnish repeated illustrations of the peculiar character of the channels. A creek running half way to the wagon hubs will be in sight for a mile or two. Then will come a crossing where the channel is a bed of gravel, dry and dusty, without water in sight above or below. A mile farther on the creek is pursuing its joyous, rippling way. Stretches of dry bed and of dancing water alternate. The water sinks noiselessly and entirely into a bed of sand at one place and appears without any fuss oozing up from another bed farther down.

There are few of the caves of considerable size which do not have their "lost rivers." Through them flow streams of considerable volume. The lost river comes out of one side, crosses the cave and disappears in the other side. Often there is not a sound, not as much as a ripple. Of all the strange thrills which come in an exploration of these underground passages there is nothing quite so weird as when the torch casts its light upon one of these silent rivers flowing by with nothing to show whence it came or whither it goeth.

The Hannibal Mystery.

"Mark Twain's Cave" is in the Missouri cliffs overlooking the Mississippi about a mile southeast of Hannibal. Since "Sam" Clemens crawled into the

crevice high up the bluff and had the adventures to be utilized later in his books, the cave has been modernized. A beautiful river road passes the park which surrounds the entrance now used. The hole through which Mark Twain crawled is boarded up. It was above the present entrance. The visitor now walks into a broad level corridor. The guide leads the way, pointing out such localities as "Straddle Alley," "Fat Man's Misery" and "Bat Alley." There is enough hard going, as the cave is explored to satisfy the adventurous. There are passages leading downward to levels below the Mississippi River.

Dr. Joseph N. McDowell, a famous but eccentric surgeon, founder of McDowell's College at St. Louis, gave the Hannibal cave a mystery some years before the Civil war. He had very strange ideas about the disposition of the dead. When Dr. McDowell thought he was going to die, he called to his bedside Dr. Charles W. Stevens and Dr. Drake McDowell, his son. He exacted from them a solemn promise that they would place his body in a copper receptacle and fill the space with alcohol. The receptacle they were to suspend in Mammoth Cave, Kentucky. Permission to do this the doctor claimed he had already obtained. This eccentric demand was not a great surprise to Dr. Stevens. Coming to McDowell's College to study medicine, Stevens had learned quickly something of his preceptor's strange fancies. A child of Dr. McDowell died a few days after Stevens entered the college. The coffin was lined with metal. The body was placed in the coffin. All space remaining was filled with alcohol and the coffin was sealed tightly. A year or so later the body of the child was removed from the coffin and placed in a large copper case. This was Dr. McDowell's method of treating the bodies of his children. No religious service of any kind was performed. The copper cases were carried at night attended by a procession formed by the medical students and friends of the family. Each person carried a torch. The place of disposition was a vault in the rear of the residence. The thought of a natural cave as a final resting place was a favorite one. Dr. McDowell bought the cave near Hannibal. He had a wall built across the opening and placed in it an iron door. The vase or case containing one of the children was taken from St. Louis to this cave and suspended from the roof. Only ordinary local interest had been felt in the cave up to that time. But when Dr. McDowell barred entrance everybody wanted to know what was inside. Boys found crevices and crawled in. They gave such accounts of their discovery that an investigation seemed to be justified. Men broke down the iron door. The curious public visited the place. In the effort to find a plausible explanation for this use of the cave the theory was advanced that the surgeon wanted to see if the cave would bring about petrifaction. Whatever had been his purpose, Dr. McDowell removed the body of the child. He bought a mound across the river in the American Bottom, not far from Cahokia, in view with a spyglass from the cupola of the college. There he constructed a vault in which he placed the body of his wife. Years afterwards Dr. McDowell and his wife were buried in Bellefontaine.

Caves in Endless Variety.

Labaddie's Cave in Franklin County obtained its name from a hunting tragedy. A man named Labaddie with his boy about twelve years old followed a bear which had been wounded to the mouth of the cave. Labaddie crawled in, think-

ing that the wound was mortal. The boy waited some hours. The father did not come back and the boy returned to St. Louis. A rescuing party went out to the cave, which is near Labaddie Station, on the Rock Island road. The search was fruitless. Many years afterwards the cave was examined and the skeletons of the hunter and the bear were found side by side. Fisher's Cave, in Franklin County, is near the station of Stanton on the Frisco. It is a spacious opening in the bluffs on the Meramec. A long passage leads to a chamber one hundred feet in diameter with stalactites and stalagmites of beautiful dark colors. In another room one of the stalactites has grown until it has met a stalagmite, the two forming a great column seeming to support the roof. A mile from the entrance is the "dripping spring" where the water continually falls from the roof into a large pool. Below Fisher's Cave is Saltpeter Cave, where gunpowder was made in the early days. Garrett Cave is near Sullivan. Persimmon Gap is a hole ten or fifteen feet wide passing through a spur of the Ozarks about three miles south of Stanton. This hole or tongue is one of the strange freaks in Franklin County. It is located west of Detmold. At the bottom of a depression is an opening in the rock fourteen inches wide and four feet long. Descending through this hole the explorer finds the well widening to ten or twelve feet square. About eighty feet down the water of a large underground lake is reached.

Perry County has so many caves that it was described by an early traveler as having "a little subterranean world, full of rippling rills, vaulted streets, palatial caverns and grottoes, filled with monuments of stalagmites, and festooned with stalactites." One Perry County cave has been penetrated four miles. Stone County abounds in caves, more than twenty-five having been explored. Mason's Cave, in Greene County, was first known as the Cave of Adullam. Knox Cave, in Greene County, was discovered in 1866 by J. G. Knox and given his name. Alum Cave, in Washington County, was given its name at the time alum was mined there.

In Shannon County is Sinking Creek. It passes for a distance of one mile through a hill six hundred feet high. Boats can navigate through the hill. Oregon County has a depression one hundred and fifty feet below the surrounding country. It is called Grand Gulf. The cascade on the border of the Arcadia Valley drops from the top of Cascade Mountain a distance of two hundred feet into a gorge. Ste. Genevieve County has a cave in which there are apparently drawn on the limestone pictures of birds. Simm's Hole is near the town of Ste. Genevieve. In it is the mouth of Dead Men's Cave, eight feet high. There are passages in the cave several miles long. Ha-Ha-Tonka Natural Park on the Big Niangua River, in Camden County, includes among its wonders a bottomless pit and cave within which is a large lake having an island, a natural bridge, an amphitheater, a large spring of cold water which discharges into a lake abounding in trout.

CHAPTER XI.

SOME EXTRAORDINARY ASSETS.

Iron Mountain—James Harrison's Start—The Gift to Joseph Pratte—Valley Forge—Plank Road and Toll Gate Days—A Five Dollar Bill in Every Ton—From Mountain to Crater—Cleaning the Ore—One of the World's Wonders—Scientific Speculation—Little Mountain—The Iron Industry of St. Louis—Pilot Knob—Surface Deposits Exhausted—Ore Banks of Crawford County—Model Management of the Midland—Governor McClurg's Venture—Taney County's Iron Mountain—The Twelve Minerals of Mine La Motte—Copper Smelting in Franklin—Theory About Gossan—Prodigious Banks of Coal—Geology Confounded in Morgan—Shale-Made Brick—Missouri Manganese in Demand—Cantwell's Forecast—From Riverside to Doe Run—Evolution of the Yellow Cottonwood—Senator Rozier's Protest—De Soto's Search for Silver in the Ozarks—Later Came Antonio and then Renault—The Mississippi Bubble and Missouri Silver—Traditions of Hidden Mines—An Ounce of Silver to a Ton of Lead—Schoolcraft's Exploration—The Deceptive White Metal—"Flickers"—Geology Against the Precious Metals—A Scientific Investigation—The Second Cornwall—Tin Mountain's Collapse—"Silver Mountain"—Madison County Discoveries—The Garrison Cave.

It is about a mile broad at the base, four hundred feet high and three miles long, and has the appearance of being composed of masses of iron ore. It is literally a mountain of ore, so pure that it yields from seventy to eighty per cent under the ordinary process of converting it into malleable iron. At the base the ore lies in pieces from a pound weight upward, which increase in size as you ascend, until they assume the appearance of huge rocks, which would remind the beholder of those "fragments of an earlier world" of which the Titans made use. Six miles southeast is another mountain called Pilot Knob, composed of a micaceous oxide of iron lying in huge masses. This ore will yield about eighty per cent of metal.—*St. Louis Newspaper Description of Iron Mountain in 1843.*

The pioneer of the Iron Mountain enterprise was James Harrison, who built the Laclede rolling mill. A picture of this first president of the company shows the bulging perceptive faculties and the square, massive jaw—a face a little more rugged, but otherwise wonderfully like that of his son, Edwin Harrison. This elder Harrison was the master of his own fortune. He told of having split rails in Howard County to get a start. Later he traveled the Santa Fe trail, first for the Glasgows, then for himself, with wagon trains. In 1840 he was a man of means and had won the confidence of capital. In some way his attention was called to Iron Mountain, then a natural wonder and nothing more. It was the smallest of a large group of hills. Trees grew to the summit. Chunks of iron ore were scattered over the crest, but mixed in with them was enough strong red clay to give the cedars and scrub oaks their rooting. The presence of ore had been known many years. But the enterprise for development had been lacking. Nobody knew whether this collection of ore chunks, ranging in size from a pea to a peck measure and larger, was four or forty or 400 feet thick.

Away back about the beginning of the century the Spanish government conveyed the mountain to Joseph Pratte. The grant covered a tract five miles square, with the mountain in about the center. Pratte was a man of great influence in Southeast Missouri, or, as it was then, Upper Louisiana. He had made

himself especially useful to the government in adjusting Indian troubles. There was no man in all those parts who could go out and pacify the redskins as Pratte could. He was frequently in demand to act as an arbitrator in the differences which arose between the settlers and the Indians. One of the largest of the Indian towns in that part of the country was at the base of Iron Mountain; and it is probable that Pratte gained his knowledge of the mountain from the visits he made to this town on his peace errands. However that may be, when the governor of Upper Louisiana suggested to Mr. Pratte that his services entitled him to recognition and asked him what he should recommend to the government as a suitable honorarium, the peacemaker said he would take this mountain. In due time there came a patent making the grant of five miles square, including the mountain and the site of the Indian town.

Joseph Pratte died and the grant remained in the possession of his heirs for nearly half a century. Then James Harrison and Conrad C. Ziegler made an examination of the mountain and began to pick up the interests of the various heirs. In 1845 they had obtained control and formed the American Iron Mountain Company, with the following members: James Harrison, Conrad C. Ziegler, August Belmont, Evariste F. Pratte, John Scott, Felix Valle, Samuel Ward and Charles F. Mersch. Ziegler was a Ste. Genevieve capitalist and conducted negotiations with the Pratte heirs. Ward was a glass manufacturer. Mersch was a wealthy German. Belmont was the New York representative of foreign capital and handled the Rothschilds' investments in this country. John Scott was the first Congressman from Missouri. He was a resident of Ste. Genevieve. Felix Valle was greatly interested in various mining enterprises in Southeast Missouri.

The company began operations soon after getting control of the property. Harrison was the president and the brains of the enterprise. He even took the active management for a time. There was no railroad. The only outlet to market was by wagon eastward forty miles or so to the river. About midway between the mountain and the river, near Farmington, furnaces were built for the reduction of the ore, and these were operated for many years under the name of Valley Forge. But the forge was a part of the Iron Mountain enterprise. The ore was loaded upon wagons, hauled to the forge, there converted into blooms, and thence transported to the river to be distributed throughout the Mississippi Valley. To expedite the business a plank road was built, and the traveler twenty-five years ago encountered at two or three places on "the pike" the long bar which was lifted only when he had paid the regulation toll. This was the last relic of the toll-gate system in Missouri. The forge was located near Farmington for the reason that wood was plenty in the vicinity. Fuel-getting in the early days of iron making was a problem even more vexing than the transportation question. Vast quantities of charcoal were used in the furnaces. To keep up the supply the company bought tracts of land solely to acquire the timber on them. This accounted for the possession at one time of 32,000 acres, nearly double the amount conveyed by the Pratte grant. The grant with its 20,000 arpents lay in one body. The other tracts were scattered over a stretch of country thirty miles long and a dozen miles wide.

Wagoning iron ore and blooms proved too slow and too costly. But even with that method of transportation, President Harrison made such a showing of enterprise that capital was tempted to build a railroad to him. The Iron Mountain

road was the result. Its construction was prompted and encouraged by the prospect of ore and iron carrying. It reached Pilot Knob, five miles below Iron Mountain, in 1858, and that remained the terminus until after the Civil war.

The Iron Mountain Policy.

President Harrison's faith in the Iron Mountain enterprise never wavered. But that is more than can be said of some of the others who went in with him at the beginning. Belmont dropped out when the early dividends failed to reach expectations. Valle held his interest and acquired more. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., transferred a portion of his fur-trading capital to the Iron Mountain enterprise. After a time the whole property was held by members of three families—Chouteau, Harrison and Valle. For twenty years the profits were comparatively small. First the company had to wait for the railroad, and after that came the war, preventing anything like continuous working. At times two or three regiments of soldiers were camped at the mountain. But President Harrison steadily pursued the policy with which he had started. He got out ore and made iron right along. When the market was dull he stacked up his ore and his iron and let the product stand. The company had no debt. There were no fixed charges to meet. When no sales were made no dividends were declared. When a period of activity came, part of the money realized from profits was promptly divided and part was held as surplus to continue work. This was President Harrison's policy, and it was the policy to the end. Work went on at the mountain even when there wasn't a dozen car loads a day shipped off. The iron market had its alternate periods of activity and depression. When the demand developed the accumulated product at the mountain was shoved upon the market as rapidly as cars could be obtained.

One of these periods of activity came about 1866 and 1867. Stock had been accumulating all through the war period. The company was prepared to ship faster than cars could be had. From 100 to 120 cars left the mountain daily. There were 1,500 men on the pay rolls. Money was made faster than ever known before in iron mining in this country. This great run on the mountain lasted, with but little decline, until the Jay Cooke failure and panic in 1873. For the five years from 1867 to 1872 the profits on the Iron Mountain output were more than $1,000,000 a year. They went into the hands of representatives of the three families. In 1869, as the charter was expiring, the company reorganized, dropping from the title the word American. The corporation became the Iron Mountain Company, the members being James Harrison, Mrs. Julia Maffit, Charles P. Chouteau, Felix Valle, Jules Valle and Henry Belin. The holders of the stock were so few that it was necessary to transfer a few shares in order to get the requisite number of qualified stockholders to form a board. Mrs. Maffit was the sister of Charles P. Chouteau; they inherited their Iron Mountain interest from their father, Pierre Chouteau, Jr. Between 1880 and 1890 there were more stockholders than there had been at any previous time. The Rozier brothers were largely interested through their wives, who were the Misses Valle. Charles C. Maffit, the son of Mrs. Julia Maffit, held a considerable portion of the Iron Mountain stock his grandfather bought forty years earlier, and became the president of the company. The interest of James Harrison, the founder of the com-

pany, passed to his son, Edwin Harrison. It was the largest single holding in the company.

Early operations were primitive. The ore was picked from the crest of the mountain in chunks, trundled down the mountain side on tramways, and loaded on the cars ready for shipment. Pick and shovel dislodged the masses. Gravity furnished the power, for the loaded car going down pulled the empty one up. That was picking up dollars. One workman was good for six or eight tons a day. Ore was worth nine and ten dollars a ton, and 100 cars a day left the mountain for the furnaces. There were periods when the shipments went over 1,000 tons a day, and every ton meant a five-dollar bill to the stockholders. A net income of $5,000 a day!

"Um! Um!" said old Tom Dwyer, "but them was the days when the mountain made money."

The Passing of Iron Mountain.

The cap of the mountain was taken off and then the core was excavated. The visitor stood on what looked like the edge of a crater and gazed down on the network of tramways and inclines and saw the stalwart miners following the veins downward so far away they looked like small boys. One of these veins was twenty-five feet thick and of pure ore—so pure that it seemed probable it was the vein through which the molten ore found its way upward to the summit of the mountain. This vein lay perpendicular. It was, to all appearances, the mother vein of Iron Mountain. In the other veins and deposits there was more or less dirt or rock mixed with the ore, and the product from them was put through an elaborate process before it was ready to ship. First it was hauled out, heaped up and "hydraulicked." Up the valley there was a massive stone dam which caught the waters of Indian Creek and formed a lake large enough to furnish good fishing the year round and a big crop of ice in winter. The water from this lake was pumped to the top of the neighboring mountain and there kept in a concrete tank which held 700,000 gallons. The rocky summit made excavation impossible, and the concrete walls were built fourteen feet above the surface. From this tank, pipes led down the mountain side, across the valley and to all parts of Iron Mountain. This water, with a pressure of from twenty-five to forty pounds, was turned on the ore piles until all the dirt that could be washed away was carried off. Then the ore went to the separator to be rolled and rattled and shaken over screens and jigs. At every stage in this process some ore, being heavier than the rock, dropped out until finally the tailings contained only a small per cent of mineral. The product of the mine lost fifteen per cent of its weight in the washing process and twenty per cent in the separator. But the process paid. One man with his stationary hose could "hydraulic" a thousand tons a week, and the separator did its work as rapidly as the carts could unload into the mouth of the revolving funnel. Iron manufacturers liked their ore cleaned. It saved the cost of reducing clay and rock along with the metal. Some of the ore came from the separator in pieces the size of macadam, and some was as small as grains of corn. There were five sizes, but they all were mixed together for the market, and they graded from sixty to sixty-five per cent iron.

Iron Mountain was one of the natural wonders of the world. For two generations scientific men came to see and marvel and speculate on the origin. Every

CHARLES P. CHOUTEAU

PIERRE CHOUTEAU, JR.

EXCAVATION OF ORE AT IRON MOUNTAIN BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

week there was at least one arrival. The hotel register read like the front part of a college catalogue or the roll of an academy of science. The treatment of these visitors was another of the peculiar things about the Iron Mountain management. The latch-string was always on the outside. Not only were the mines open to inspection, but from the superintendent down there seemed to be a tacit understanding that all information possible should be cheerfully furnished. In short, if there was such a thing as soul in a corporation, the Iron Mountain Company had one.

Underground mining gradually took the place of open work at the Iron Mountain. For some years there was nothing to do but to pick up the ore in chunks as it lay piled on the crest of the mountain. This formation was forty feet thick in places. When the chunks had been cleared away, then came veins of all sizes and extending in all directions. Some of them curved and twisted into the most fantastic forms. Some were almost perpendicular; some were almost horizontal. Theory accounted for the layer of chunks on the surface by the supposition that at some time there was an upheaval and the molten ore spouted into the air to a considerable height and fell back to be broken and scattered about over the mountain top. The same theory supposed that when the upheaval came, lifting the porphyry and limestone and sandstone, the molten ore poured through the broken masses and filled innumerable crevices; and thus the bewildering confusion of ore veins and deposits was accounted for.

Scientists had to construct theories for the Iron Mountain alone. Conditions there had no parallels anywhere else. But it must be admitted that the gentlemen were equal to the demand upon their theorizing powers. They came, wandered over the mountain and gazed at the formations through their spectacles. They sat on the gallery of the comfortable Iron Mountain hotel, while the evening breezes played, and told Superintendent Pilley how it all came about. To be sure, the theories varied a great deal. One man thought the formation was aqueous; that the upheaval took place when these mountain tops were covered with water. Another was just as sure the molten ore spouted up after the water receded. Mr. Pilley listened. The professor who had spent two days there knew ten times as much about Iron Mountain as the superintendent, who had been there a quarter of a century, did. That is, if the hearer might judge from the emphatic assertions of one and the guarded expression of the other. But the superintendent had learned by long experience that nothing was certain at Iron Mountain except the existence of ore. He knew what he saw, and that was enough.

After the surface chunks were removed, the veins and deposits were followed down, some of them a hundred feet and more. There used to be a Little Mountain. It was in the nature of a western annex, for there was a depression between the two summits. Little Mountain became a great hole in the ground. It had a thick vein, which dipped at an angle of thirty-eight degrees. This vein was worked as an open cut, until all that was left of Little Mountain was the hole. The vein was followed to a depth of 280 feet. For a long time the ore was hauled up to the edge of the cavity and then run down the outer side to the railroad track. This became too long a haul. A shaft was sunk at the base of Little Mountain, and ore was taken out by underground passages.

The Hope of St. Louis in 1854.

The greatest of St. Louis' expectations, in 1854, was manufacture of iron. At the gates of the city was the coal. Near by and in forms for working almost without parallel in facility were ore bodies thought to be practically inexhaustible. Why should not St. Louis become another Workshop of the World? The fur trade was losing its glamor. There were mistaken forebodings that the lead deposits of counties contiguous to St. Louis were being worked out. To the field of iron manufacture the Garrisons and other captains of St. Louis industry turned their attention. They planned for generations. Science encouraged them. Business acumen justified the undertaking. The possibilities for St. Louis were pointed out at that time in this glowing language:

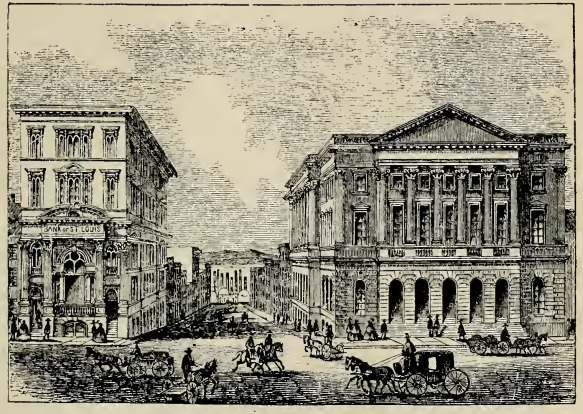
"The ore of the Iron Mountain covers an area of some 500 acres. It rises to a height of some 260 feet above the general level of the country and is estimated to contain above the surface over two hundred million tons of ore. The ore is found in lumps from the size of pebbles of a few ounces to those of 200 or 300 pounds in weight, and is gathered from the surface from base to summit to the extent of thousands of tons without any difficulty."

Quality as well as quantity of the ore encouraged the belief that St. Louis "should have the most extensive iron manufactures in the United States." Of the ores of Iron Mountain and of contiguous mines it was said that they "usually yield some 68 to 70 per cent of pure iron, and it is so free from injurious substances as to present no obstacle to working it into blooms. The metal is so excellent that much of it and also that from the Pilot Knob is now used by the manufacturers on the Ohio River for mixing with the ores found there, and is especially esteemed for making nails. Combinations of the ores from Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob, it is said, will form the best iron in the world for railroad car wheels, and all other purposes requiring great strength and tenacity; and no doubt rails for roads, made from our own mines, would be stronger, consequently safer, wear longer, and for these reasons be cheaper than any other rails that can be made. The ore from the Shepard Mountain, in the same vicinity, is different. It is analogous to the Swedes' iron and possibly may be even better than that for the manufacture of steel. It has been tried for this purpose and found excellent. The farmers in the vicinity now lay their plows with it, while it is used for making cold chisels. The agent of Jessup & Sons of Sheffield, England, has ordered ten tons of this particular iron shipped to England for experiment. They make large quantities of steel."

Deposits Believed to Be Inexhaustible.

With perfect confidence the Missourian before the war spoke of the iron deposits near by as "inexhaustible." At Iron Mountain a shaft had been sunk one hundred and forty-four feet. It gave "fifteen feet of clay and ore, thirty feet of white sand, thirty-three feet of blue porphyry and fifty-three feet of pure iron ore in which they are still at work." This was at the base of the mountain. These explorations were thought to justify the conclusion that "no other country in the world of the same extent has so abundant and accessible supply of iron as Missouri."

Economy of production seemed to be greatly in favor of St. Louis iron manufacturers. It was pointed out that "at the Tennessee works and at the Pennsyl-



ST. LOUIS POSTOFFICE, THIRD AND OLIVE STREETS, IN 1858

vania works it costs from two dollars to five dollars a ton to get the ore to the furnaces. On the Cumberland River, after getting out the ore at the mines and boating it in many instances for miles to the furnaces, it has there to be burned and considerable expense incurred to get it into the furnaces. But at the Knob, the cost of quarrying and hauling, all preparations for smelting the ore, is only from forty to fifty cents per ton, while at the Iron Mountain it is even less."

Two companies in St. Louis were making iron, Chouteau, Harrison and Valle at Iron Mountain, and the Madison Company, in which Lewis V. Bogy was a leading spirit, at Pilot Knob and Shepard Mountain. All of the iron they could turn out was taken by the foundries and machine shops in St. Louis.

"The favored child of the mighty valley of the Mississippi, the city of the Iron Crown," Charles P. Johnson called St. Louis in his address to the state immigration convention, April, 1880. The words were not extravagant. At that time it was confidently believed St. Louis was adjacent to a region "where they have enough ore to run one hundred furnaces for one thousand years."

Pilot Knob.

In 1847 Pilot Knob was considered one of the greatest deposits of iron ore in the country, but it was forty-seven miles from the Mississippi, and the building of a railroad from St. Louis to Iron Mountain had not begun. Lewis V. Bogy purchased an interest in Pilot Knob. The other stockholders became discouraged at the long delay in securing transportation. They offered their shares for sale and Colonel Bogy bought them. The colonel presided over the Pilot Knob Company for some years and gave his attention to the development of the mineral resources. He became president of the Iron Mountain Railroad.

John Magwire was a national authority on iron production in 1872. Eight years before he had made an exhaustive examination of the advantages and adaptability of St. Louis as a manufacturing city for all things manufactured in other parts of the United States. Upon the subject of iron production Mr. Magwire had reached conclusions which influenced the investment of considerable St. Louis capital. In November, 1872, he announced: "Everybody now knows that owing to the richness and fusibility of Missouri ores, furnaces using those ores and raw Illinois coal mixed with coke, yield from 25 to 35 per cent more iron per day than furnaces of the same dimensions in any other locality of this country, or in Europe, and that the quality of the iron is excellent; that enough good iron can be produced from Missouri ores and Illinois coal to supply the wants of the country; and the fact is now also well known that good pig iron can be produced in Missouri and Illinois at a cost of labor varying not far from that required in Wales, which is the most favorable country of Europe for making iron. There are greater facilities for obtaining ore and coal in Wales than any other country of Europe, but neither in Wales nor upon any other part of the earth's surface, so far as my information goes, are ore and coal so accessible as in Missouri and Illinois."

Mr. Magwire pointed out that in Wales it required equivalent of the labor of thirteen men one day to produce a ton of pig iron, while in Missouri the requirement was eight men one day. But he added that the Missouri ton would make rail which would last three times as long as the Welsh rail.

Perfect confidence was felt in the purifying process which was to make good coke out of Illinois coal. The Illinois Patent Coke Company, of which Mr. Meier was president and in which St. Louis capital was invested, used what was called the Osterspeys process. The plant was elaborate. With the minimum of hand labor, three men only being required to convey the coal from the cars through the crushing and washing to the ovens, it was to produce two thousand five hundred bushels of coke daily.

The various iron industries of the St. Louis district used in 1914 approximately two hundred thousand tons of pig iron. Of this amount 25,000 tons was made in St. Louis. From 1860 to 1880 the product of Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob was brought to this city and supplied the various iron industries, in addition to the shipments of ore and pig iron to other iron manufacturing centers. In 1890 the Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob deposits were worked out. Since that time the iron industries of St. Louis have drawn from outside of the State the greater part of their raw material. There are invested in these industries $30,000,000, and the annual output of them is estimated at $45,000,000.

Crawford County's Banks.

A common saying is that "every hill in Crawford County contains some kind of mineral." In Crawford was located the first iron furnace "blown in" in Missouri. In 1847 this county's industries included not only the manufacture of pig iron but a rolling-mill turned the crude metal into blooms and bar iron. and the manufacturers had branch stores in Springfield and other interior points in Missouri for the sale of their product. But the most significant thing about this industry was that the coal used in the rolling-mill was mined right in Crawford. There, in the southern part of the Ozarks, without a railroad dreamed of and with days of wagon transportation to the nearest river point, the mining and manufacture of iron flourished generations ago.

The brown hematite is never taken into consideration. It is everywhere. When a native of Crawford talks about ore he doesn't mean the common stuff of low grade which certain parts of the country are proud to possess. He means the very best of the red and the blue specular. This ore is found in what are called "banks." You hear of a bank, not a mine, yielding so much. The term in a sense explains the peculiar formation. There are no veins, but the ore bodies are heaped or banked up here and there in various sizes and shapes. These banks sometimes project a little above the surface, and there have been many thousands of tons of ore picked up on top of ground and hauled or shipped to the furnaces. Usually the process is to strip off a few feet of earth and rock which cover the bank, and then take the ore out of an open cut or crater-like hole.

As early as 1818 Crawford County had an iron furnace. It was located on the Thickety, in the northeast part of the county. The enterprising proprietors were Reeves and Harrison. This is said to have been the first furnace in Missouri, and if so it was also the first in the Mississippi Valley. In 1826 the Meramec, or, as they were first called, the Massey, iron works were in operation, turning out nine tons of iron a week. Later the product reached twenty tons a week.

The Model Midland.

The Midland of Crawford County in the days of its successful operation was a model industrial community. William H. Lee, who afterwards became the

A SAND BLUFF AT SILICA

LAKE PARK SPRINGS AT NEVADA

head of the Merchants-Laclede National Bank in St. Louis, was first the superintendent and later the president of the Midland Company. He organized this model community. The Midland, under Mr. Lee's management, never knew a strike nor a conflict of any kind with labor. To say a word against Mr. Lee in the presence of workmen was dangerous. All the places of trust and confidence were filled by promotion as vacancies occurred. A ten months' school instead of the usual two months by the district was sustained by the company. Education of the children of the employes was required. A fine large school house was equipped with a stage and entertainments were given at frequent intervals throughout the winter. One illustration of the company's policy was seen in the free distribution of ice during the summer. Every family was furnished a ticket good for ten pounds of ice at the door of the company's ice house each day during the summer. When mid-winter came and the crop on the river was ready for harvest the superintendent called for volunteers. The workmen turned out and in a very short time filled the ice house to the eaves.

The Midland Company had over three hundred men employed at the furnace, nearly a hundred more at the ore banks and about three hundred cutting wood and making charcoal. A community of two thousand was supported directly by this industry. The employes were paid in cash, but between pay-days they could obtain a statement of what was due them, and this statement could be used for trading at the company's store. To that store people came to buy from all parts of the county, and the business often ran up to $1,000 a day. Employes of the company lived in neat cottages scattered in the woods. Many of them had been there for years. They had carpets on the floors, flowers in the windows and organs in the parlors. Their daughters attended such seminaries as that of Mrs. Anna Sneed Cairns. Perhaps nowhere else in the country was there another community of iron makers so admirable as the Midland.

The Camden County Experiment.

Governor McClurg's venture in iron production is part of the history of Camden County. In the days when Linn Creek was the metropolis for South Central Missouri, McClurg's store did an immense business. At that time twelve steamboats navigated the Osage River. Above Linn Creek the river makes a mighty bend. The distance around by water is sixty miles. Across the neck of land is only three miles. In this rough region are vast quantities of iron ore. Red hematite and blue hematite abound without limit. No prophet was on hand to warn the governor of the changing conditions of transportation then impending. No expert was present to point out that ore and charcoal would not alone make iron smelting profitable. Governor McClurg put $50,000 of his profits from merchandising into an iron furnace, and the plant stands there at a place shown on the county maps as Iron Town. Ore to the amount of 100 tons or more is piled up. The Osage runs by, carrying railroad ties to civilization, but no pigs of iron. Iron Town is a monument of misdirected enterprise in the wilderness. It was built too early. The day may be nearer than appears when the coal banks of Morgan and the great deposits of marvelously pure iron ore of Camden will get together, when smelters side by side will turn out lead from the Cambrian formation and zinc from the great fissures, and Camden will take an important place in the world of metal production.

South of White River, in Taney County, is another Iron Mountain. Nobody knows how much of the great hill is ore, because Iron Mountain waits, like many other resources of the Ozarks, upon practical development. But scattered over the mountain are what seem to be rocks and bowlders, but which upon examination are discovered to be masses of red hematite. Specimens of this ore have been tested, and analyses have shown high average of purity. Many years ago a company was formed with a plan to barge this iron down White River 300 miles to the nearest railroad point. A road was built to the river, warehouses were erected, some tons of ore were hauled and stored. With that the exploitation of the Taney County iron ore ended.

The Twelve Minerals of Mine La Motte.

In 1838 the owners of the Mine La Motte discovered that they had something valuable besides lead. Copper sulphides in paying quantity were found, but were not worked on any extended scale. In 1844 Henry Marie took some specimens to England. When he returned his brother came with him, and they, with Janis and Valle, opened up a copper mine within two miles of Fleming's lead furnace. Work was carried on from 1845 to 1848, only three years, and in that time the net profits from the copper taken out were $150,000. The Maries sent their product to England. Janis and Valle sold their copper in Missouri and cleared $98,000.

No fewer than twelve minerals were found in the tract of Mine La Motte. They were gold, silver, nickel, copper, bismuth, antimony, zinc, lead, manganese, iron, arsenic and cobalt. Not all of these were produced in paying quantities. As late as 1876 mineralogists claimed for Madison County the largest and richest deposits of nickel and cobalt in the world. In three years, from 1872 to 1875, the shipments of nickel from the county amounted to $500,000.

The Exploitation of Copper.

About 1849 two St. Louisans of scientific attainments prospected Franklin County for copper. They were Archibald Gamble and Edward Bredell. They employed a practical smelter man and built a furnace near the location of Stanton's gunpowder industry. The plan of operation was to have the farmers mine the ore from the scattered ledges, haul it to the furnace and sell it for a stipulated price per ton, following the custom of early lead mining in adjacent counties. Mr. Gamble and Mr. Bredell satisfied themselves that there was much ore in the southern part of Franklin County. At the first trial the furnace chilled and the practical smelter man accounted for it by the change of the wind to the north. Other St. Louisans went into copper mining in Franklin County. The Stanton mine was opened, a furnace was built, a pump was put in. Copper to the value of thirty thousand dollars was produced and hauled by wagon to St. Louis.

Great hopes were entertained for several years about copper deposits in Missouri. The St. Louisans, exploiting the Stanton mine, were sanguine. Copper produced from this mine was put on exhibition at the real estate office of Leffingwell and Elliot in 1854. This optimistic announcement was made: "The proprietors regard it as a lode of great power, and believe that their explorations warrant the conclusion that the copper region of Missouri will reward capital, skill and labor better than the Lake Superior region. The furnace of the Stanton

company converts their ore at one process into copper wanting only from three to five per cent of absolute purity. So that by this process, pig copper is produced at one heating in Missouri equal to that produced by five processes in the great Swansea works in Wales, or in the Baltimore smelting establishments. The copper produced at the Stanton mine is said to command in the eastern markets the very highest price of pig copper. In the same county of Franklin and in Washington there are other valuable mines known to exist, and in many other places on the Southwestern railroad, where the indications are just as good, the land can now be purchased for two and one-half dollars an acre. There is a mine belonging to Andrew Park which promises to be very rich. This mine was first discovered in 1846, by some persons who, having heard a tradition that early Spanish miners had found silver in that region, determined to sink a shaft in quest of that metal, and in doing so discovered red oxide of copper of very rich quality. By the removal of a few inches of surface earth, some 7,000 pounds was taken out, pronounced to be a combination of sulphuret, red oxide, gray copper and malachite. This ore was shipped to Baltimore and smelted there with very satisfactory results."

Dr. Silas Reed was given the credit of starting in St. Louis the interest in this near-by copper mining. St. Louisans were told that "ores of copper in many localities have been found associated with the ores of iron, and very often in the same vicinage have been found extensive deposits of lead; and it is believed that many of the iron mines containing massive ore are the surface gossan of copper mines. All of the practical miners from Cornwall and Cuban mines who have visited and examined the copper mines opened in Missouri, recognize the gossan as the unfailing sign of lodes of copper at the depth of from one hundred to three hundred feet." Predictions were made that the Southwest Branch, now the Frisco, would derive a great deal of revenue from the copper mining along its line within one hundred miles of St. Louis. A shipment of fifteen or twenty tons was made over the road while it was being built through Franklin County. Discoveries were made also along Current River. New York as well as Missouri capital was interested in these copper prospects.

Coal Banks of Morgan and Saline.

The Ozarks abound in things that puzzle the wise men of science. Morgan County seems to be especially favored in the direction of resources which by some of the earlier rules of mineralogy ought not to be there. The geologist who told the people of the county that they need not expect to find coal in paying quantities shall be nameless. If the people wanted to be retributive they could put the mistaken scientist on a four-horse wagon, haul him into a tunnel of coal and carve his name on a solid bank 70 feet high. They do not talk of veins of coal in Morgan. They say "banks." They think it must have been deposited by a chain of deep lakes. How otherwise is it possible to conceive of the formation of such bodies of coal?

This Morgan County coal comes in the bituminous and the cannel formations. The bituminous is in the largest bodies, but there is a bank of cannel coal 28 feet thick. The cannel coal can be taken out in slabs and sticks. It can be split with a hatchet like a piece of well-grained pine. If a hot fire is wanted the slabs of cannel coal are placed on edge. If a slow fire is the purpose the cannel is laid

flat and smolders slowly as planks would. Sandwiched in the crevices are found both lead and zinc ore. This last statement will be questioned by the students who know all about geology and mineralogy as read in the books. It was made to Prof. Jenney, the expert on lead and zinc.

"Oh, no! You are mistaken," Prof. Jenney said. By way of reply the Morgan County man went into his cellar and brought up a slab of the cannel coal. Prof. Jenney split the coal, examined the mineral in the cracks, and said he wouldn't have believed it if he hadn't seen it. The professor admitted that zinc was sometimes found in coal, but he was of the opinion that lead couldn't occur there. Nevertheless, examination of this Morgan County cannel showed layers of lead an eighth of an inch thick. This cannel coal burns to a pure white ash. It is so clean that it can be handled without gloves, and leaves no black marks.

What has been called "a mountain of coal" is found on the Blackwater in Saline County. It is only six feet below the surface of the ground. Distance from the railroad has delayed development. Prospecting has shown a thickness of sixty feet of coal.

Moberly's Shale Banks.

Some years ago a canny Scotchman, James Sanderson by name, settled in Moberly. He established a brickyard of the ordinary kind just outside of the city, and began to make the common building and pavement product from the surface clay. One day he approached citizens with a proposition that they form a stock company to build a kiln and utilize the shale which he had found and experimented with. He told them he could turn out a vitrified brick that would do for street paving. The proposition was entertained, but nobody showed any disposition to corner the stock. Subscriptions of $100 were about the average. The stock was passed around in blocks of about that size. Public spirit rather than the expectation of a good thing promoted organization. Sanderson went to work. His paving brick made from the shale turned out to be exactly the proper thing for the paving of streets of cities of the class where economy was a chief consideration, and where the traffic did not demand the heaviest material. Vitrified brick has taken its place with asphalt and granite, as of proven value. It is not so costly as either. Where asphalt can not be afforded and where the traffic does not demand granite, vitrified brick comes in to make possible the luxury of well-paved streets. Moberly proved on her own streets the utility of the vitrified brick, and then began to supply other cities, as the fame of Sanderson's kilns spread. Shale is blasted out of the inexhaustible banks and hauled by tramway to the place where it is pulverized, pressed and burned. The product is shipped to all parts of Missouri. There is scarcely a city or town of considerable size which does not show some of the Moberly paving. Railroad officials have demonstrated that this vitrified brick paving is better than the usual plank platform and have adopted it widely.

Missouri Manganese.

In September, 1914, the Globe-Democrat published this information: "Ferromanganese, a necessary ingredient for producing many forms of steel, was mainly an import from Europe prior to this war. The price within the last few weeks has jumped from $30 to $100 a ton. Manganese ore, from which ferroman-

ganese is obtained, is found in considerable quantity in various parts of the northern part of Shannon County, Mo., in the iron and copper districts there. This region, hitherto inaccessible for want of transportation facilities, is now being entered by a railroad coming north through Shannon County, its present temporary terminus being about thirty miles south of Salem, Dent County, to which town it is coming, to connect there with the Frisco Railroad, and thus give direct railroad connection with St. Louis. So this mineral region, with its manganese, iron and copper ores, is now ready for the prospector and investor to enter and annex to St. Louis as a new field for industries based on these ores."

Rapid Review and Expansive Prophecy.

The Missouri Ozarks have yielded over $500,000,000 in lead, zinc and iron. This was the calculation made in 1914 by H. J. Cantwell, than whom there is, probably, no better living authority on the mineral production of this region. Cantwell was brought to Missouri from Pennsylvania by his parents when he was four years old. He was one of the earliest exploiters of the Flat River district. He opened the first deep mine for lead south of Mine La Motte in Madison County. He sunk the first diamond drill hole in Washington County. In a rapid review of what has been and may be realized Mr. Cantwell said:

"Take the eastern tier of counties, consider their endowment in mineral wealth, aside from the precious metals, and match them elsewhere on the habitable globe, if you can! Commence at the first county south of St. Louis: Jefferson, with her known zinc deposits at Frumet, unworked for the past forty years; Valle mines, where no more modern devices than pick, shovel and hand windlass have ever been applied, yielding by these several millions of dollars in lead values; the extensive kaolin deposits near Hillsboro, from whence the crude unwashed material has been shipped for years to eastern manufacturers; the extensive and valuable glass sand deposits utilized at Crystal City only; Franklin county, rich in lead, iron pyrites and fire clays; Washington county, which has produced more than $10,000,000 in lead from 'gophering' in the clay only, although the deeper lead deposits have been proven to exist and, although many reliable experts predict this county will eventually prove to be the most valuable of all of the lead fields of the world. Here is the most productive baryta region known, the deposits being at the surface, but most of the ore is shipped crude and but little even washed in the county. This county also has known deposits of zinc carbonates, and in it and the adjoining county of Crawford are valuable iron deposits, unworked.

"St. Francois county, great in the production of lead, but her iron industry neglected or suspended. Iron county, with many workable iron deposits and her wonderful granite quarries, idle. Ste. Genevieve county, becoming famous for the lime and cement materials now beginning to be utilized, but her copper deposits unworked. Madison county, with at least forty square miles of limestone deposits at the base of which, in zones of fracture, lie lenticular bodies of copper, nickel and cobalt sulphides, having a gross value of more than $15 per ton. Many acres capable of yielding gross values of more than half a million per acre awaiting the quickening touch of the hand of capital to change these baser metals into coin of the realm.

"Shannon county, with known copper deposits. Dent and Reynolds, with bodies of iron ore; Wayne and Butler, with millions of tons of brown iron ore face, only requiring the application of methods of mining well tested elsewhere; cheap transportation, cheap coke and modern blast furnaces to become great commercial producers.

"Remember that these counties are those that lie on or near a railroad; that the existence of these great treasures are visible to all with eyes to see; that their intrinsic values are proven by many official and authoritative publications, many of these publications covered with the dust of two generations, but they are all found in the public libraries, and the methods of utilization are all applied elsewhere and that these methods are shown in the

current industrial and technical journals and no 'secret processes' or patented methods are required.

"Remembering also that the same geological conditions, which made this unique mineralization of this region possible, exist in the entire range of the Ozark hills on to Joplin, and one may reasonably wonder that if this known accessible region, which contains so many varied and valuable mineral resources, is undeveloped, what may not be the possibilities of the region not accessible. Further, if the known resources are not developed, will not development of the known bring here, as it elsewhere has, knowledge of further and different resources?

"Tungsten, vanadium, uranium, asbestos, plumbago, manganese, were found in this region when they had no value except for cabinet specimens, and the region has not been searched since. Copper was produced in Madison county, Shannon county, Ste. Genevieve county and Franklin county in quantities of many thousands of dollars, when the entire annual production of the United States did not equal the present weekly consumption. Hasselmeyer had a zinc furnace in Washington county when the total zinc consumed in the United States in a year would not pay one day's expenses of a modern zinc furnace. The first iron furnace in the State was near Caledonia before Iron Mountain was worked.

"The first diamond-drill hole sunk in the State, perhaps the first in the West, was sunk before 1869 at Kingston, in Washington county, and disseminated lead was there and then discovered when the only method of concentration was the hand crusher and the hand jig, and the ore was thought to be too low grade for these primitive processes. These resources of this Ozark region are all there.

"No man now need discover them. They were discovered—all of them—in the only period when Missourians really recognized the greatness of their State and when they believed themselves big enough to develop them—in that glorious decade before the Civil war when giants walked the earth and when the Missouri Ozarks were full of them.

"There is not a single hamlet in the Ozark hills but could, if inhabited by such courageous burghers as now inhabit industrial Germany, from their own resources, develop in the immediate neighborhood, a mining industry from the undeveloped wealth, or a manufacturing industry from the already developed raw materials which would make princes of all them, and provide employment for thousands for years to come. This is not extravagant fancy; this is not the 'boosting' of a prospectus; these statements are provable to any man who has intelligence enough to read and understand the testimony of men eminent in the scientific world and who has sufficient industry to acquaint himself with what is being done elsewhere in the world.

"Missourians, the sons of those who saw these possibilities before the Civil war, have made fame and fortune in the western fields and Alaska. The generation after the war had no opportunity to do anything in this region, but the present generation has now the opportunity to do what their grandfathers would have done had the war not interrupted the development of the region. With a thousand rills and rivers to furnish cheap electrical power, the many improvements in methods of mining and reducing ores, the present methods of scientific prospecting, with an era soon upon us when capital can be secured for the operation of every basic industry, this region must come into its own and be recognized as it really is—the most favorable area for the development of commercial mines in the Union."

Forty-eight Miles of Surprise.

A ride on the forty-eight miles of railroad from Riverside to Doe Run is a continuous strain on the surprise faculty. For a few miles the route is along the river. Then comes Herculaneum, not the Herculaneum of three generations ago, but the entirely new Herculaneum of today. Time was when Herculaneum was one of the notable river cities between St. Louis and New Orleans. A population of 1,500 was assembled there when that number meant the second city in the State. The second lodge of Free Masons in Missouri was chartered for Herculaneum. It is even said that ambitious residents agitated the establishment of the state capital at Herculaneum. Times changed. The glory of the river com-

merce waned. Bearing inland from the river, the Iron Mountain Railroad builders made a city of De Soto. Hillsboro became the county seat and thither went the charter for the Masonic lodge. Herculaneum became the abode of the bats. It passed to worse than innocuous desuetude. It vanished to foundation stones and decaying timbers. Then came, a few years ago, the construction of this railroad, as part of the evolution of the disseminated lead ore district. On the ruins of Herculaneum were erected reduction works and on the most sightly elevation were placed the rows of neat cottages for the smelter men. The iron horse whistles oftener at the front door of Herculaneum than ever did the palatial steamboats of the river's best days.

Below the rebuilt Herculaneum the route is inland over many acres of dairy farms, where fine herds furnish milk daily for St. Louis consumption. The train travels between Festus and Crystal City, the home of the plate glass industry of Missouri, where the silicate hills are furnishing raw material for the furnaces, above which tall chimneys belch black smoke. Plattin Valley is traversed and then beyond Big River, which circles among these Ozark foot hills in long search for its outlet by the Meramec, comes in view the fine high school of Bonne Terre, with its environment of railroad tracks and mine shafts and mill buildings and the city of 5,000 contented people.

Below Bonne Terre the road seems to sprangle in several directions to reach mining localities. It is down the main line that the most inspiring sight is found. With the smoke from St. Joe mine and mill still to be seen behind, the traveler crosses a divide and overlooks the Flat River basin. Off to the right, half hidden by the heavy forest growth, are the works of the Desloge Lead Mining Company. Desloge is one of the first stations, and about it is a community of several hundred people. The company has its own switch system connecting with the railroad. Beyond the town of Desloge is that of Leadville, the next railroad station, and of about the same population. From Desloge the stations are frequent and settlement is almost continuous. After Leadville come St. Francis, Flat River, Federal, Columbia, Central, Elvins, Doe Run and half a dozen other communities clustering about the works.

The future of the disseminated lead district of Missouri is not a subject for speculation. It is assured. Millions of dollars have been and are being put into plants which are expected to be in operation far beyond the time of this generation. Immense bodies of ore have been blocked out by the drill, so that the supply to run these plants for many years is "in touch" if not in sight. From time to time new bodies of ore are discovered. Localities which a few years ago were not known as lead lands have changed hands at prices which tell as plainly as the cores what the drill has found. The policy which has proved so successful with the pioneer company, the St. Joe, is steady operation with the machinery and methods approved by many years' experience. Whether lead goes up or goes down, the volume of production is about the same month after month and year after year. This is the policy of the district. To supply the present fuel needs is required hundreds of thousands of tons of coal annually. This is brought in by Riverside and distributed to the different plants. The assembly of the raw material, principally ore and fuel, and the disposition of the residue, the so-called "chats," tax the railroad equipment, although each company, except the St. Joe and the Doe Run, has its own switch tracks and outfit. Upon the forty-eight

miles of the Mississippi River and Bonne Terre Railroad have been in use the heaviest locomotives in the State of Missouri.

The Once Despised Cottonwood.

A wood which the pioneer builders of the West tried and found miserably wanting has become a corner-stone in a new industry. It has come into use on a scale and with a degree of satisfaction which illustrates how the world does move. Along some western rivers in early days the cottonwood trees were turned into lumber because there was nothing else to saw. Jewett Willcox, who sailed those waters contemporary with Commodore Rollingpin, used to tell that he had many a time seen the cottonwood houses on the banks of the Missouri following the sun. In the morning these houses moved several feet eastward. After dinner, in obedience to the warm rays of the descending orb, they took the westward course of empire. Mr. Willcox said the movement was so noticeable that it could be plainly observed from the cabin deck of a steamboat without the aid of a glass. Probably there never was a variety of wood cut into lumber which was so disposed to go half way to meet genial warmth. The warping tendency of the cottonwood caused it to be condemned after these early trials. There was thought to be nothing that was meaner than cottonwood lumber.

But there is cottonwood and cottonwood in Missouri. The cottonwood which has become popular and is in demand at the mills is the yellow which grows luxuriantly in southeast Missouri bottoms, chiefly along the Mississippi. It has come into demand for a great variety of uses, among them box making. One reason for its popularity is that it is odorless to a degree which makes it exceptional among woods. The packers of goods of delicate flavors will have no other kind of cases than cottonwood. The lightness of the wood makes it highly desirable in consideration of transportation charges. The bright color of the wood takes on a clean print. These qualities, with the cheapness, commend the cottonwood box for all kinds of packing purposes. There is a concern which manufactures these boxes in parts, even to the printing of the colored labels on the sides and tops, and ships them, with the parts bundled and ready to be put together, to canneries, soapmakers and manufacturers of all kinds of goods requiring packing. It turns out 300 cars of such material monthly. It is said to be the largest concern of the kind in the world. There are lumber mills which make cases for packing eggs, berry boxes, fruit crates, grape baskets, butter plates and similar things from cottonwood, each product having its special season, when the demand can hardly be met.

But cottonwod has even more important uses. It has taken the place of poplar for the drawers and interior parts of furniture. It goes into wagon boxes, 90 per cent of which is now said to be of this material. The extent to which ingenuity has overcome the tendency to warp is shown by the fact that cottonwood is now seasoned so that it can be acceptably employed as house siding.

In scores of ways cottonwood has come into service where it was unknown a few years ago. Perhaps the most interesting introduction of it is in the form of veneering. These cottonwood logs are shaved as they go round and round under the powerful knives into pieces so thin it seems marvelous that they can be of any service. But the various ways of seasoning and pressing leave them tenacious and perfectly smooth. The veneering is packed in flat bundles of various sizes and

shipped to manufacturers, who "build up" all kinds of woodwork from a door to a flat-top desk. The veneer of cottonwood is put together with glue until the requisite thickness is reached. Then it is covered with an outer veneer of the finishing wood, like oak. Many an article apparently of oak is not what it seems, but all cottonwood in glued slices except the outer eighth of an inch. And the manufacturer knows that the built-up article with the pieces of veneer placed so that the grain crosses in each successive layer is stronger and more serviceable than that constructed solidly of the costly wood. In the mansion of a St. Louis millionaire is some paneling which experts take to be of the famous and costly satin wood, but which the owner and his architect, by a well-kept secret, alone know is of cottonwood.

Senator Rozier's Appeal to Missourians.

There have been times in the history of the State when the law makers were not inclined to be liberal in the development of the mineral resources of Missouri. Soon after the Civil war it was proposed to end the geological survey. At that time the disseminated lead deposits of Southeast Missouri were unknown. A United States government expert announced in his official report that the lead of mines of the State were nearing exhaustion. The possibilities of the zinc district of Southwest Missouri had not been realized. In 1875 a bill to abolish the geological survey was before the Legislature and was strongly supported. Senator Rozier of Ste. Genevieve made an eloquent protest. He showed the economists that the mineral production of the State was at that time about $10,000,000 annually, distributed as follows:

Lead	$3,000,000
Iron	3,000,000
Coal	1,000,000
Spelter and zinc ore	500,000
Fire clay	500,000
Cobalt and nickel	100,000
Kaolin, ochres, etc	400,000
Granite and sand stone	500,000

"When I examine the statistics of the mineral fields of the world I find there is not a country on the globe, embracing as it does so many varieties of minerals in such great abundance. It is an astonishing but strange fact, very, that in the old world we find minerals are buried beneath the ground, while here in Missouri how different the scene presented to the vision of mortal man! We see vast regions of minerals rising from the earth, forming, as it were, mountains and pyramids kissing the rising sun, and brilliantly glowing in their crystal-like clusters.

"Man can contend against prejudice, superstition and religion; but how hard it is to contend against fogyism. A fogy is a character—a creature that stands solitary and alone. Look at him; he struts about awkwardly, wears wide pants, his mouth is eternally puckered up, and he sneers at everything in the way of progress. If he hears the whistle of a railroad engine, he cries out it will ruin the whole country. If he hears a steamboat ploughing up the stream he pronounces Fulton a humbug. If he hears the tick of the telegraph he throws up his hands and swears that this is contrary to the laws of nature. If you tell him that Columbus discovered America he will tell you that this history is 'played out.' If you tell him that Galileo explained the solar system he will tell you it is all witchery. If you tell

him that Franklin discovered the principles of electricity with a kite he will simply say that Franklin had very little to do. But a man of real progress is one that views things in a just and rational way. Things that are absolutely necessary he gives his hearty support to, and finds it a pleasant duty to help the development of his own country.

"Sir, we have so far only worked the surface of our mineral fields, and must, like other countries, bring to bear upon our many operations practical ideas combined with the sciences, for it is only by long experience and close application to study that principles become fixed and immutable, as marked out by ancient and modern scientific men. The science of geology has for centuries been the study and reflection of eminent philosophers. This geological bureau will be of great service to our State, will increase our wealth, bring immigration and command the attention of capitalists over the whole world. Sir, Missouri under our auspices will become a great State if we act wisely, and become one of the most wealthy and populous of our States. Besides we have within our borders the city of St. Louis destined to be the great metropolis of the country, and which must and will be the great inland city of the world. Sir, I have done my duty in the cause of Missouri. Being a native of this State, and being the only descendant and relic in this legislative body of the French pioneers of this country, who first settled and immigrated to Missouri, whilst at present the wave of immigration is sweeping over us, I feel like the old Chief Logan of Virginia, described by Thomas Jefferson: 'All I have left to me is to love my native State and to weep over the graves of my fathers.'"

De Soto in the Missouri Ozarks.

De Soto came into Southeast Missouri and wandered through the Ozarks seeking gold and silver. From the records of that expedition Irving traced the movement west of the Mississippi. The Spaniards marched northward through what are now Dunklin and Pemiscot counties. They came to a settlement of 400 dwellings. "It was seated on the banks of a river, the borders of which as far as the eye could reach were covered with luxuriant fields of maize, interspersed with groves of fruit trees." The natives came out to meet and welcome the Spaniards who understood the name of the town and the province to be Casqui or Casquin. After being entertained there six days De Soto marched north through a populous country. "The fields were overflowingly fruitful; the pecan nut, the red and gray plum and mulberry trees grew there in abundance." Two days brought the expedition to the capital of the province where the cacique or chief lived on "a high artificial hill with twelve large houses to accommodate his family and attendants." Here De Soto received gifts of mantles, furs and fish. Here he ended a drought by having a large pine tree made into a cross and religious services held. Rain fell the next night. The time was May in the year 1541. The weather was warm as it usually is in the southeastern corner of Missouri at that season.

When De Soto was ready to proceed still farther to the north, the chief turned out a force of 5,000 warriors and 3,000 bearers to go with him as an escort. According to the Spanish reports these Indians were divided into squadrons and marched well. The route led through a swamp which divided two of the Indian provinces, that of Casquin which De Soto had just left and that of Capaha. To get through the mire it was necessary to lay down trunks of trees. Beyond the swamp the Spaniards came to "beautiful meadows." They were in what is now New Madrid County. Two days of marching brought them to the principal town, Capaha, the ruins of which Irving located on the Bayou St. John. When the Spaniards saw Capaha in 1541 it "contained 500 large houses and was situated on high ground, which commanded the surrounding country. It was nearly encircled

by a deep moat fifty paces in breadth; and where the moat did not extend was defended by a strong wall of timber and plaster. The moat was filled with water by a canal cut from the Mississippi River, which was three leagues distant. The canal was deep, and sufficiently wide for two canoes to pass abreast without touching each other's paddles. This canal and moat were filled with fish, so as to supply all of the wants of the village and army without any apparent diminution of number."

De Soto was compelled to fight the Capaha people as the result of having the Casquins with him. When the Casquins who were in the advance of the Spaniards entered Capaha, the natives headed by their chief retired to an island stronghold. Before the Spaniards arrived, the Casquins sacked the town and killed 150 men. "They broke into the grand sepulcher or mausoleum, in the public square, which the Indians held sacred. Here were deposited the remains of the ancestors of the cacique, and of the great men of his tribe; and here were treasured up the trophies gained from the people of Casquin in many a past battle. These trophies they tore down from the walls. They stripped the sepulcher of all its ornaments and treasures. They then threw down the wooden coffins in which were the remains of the dead, trampled upon the bodies, scattered about the bones and wreaked upon them all kinds of insults and indignities in revenge for past injuries which the deceased had inflicted upon their tribe."

From Capaha De Soto learned that "about forty leagues distance, among certain ranges of hills there was much salt and also much of a yellowish metal. As the army was suffering for salt and still retained their eagerness for gold, De Soto despatched two trusty and intelligent men, Hernando de Silvera and Pedro Moreno, accompanied by Indian guides to visit this region. At the end of eleven days they returned quite spent and half famished, having eaten nothing but green plums and green maize, which they found in some squalid wigwams. Six of their Indian companions were laden with rock salt in natural crystals, and one with copper. The country through which they passed was sterile and thinly peopled, and the Indians informed the governor that still further on to the west the country was almost uninhabitable on account of the cold; that buffalo roamed there in such numbers the natives could not cultivate fields of maize; they subsisted therefore by the chase and principally on the flesh of these wild animals."

The two men sent for salt are believed to have reached the Saline in Ste. Genevieve County and to have found the copper somewhere near Mine La Motte, as it was known a couple of centuries later. De Soto left the Capaha country in what is now New Madrid, returned southward a short distance and then went in a northwestwardly direction in search of gold. Schoolcraft tried to trace the probable route followed by the Spaniards. He said: "Hearing fresh reports of mineral wealth, he now marched northwest to Caligoa on the source of the St. Francois. This was his most northern point. He was now at the foot of the St. Francois country celebrated in modern times for the Iron Mountain and the lead and cobalt mines of La Motte. He now marched south in search of a rich province called Cayas (Kansas) and probably crossed White River at Tenico."

Renault and John Law.

De Soto's search for silver in the Ozarks failed utterly. Later by more than 150 years, other white men came. In the siege of Pensacola a Spaniard named

Antonio was captured. He bragged to the French about the mining he had done in Mexico. The company sent Antonio to the Missouri lead country. The Spaniard dug down to the ore, broke off some pieces and treated them. Announcement was made that the result was several drachms of silver. Encouraged by this alleged prospect, a mining company under La Renandiere took charge of the work. With a costly outfit this organization made an utter failure. It not only got no silver, but couldn't produce lead. Then came Renault, of whom Charlevoix wrote: "In the month of June last Renault found a bed of lead two feet in thickness, running to a great length over a chain of mountains, where he has set his people to work. He flatters himself that there is silver below the lead. Everybody is not of his opinion, but time will discover the truth."

Inspiring and encouraging this early seeking for silver in southeast Missouri was John Law's Mississippi scheme. The bubble collapsed while Renault was still seeking for silver. To encourage the banker-miner, the French commandant at Fort Chartres granted him a tract of land extending northward to the Meramec. In those days this river was called the Merameg, which was Indian for catfish.

Renault was a banker in Paris. He studied mineralogy. Forty-three years before the settlement of St. Louis a company was formed to mine for silver in the Mississippi Valley. Renault headed the enterprise. He came up the river, bringing several hundred negro slaves from San Domingo. Lead was found, but not the silver. Renault continued his prospecting for years, most of the time in Missouri. His route to the lead country was up the Meramec, south of St. Louis to the Big River, and then up the Big River, or Grande River, as he called it. Renault had two theories: One was that silver veins would be found in the lead country. The other was that the lead ore itself carried a percentage of silver. The explorer worked twelve or fifteen years. He mined considerable lead. He was never able to find silver veins. He could not extract from the lead the silver he supposed was there. After working the Missouri field, searching along the Mississippi to its source, and making a side trip up the Illinois, Renault went down the river in 1744, leaving most of the San Domingo slaves in the vicinity of Fort Chartres. Some of these slaves were brought to St. Louis by the first settlers.

Previous to Renault's ambitious efforts, the West India Company sent Sieur de Lochon. That was in 1719. The purpose was to mine for silver, not lead. Lochon dug up some ore and worked over it four days. He showed two drachms of silver, claiming to have smelted it out of a pound of lead ore. Charlevoix, who came down the Mississippi later, heard of this. He also noted the suspicion that Lochon first put in the silver which he took out. Lochon tried on a larger scale. He smelted two or three thousand pounds of ore and got no silver. The product was "fourteen pounds of very bad lead." Lochon went back to France.

Basis of the Spanish Theory of Silver.

Renault's workings were not far from what is now Potosi. They remained abandoned for many years. This Spanish theory of silver in connection with lead of southeast Missouri was not without some foundation. Toward the southern limit of the lead field the proportion is largest, but even there it is too small to pay the cost of extraction. More than a century after the failure of the

hopes which had set France wild, St. Louis capitalists put money into one of these "Missouri silver mines" and left it there.

As late as 1810 the lead miners in the district south of St. Louis held to the theory that silver would be found. Brackenridge, who visited the mining field at that time, wrote: "The ore contains a considerable proportion of sulphur, arsenic and it is believed, of silver; though in respect to the last it has not been sufficiently tested by experiments to know whether the proportion would repay the trouble and expenses of separating. It is highly probable that the ore of some of these mines may yield it sufficiently. The ore of the Merameg, which I am informed has been partially assayed, gave the most flattering result. Above the rock the ore is found in enormous masses in strata, apparently horizontal, and often two feet thick, and several of these are passed before the rock arrests the progress of the miner; I have seen pits ten or twelve feet deep where the strata of ore had been only dug through, the digger intending to strike the rock before he attempted to undermine; perhaps gratifying his vanity with the pleasing contemplation of the shining mineral, his riches. In the rock there appear to be no regular veins; the ore occupies the accidental fissures as is the case generally in lead mines."

Some of the Americans who settled in the State clung to the theory of silver deposits in southeast Missouri just as the Spaniards and the French had done. They expended considerable money in seeking for veins. In 1859 a German named Hoeninger found silver in Madison County and sunk a shaft. After a century and more of tradition there was found a well defined vein of silver bearing galena, but the percentage was not profitable. Much of the Missouri lead ore carries a small amount of silver but so small that it is not taken into consideration in the ore sales. The smelting companies, by subjecting the lead to intense heat, can extract between one and two ounces of silver from a ton of lead. In the course of a year there have been saved from the lead as much as 50,000 ounces of silver. Most of this silver is found in the lead of Madison, Jefferson and St. Francois counties.

As recently as 1910 the bureau of labor statistics at Jefferson City gave consideration to the question of "Missouri Silver." Labor Commissioner Heller reported the production of this metal for the year 1909. The amount was 49,500 ounces, and the value of the same, at 52 cents an ounce, was $25,740. In 1908 the production was 49,411 ounces and the value $26,390.

The following table, prepared by Supervising Statistician Arch T. Edmonston of the bureau of labor statistics, for the Red Book, gave the value and quantity of silver recovered from Missouri lead ores, by years.

Year	Fine Ounces	Value
1905	12,900	$ 7,869
1906	31,300	21,187
1907	25,300	16,700
1908	49,411	26,390
1909	49,500	25,740
Totals	168,411	$97,886

Ozark Traditions of Hidden Mines.

Old settlers in the Ozarks clung long to the belief that the precious metals must be found in paying quantities. They cherished the traditions that the Indians

and the Spaniards mined silver and then concealed the sources. Mysterious markings on rocks were carefully preserved in the confidence that they indicated the neighborhood of silver ore. The fact that the hidden mines were never found seemed not to discourage those who accepted the traditions. A geologist traveled some distance in the Ozarks to see one of these marks. The native was sure it was a star carved on the rock to remind the Spaniards or the Indians where they had located silver. As soon as the scientist looked at it he identified it as part of a fossil coral placed there geologic ages before Adam was created. But the explanation had no influence on the native who had preserved the star so carefully, and who had for years speculated on the probable location of the treasure.

What Schoolcraft Found.

There are old workings found in these Ozark hills. They antedate any mining remembered by the present inhabitant, and traditions point to them as the places where the Spaniards found silver in the last century. In the winter of 1819, Schoolcraft camped not far from what is now Springfield. He was gathering the material for his "Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas."

"Twenty miles above the junction of these streams" (the James and Finley), he wrote at that early date in the century, "on the immediate banks of the James River, are situated some valuable lead mines, which have been known to the Osage Indians and to some White River hunters for many years. The Indians have been in the habit of procuring lead for bullets at that place by smelting the ore in a kind of furnace made by digging a pit in the ground and casing it with some flat stones placed so as to resemble the roof of a house inverted, such is the richness of the ore and the ease with which it melts. The ore, however, has not been properly explored, and it is impossible to say how extensive the beds of veins may prove. Some zinc, in the state of a sulphuret, is found accompanying it. There is not an inhabitant on all this stream. My own cabin, erected for a temporary purpose at the mines in January last, is the only human habitation within 200 miles of that place."

It is not difficult to believe that from these early operations of the Indians and pioneer hunters have grown the false traditions of hidden silver mines on the Ozarks. Of course, lead ore often carries some silver. In Mexico, the lead ores carry enough to justify mining for silver. In the Ozark country no lead mine has yet been found in which mining would be justified for the silver obtained. The traditions of silver mining and the traces of supposed silver mines and silver smelters have no other foundation, in the opinion of the mineralogists who have explored thoroughly, than the early "gophering" by Indians and pioneer hunters for lead with which to mold their bullets in the days of the flintlocks.

The Deceptive "White Metal."

One day an Ozark native, who may be called Solomon for his lack of wisdom, came into the law office of William C. Kelly, at Rolla, and with tears in his voice said:

"Mr. Kelly, I've got a case for you. Bill Jones is the doggondest scoundrel in the Ozark country, and I want the law on him."

"What's the matter, Sol?" asked the lawyer.

"Bill Jones," continued Solomon in a tremulous voice, "told me if I would go down to Strawberry, Ark., and get the molds and the metal, he would make the money and we would divide. I got the molds and the metal. He has made the money and he won't give me my share. I want to prosecute him, the doggone scoundrel."

"Solomon," thundered the lawyer, "don't you know that you have been engaging in the manufacture of counterfeit money and are liable to be sent to the penitentiary. What do you mean by coming to me with such a proposition?"

"I don't know anything about counterfeit money," said Solomon, sobering down a little. "All I know is that Bill said it was good money. It buys things at the store. I got the molds and the metal, and I think I ought to have my share."

Old Solomon went away sorrowful, still insisting that Bill Jones hadn't given him a square deal, and could be prosecuted.

The Barry County Tradition.

Tradition placed one of the sources of precious ore in Barry County. "Chickasaw Indians," so the narrative ran, "were driven westward across the Mississippi and finally located on the banks of the White River in that county, where fish and all kinds of wild game were in abundance. They had only been in the new territory a short time when one of the redskins was driven into a large cave by an approaching storm and discovered that the cave's walls were a solid mass of silver. The silver mine was worked by the Indians for several years. Large quantities of the ore were melted in a hollowed-out rock and molded into large bars in molds made of stiff clay and stored away in the cave. Jewelry of various kinds was made of the silver and carried to St. Louis and St. Charles and traded for blankets and other necessities.

"For some reason all valuables of the little band were placed in the cave and preparations made for a move to new territory. The entrance to the cave was closed with rock and dirt scraped from the mountain side, and covered to a depth of several feet. As it was the custom of the Chickasaws to mark every place of importance, peculiar signs were cut on rocks and trees so they could easily find the cave when they returned. Leaving their White River camp with the intention of returning, the little band started towards 'the setting sun,' and had gone only a short distance when they were attacked by enemies and were driven back to their old hunting ground, where all in possession of the secret of the location of the silver cave died of a fatal disease which swept the camp."

The Pyrites.

In the Devonian beds of the Ozarks are peculiar formations which encouraged the faith of the old miners in the existence of profitable silver deposits. The limestone carries pyrites disseminated. On the blacksmiths' forges in the Ozarks these pyrites were smelted, producing what the natives called "silver," but to which the more skeptical gave the name of "white metal." How much of the deceptive looking metal, the essential part of which was iron, found its way into free and unlimited coinage without the consent of the nation would be hard to tell. There used to be a settler on Current River before the war who appeared at irregular intervals at the towns of Southeastern Missouri with a small sack of coin, which he claimed was the product of a silver mine he owned. The coins were bright and heavy and passed.

Not far from Springfield, mining on quite an extensive scale was done for this "Ozark silver" many years ago. One firm put down several shafts, going as deep as 84 feet. From this mine a considerable quantity of what was called silver was taken. But when a sample of the ore was sent to be assayed, it turned out to be nearly pure lead, with just a trace of silver. In another locality, on the James, a mining company got out and smelted considerable quantities of what was supposed to be silver, but was declared to be iron from pyrites.

An Experiment with "Flickers."

One of the richest zinc mines in the Ozarks was first exploited as a silver mine. So sure were the discoverers they constructed a smelter on the old Spanish plan, burned charcoal, got out the ore and tried a blast. These men were experienced miners. They were absolutely certain they had a silver mine. For years previously old Allen Sulzer's girls, when they went after the cows, frequently picked up bits of shining ore, to which the homely name of "flickers" was given. The few people who lived in the vicinity were sure that the "flickers" must be silver. At length the old prospectors came along and confirmed the theory. The mine was located. The smelter was built. As the contents of the first blast warmed up one of the miners stood confidently at the furnace front with a little bucket to catch the molten silver. Nothing ran out. Old Allen Sulzer was near by looking at the experiment. His description of what resulted is impressive.

"The fumes riz up in the air and made the beautifullest rainbow you ever seed. But there wasn't a drap of silver kim out."

One of the experienced miners happened to look up and see this "beautifullest rainbow."

"Zinc, by thunder!" he exclaimed. The two old miners turned from the furnace, went to their cabins, gathered up their kits, traded the mine for $2.50 in cove oysters and left the scene of their disappointment.

The Scientific Argument.

Silver has not been found in connection with zinc in the Ozarks. There is a very good reason to believe it will not be. A scientific fact makes the presence of the precious metals in that region, rich as it is in zinc and lead, extremely improbable. The mineral deposits of the Ozarks are of a distinctive origin. They are exceptions to a rule which holds good the world over. Humboldt announced a law to which mineral deposits very generally conform. It is this:

"The deposits of the precious metals, and of lead, zinc and mercury, are usually associated with intrusion of igneous rocks."

Scientific men regard it as one of the most notable facts about the Ozark deposits of lead and zinc that "the deposition of the ores has not been accompanied by igneous disturbances or by intrusions of igneous rocks within the mining areas."

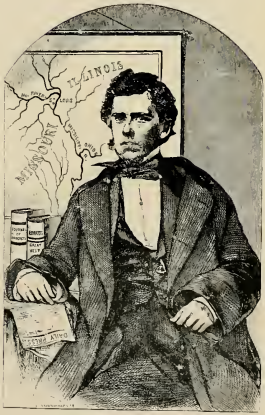
The minerals were in solution in hot water far down below. Dynamic disturbances threw this mineralized solution upward, and under tremendous pressure it filled the crevices and fissures with the deposits. That is the way the ores in the Ozarks came about, according to the best scientific authority on the zinc region of Missouri.

HENRY S. TURNER

JAMES H. LUCAS

HENRY T. BLOW

Pioneer in the development of the white lead industry



RICHARD EDWARDS

Author of Edwards' Great West

By the geological survey at Washington credit was given to Prof. Walter P. Jenney for having made the most thorough and satisfactory investigation of this distinctive character of the ore deposits in the Ozarks. Prof. Jenney's views as to the origin of the ores are now widely accepted, although there have been times when quite a variety of theories was entertained. In a report of his conclusions, preserved in the library of the survey at Washington, Prof. Jenney said:

"The location of the deposits of lead and zinc, the origin of the mineral-depositing solutions, the means by which these solutions have been introduced into the strata, and the formation and occurrence of the ores all appear, upon examination, to be dependent upon the dynamic disturbances which have taken place in the past geologic history of these elevated sections of the Mississippi Valley. The deposition of the ores of lead and zinc in the Ozark area has not been accompanied by igneous disturbances or by intrusions of igneous rocks within the mining-areas. This is the more remarkable, as the deposits of nearly all the mining regions of the globe conform to the law announced by Humboldt, 'That the deposits of the precious metals and of lead, zinc and mercury are usually associated with intrusions of igneous rocks.' The igneous rocks of the archaean area in Southeastern Missouri, included within the Ozarks, are far older than the earliest sedimentary deposits carrying lead and zinc ores."

Following up the discovery of this peculiar law of origin for the ores of the Ozarks, Prof. Jenney was able to announce certain practical results. His discovery convinced him of the deep origin of the ores and prompted in him confidence that the mineral bodies would be found to extend to considerable depths. This theory has been sustained by the latest developments. By the confirmation the mineral fields are assured a period of profitable production far beyond the earlier anticipations.

"The result of this investigation of the deposits of lead and zinc in the Mississippi Valley," he said in his report, "has made it possible to announce the general law that all workable deposits of ore occur in direct association with faulting fissures traversing the strata and with zones or beds of crushed and brecciated rock, produced by movements of disturbance. The undisturbed rocks are everywhere barren of ore.

"While it is true that the ore deposits are thus associated with areas of disturbance and fissures faulting the strata, so that it may be said that no ore deposit occurs without a crevice or fissure in the rocks through which the ore depositing solutions were introduced, it by no means follows that all fissures are connected with ore deposits. In the many barren sections of the mining districts many disturbed areas occur where no action of ore deposition appears to have taken place and this is equally true of mining regions in other parts of the world.

"For the occurrence of ore deposits it is requisite not only that the strata should be disturbed and faulted, but that the fissures should penetrate to and form open channels connecting with the zone of supply of the ore-forming solutions, which may be located at a considerable depth in the earth; also that the pressure should be sufficient to force mineralizing solutions to the surface; that the solution should contain metallic substances in adequate quantities, and that the physical and chemical conditions should be such as to permit ore deposition. Through the absence of any of these conditions, districts otherwise favorable for ore may remain unmineralized.

"In some localities the fissuring of the strata has been accompanied by only a slight displacement of the rocks, notwithstanding which the associated ore deposits are large.

"There are evidences that the larger and more prominent fissures have a great extension in depth, and penetrate the archaean floor on which the sedimentary formations rest. At Mine La Motte the courses of the crevices in the granitic ridges are rudely parallel to the master fissures in underground workings of the mine. The Cambrian limestone and sandstones at this locality are probably nowhere over 400 feet thick; the vertical displacement of these beds by the master fissures and its branches aggregate not less than 100 feet—a displacement in such massive strata which it is difficult to conceive to have taken place except as caused by a faulting movement so profound that the fissure must of necessity penetrate deep into the underlying archaean. In general, throughout Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas the fissures associated with the ore deposits appear to be best defined in depth, whereas in the surface formations they appear to be split up into numerous branching crevices and fracture planes.

"In conclusion, it may be said of the fissures which occur in direct association with the deposits of lead and zinc ores in the Ozarks that they are not the result of local causes and are not confined to a narrow vertical range or to rocks of a similar lithological character; but, on the contrary, that these fissures are the result of forces connected with wide-spread dynamic disturbances, affecting the North American continent, and that the fissures are faulting planes of indefinite vertical extent, traversing all the geological formations from the crystalline rocks to the coal measures."

The Second Cornwall.

Missouri's Iron Mountain obtained world wide fame. Missouri's Silver Mountain was for some years the basis of great hopes. Missouri's Tin Mountain is only an historic mystery. Silver Mountain's friends believed it would surpass Iron Mountain as a wealth producer. Tin Mountain was expected to become the richest of the three.

Tin Mountain is southwest from Fredericktown about nine miles. Until 1870 the oldest inhabitant of Madison County hadn't heard of it. But that is not surprising. The location is in one of the wildest parts of that region. About the year named there came an Englishman named Stocker, and he was equal to his name. There was no doubt about his nationality. He spoke "Henglish" and took pride in doing so. His supply of h's was inexhaustible. Otherwise he was down to bedrock so far as capital was concerned. Stocker reported that he had discovered tin on the banks of the Little St. Francis, in the locality mentioned. He didn't stop to fool with the natives, but went to St. Louis and almost at once got both Mr. Moody and Mr. Michel, of the wholesale grocery house of Moody, Michel & Co., greatly interested. They formed a company and employed Mr. Sproule to enter the land for them. Stocker was everywhere. One day he would be down on the mountain digging for black sand, which he showed triumphantly as containing tin. He was between six and seven feet tall and raw-boned. At work he was the slouchiest tramp miner on the mountain. The next day he might be seen on the public square of Fredericktown wearing a gaudy plaid suit, which added to his gigantic proportions. A silk hat and "about a peck of jewelry," as a native

remembers him, attached to his vest, were among the evidences that Stocker had struck something. He first paralyzed and then enthused the Madisonians. By the time the big machinery began to pass down from the railroad to the mountain everybody had tin in his head. There was tin in the air. Tin Mountain was overrun with prospectors, and the farms were sadly neglected.

The company went to work in earnest. There grew in a month or two a community of 1,500 people at the mountain. A young Mr. Tyler, of Connecticut, who was a chemist by profession and had some money, came out, investigated the prospects, became satisfied there were fortunes in sight, and put in his capital and time. Lamoreaux, the shoe man, of St. Louis, took stock. Nicholas Schaeffer invested the profits of some thousand of tons of soap grease, and, what was more surprising, studied chemistry in his old age. The company sunk shafts and ran tunnels, taking out vast quantities of green rock, which was expected to give the tin product. A mill was erected to treat the ore. Very powerful crushers were put in, because the rock was tough. A furnace that cost $65,000 was added to the plant to reduce the ore after it was ground out of the green rock. The machinery was to run by steam, and boilers and engines were put in place. Large sheds were built, and hundreds of thousands of bushels of charcoal were put into them.

The Investment and the Collapse.

Fredericktown tradition has it that not less than $200,000 was expended first and last by the Tin Mountain Mining Company. The operations extended through nearly three years. Not as much tin was turned out as would make a dinner bucket. When the first run of ore was put through the works the investors were thunderstruck. No tin resulted. These shrewd grocers and shoe men and soapmakers didn't know anything about tin themselves, but before they went into the scheme they had taken samples of the alleged ore to the best assayers in St. Louis, and analysis after analysis had showed tin. Tons of the green rock were ground up, put through the elaborate separating machinery and reduced only to fail to show a single ounce of tin. Other chemists and assayers were given samples. Some of them reported traces of tin and some didn't. The mystery deepened. Mr. Schaeffer refused to take any second-hand conclusions, and studied chemistry so that he could make an assay himself. "He told me," said Mr. Coleman, of the Mine La Motte, "that he actually got a button of tin from one of his assays."

Opinions differ widely as to the true explanation of the mystery. Many people believe the mine was salted and that the capitalists were taken in by a barefaced fraud. Some years ago Judge Allen, an old resident of Fredericktown, and long connected with mining enterprises in Southeast Missouri, gave the result of his Tin Mountain investigation. "So far as I could discover," he said, "the stone contained a poor quality of iron, and that was all the mineral I found in it by my tests. Strange to say, I have seen a number of analyses made by respectable chemists that gave tin. It doesn't seem possible that the mine could have been salted on such a scale as to have deceived all of them. I must confess that to this day I can hardly make up my mind in regard to the puzzle. We had a chemist here, an accomplished man named Cavallen. He was not connected with the company, but toward the end he was employed to make some assays. Cavallen told me that as many as two times he found tin in the samples that were brought

him. But the most of the times he failed to get any tin at all. There were many geological formations about the mountain like those found in the vicinity of tin deposits. It is possible that there are scattered through the rock small fragments of tin ore, and that the presence of these fragments accounts for the confusing returns made by the assayers. That, to my mind, is the most reasonable theory."

There was no mystery about the final result to the men who put their money up. The enterprise was a complete and total failure. Stocker went a few months before the collapse taking with him his good clothes, "peck of jewelry," stovepipe hat and ganglionic shape. The discouraged company hauled the machinery back over the road they had made to Fredericktown and reshipped it to St. Louis. They sold the coal. The buildings have rotted down and only an imposing collection of ruins marks the spot on the Little St. Francis where many years ago was the flourishing, promising mining town of Tin Mountain.

"If those expectations had been realized," said Judge Allen, "this would have been the richest country on top of earth."

There is a rock in the locality of the alleged "Second Cornwall" which looks like tin but is not. This circumstance is believed to have helped the deception. J. E. Lee, an expert mineralogist, after the collapse, expressed the opinion that the tin ore found was taken to the mountain; that the mine was a clever case of salting. About the time of the Tin Mountain fiasco in Missouri, prospectors were in Detroit showing tin ore which they claimed to have discovered in the Lake Superior iron region. They made their appearance late in the season. Capitalists who became interested sent an expert. The season was late. There was just one boat making the trip before navigation closed. The expert was landed near the locality on the north shore where the tin ore was said to have been found. He had half an hour to collect his specimens. He brought back as much "tin ore" as he could carry and was about to base upon it a tempting report. It occurred to him that a more thorough investigation should be made. The expert locked the report in his desk, waited until spring and when the lake opened, made a second visit to the North Shore. There he found the barrels in which the tin ore for salting the locality had been brought from England.

The Story of Silver Mountain.

Silver Mountain is ten miles from Fredericktown, about half way to Iron Mountain. Hiram N. Tong of Ironton is credited with having discovered the riches of Silver Mountain while following turkey tracks. He obtained possession of the land on which the vein was located and put men to work about the year 1862. A shaft eighty feet deep was put down, and argentiferous lead in quartz was found. Some of the ore was taken out and analyzed. The results were such as to induce William Einstein, who investigated the property thoroughly, to buy out Tong. After the transfer nothing was done until 1877, when Einstein organized the Silver Mountain Mining Company and began work. Among those who went in with Einstein were Samuel Knox, Gerard B. Allen and Capt. Kayser. Mr. Einstein was the moving spirit. Mr. Knox came down several times, and seemed greatly interested. Mr. Allen put in money on the judgment of others, and, so far as is known, never saw the mountain.

DAM AT SILVER MOUNTAIN ON THE ST. FRANCOIS

GRANITE BEND ON BLACK RIVER

For three years nearly, or until about 1880, Silver Mountain boomed. In the first place the company built a magnificent stone dam across the St. Francis River. The intention was to use water power for the mill. This dam stands today as good as when it was finished. It is 25 feet high and is said to have cost $20,000. Thirty-five hundred barrels of hydraulic cement were used in the construction. A fine turbine wheel was put in. Just below the dam, 100 feet, perhaps, stood the mill, a substantial three-story wooden building. It was equipped with a first-class crushing and separating apparatus, and had a capacity for handling probably 100 tons of ore a day.

The Mine and the Mill.

From near the mill an incline ran down into the mine. The ore was hauled up this incline and into the mill by steam power. The plant was simply superb for the purposes. But it was completed and almost in running order before the management began to look underground for the ore which was to make dividends on such an investment. As illustrating the policy, it is told that there were thousands of cords of wood bought and piled up, although water power had been provided.

Why the mine was not thoroughly prospected and opened up before all this outlay for a plant nobody can explain, but it wasn't. The controlling spirits in the company were so sanguine that without waiting to know for a certainty whether there was ore they went ahead and got ready to treat a big output. Then the incline was constructed down a hundred feet, or a little more. The vein, true fissure, was struck. Three levels were run and some ore was found and put through the mill, but by this time the stockholders were beginning to stagger before the assessments. The mill ran awhile and tons of the product, whatever it was, were shipped to Cheltenham, but failed to realize expectations. The stockholders stood the drain a few months after the plant was complete and then shut down. That was in 1880.

Silver Mountain is situated in what is called "The Narrows." The Francis River passes between two mountains, and the town and mill are on the west side of the river, under the shadow of one of the mountains. The company owned several hundred acres. At the time the St. Louis company put up the works another company was formed by Madison County men to mine silver. The stockholders were J. B. Gabriel, A. Ruth, Dr. Wm. Nifong and Rufus Baird. They had found a ledge which looked well on the St. Louis company's lands and some distance from the mill. They took a lease and proceeded to development. They took out several tons of silver ore, which they delivered at the mill under a contract, but the collapse put a stop to their operations. On land further west silver was found by a Mr. Martin, of Pennsylvania, but the indications were only followed sufficiently to show the existence of some ore.

Other Madison County Discoveries.

The Silver Mountain discoveries were not the only ones of that precious mineral in Madison County. Local prospectors found a small vein of silver ore on Captain's Creek, in the southwestern part of the county. Judge Allen was not fully satisfied with his examination and he sent a piece of the ore to Prof. Wiese, who returned a report that the specimen was very rich silver ore. A com-

pany was formed and $1,000 spent in developing the vein, but with all the work another piece of ore as good as the first was never found. In this search a very little gold was found, but so far as mining was concerned the investment proved a total failure. This occurred in 1859. Twelve or thirteen years later a scientific gentleman came to grief in the same locality, about a mile away from the old digging. Prof. Vancleve Phillips, while knocking about among the mountains found some silver ore. The indications were so favorable that he gave his discovery a name, and the "Emma mine" became a part of Madison County history. Prof. Phillips was quite sanguine. Indications continued good, but after dropping several hundred dollars without finding ore in paying quantities the expert gave up the search.

Ten miles southeast of Fredericktown Jackson Revelle struck silver many years ago. He opened a shaft, and at a depth of 30 feet struck a vein from which he took considerable ore, which he shipped to Cheltenham. The clean-up failed to show profits, and Revelle sold out to an Illinois man. The formations in which the silver appears in these Madison County veins were declared by experts to be precisely like those in the San Juan district of Colorado.

An Expert Opinion.

Judge Allen of Fredericktown, who had almost a life-time's experience with Southeast Missouri mineral expressed the opinion that a different treatment at Silver Mountain might have resulted more favorably. He said, "The geological formation in which Einstein's vein appears is a porphyry dike. That dike, I expect, is 60 feet wide, well defined where it meets the granite on both north and south sides. It runs east and west. If the parties had put some of the money they spent for buildings and machinery in work underground they would have a fine mine today, I have no doubt—unless all geological indications are at fault. The ore contains silver, lead, zinc and antimony all combined in a regular well defined vertical vein. The company treated the ore in the crushers, just as it came from the mine, instead of calcining and expelling the baser metals, as would have been better. The result was, in my opinion, much of the silver washed out and went down the St. Francis River. I explained my view of the matter to Mr. Knox at breakfast one morning in the Planters' House. It opened his eyes, but too late. The company had expended the capital."

"My first impression was that they intended to roast the ore," continued the Judge. "I visited the mine at one time, and Mr. Einstein kindly showed me through. There was an enormous quantity of wood piled up around, acres of it I should say. I said to him he seemed to have a pretty good supply of wood, and he replied that there were 4,000 cords. I knew he had water-power for his mill, and the little engine which hoisted the ore wouldn't require more than a cord and a half a day. So without asking any questions, I rather concluded the wood was there to be used in calcining the ore. But when the collapse came the wood was still on hand. It had cost the company $2 a cord. It was afterward sold for thirty-five cents a cord, and was hauled to Pilot Knob."

At the beginning of the operations the company put up a furnace and tried smelting. But when the silver did not appear the smelting at the mine was abandoned and the separated ore was shipped to Cheltenham. In places the veins—there were three of them found—thickened to as much as eight feet. In

places they contracted to almost nothing, making it necessary to do a good deal of dead work. The assays showed splendidly. Some gave as much as 56 ounces of silver to the ton. But the works never vindicated the assayer's figures, and that is one reason why people here insist that the treatment was wrong. The vein was improving as developed, and work was finally stopped in the best ore that had been found."

The Search in Garrison Cave.

"The divining rod" has been used in the search for hidden treasure. More than half a century ago a venerable man carrying a curiously shaped stick came to the Garrison homestead near the town of Ozark. He said the rod pointing all the time in that direction had conducted him a long distance to the entrance of the cave. He wanted to go inside. An agreement was reached that the treasure if found should be shared. Garrison gave his consent and the exploration of the mine began. As the rod was carried from one place to another it bent and twisted about. At length it pointed straight down. When the explorer moved away the rod pointed back. At the mouth of the cave it inclined inward. Work was begun at the spot which the rod seemed to indicate but nothing was found. It was reported by those who helped that unearthly noises were heard. The story that the Garrison cave was haunted went the rounds of the neighborhood and the place was avoided for many years.

At a later period much systematic work was done in the cave. Great quantities of ashes were found which could have been made only by the burning of hundreds of cords of wood. At one point the searchers uncovered the skeleton of a man. There was a tradition in connection with the hidden treasure of the Ozarks that when the Spanish left one of their silver mines they killed an Indian and left his body buried near the ore vein so that the ghost would scare away intruders. This tradition seemed to have some relation to the strange sounds said to have been heard by those who entered the cave in earlier years. In front of this Garrison cave was a mass of earth and broken rock which apparently had been brought out long ago. The miners ran drifts through this but found only bones and pieces of pottery. At one place, inside of the main chamber, not far from the heap of ashes was a tunnel partially blocked with broken stone. This was explored. For two years the work was carried on within the cave, some of the time as many as six men being employed. As the investigation went on it became evident that at some time a great deal of mining had been done and that ore of some kind had been smelted. Slag in considerable quantities was found. Bodies of low grade zinc ore were located. But nowhere was found a trace of the supposed vein of silver from which the Spaniards had coined dollars by the bushel.

CHAPTER XII.

LAST OF THE BENTON DUELS.

Thomas C. Reynolds and B. Gratz Brown—Two Challenges and Two Acceptances—The First Offending Editorial—Benton's Championship of Settlers—The District Attorney Protests—Brown Declares Authorship—Reynolds Satisfied—Friends in the Controversy—A Year Later—The Combination Against Benton—"Is It Perjury or Is It Not?"—Reynolds Asks "the Proper Atonement"—Rifles at Eighty Yards—A Question of Shortsightedness—The Meeting Off—Benton the Issue Again—Reynolds' German Speech—"Germans and Irish on an Equality with Negroes"—"An Unmitigated Lie"—The Editor Posted—A Peremptory Challenge—Acceptance in Two Lines—Friends, Advisers and Surgeons—Selma Hall—A Graphic Story of the Meeting—Duello Etiquette—Kennett's Arrangements—Interchanges of the Seconds—Bearing of the Principals—The Pistols—"Fire!"—Reynolds' Quickness—Brown Wounded—The Return to St. Louis—No Prosecution—In Later Years—Political and Personal Friends—Brown's Career Not Satisfying—Reynolds' Fate.

They belong, too, to the small class of hermaphrodite politicians who, here in Missouri, style themselves antis, and who, in their blind opposition to Benton, are even willing to go to the length of subverting by the revival of obsolete laws, all he has done for thirty years past to guard the rights of the settler and to secure him his domicile free from intrusion.—*B. Gratz Brown's Offending Editorial.*

Thomas C. Reynolds was of South Carolina nativity. B. Gratz Brown was a Kentuckian, grandson of the first United States Senator from the State. Reynolds graduated from the University of Virginia, went to Germany and completed his education at Heidelberg. Brown graduated at Transylvania and went to Yale for his finishing course. He came to St. Louis in 1845, entered the law office of his relative, Francis P. Blair, Jr., but devoted most of his time to the writing of editorials for the newspapers. Reynolds settled in St. Louis a year later, after service as secretary of legation at Madrid, began the practice of law, but gave more attention to local politics. In 1853 the political zeal of Reynolds was recognized by his appointment as United States district attorney. In 1854 Brown's facility with the pen justified the appearance of his name at the top of the editorial page of the Missouri Democrat.

These young men came to St. Louis at about the same time. Both attained quickly prominence in the community. Both were Democrats—but Democrats of factions between which the hostility was intense. Brown was a Free-Soil Democrat. Reynolds was a Proslavery Democrat. Reynolds, within five years after his coming, won a position of influence in local political councils so marked that he was made the candidate of his faction for Congress in 1856, not with any expectation of election, but to swell the anti-Benton vote. Brown in the same time had written himself into such distinction that it was said his editorials in the Democrat were "cursed by proslavery men, commended by free-soilers, and read by all."

In 1854 an editorial by Brown provoked a demand for explanation from Reynolds. Three times in three years the editor and the district attorney engaged in controversies over articles in the Democrat. Twice the challenge passed and was accepted. In 1856 the duel was fought. It was the last, in which blood was shed, between St. Louisans. It closed a record begun forty years before—a long roll of tragedies. With the meeting between these young men of superior education, of refinement, of gentlemanly instincts, the code passed.

In an editorial printed the 21st of April, 1854, the Missouri Democrat arraigned the United States marshal and the district attorney for persecution of settlers in Southwest Missouri by prosecuting them for cutting timber on government land and then charging them with "high treason" because they resisted.

The Offensive Editorial.

"The whole difficulty in these prosecutions," said the Democrat, "arises from the appointment of persons to office upon the recommendation of a few nullifiers at Washington and in opposition to the wishes of four-fifths of the people of the State. The present appointees owe their places to the misrepresentation of Atchison and Phelps, who have been laboring all along in cahoot to defeat the interests of Missouri, and, of course, nothing better could be expected of such proteges. They belong, too, to the small class of hermaphrodite politicians who, here in Missouri, style themselves antis, and who, in their blind opposition to Benton, are even willing to go to the length of subverting, by the revival of obsolete laws, all he has done for thirty years past to guard the rights of the settler and to secure him his domicile free from intrusion."

Nothing in this editorial showed personal animus toward Reynolds. The Missouri Democrat was making much of settlers' rights. That had long been a Benton doctrine. The evolution from it was the "squatter sovereignty" of Douglas, but Benton did not follow to that development. Some of these settlers had shown resistance when the marshal tried to serve warrants on them for cutting timber on government land. They had been charged with high treason under an old statute. They were being prosecuted in United States courts by the district attorney, far from their homes. The cases gave the Democrat excellent opportunity and use was made of it in the interest of Benton, who was in Congress that term and a candidate for re-election.

Reynolds wrote a card in answer to the editorial, a rather mysterious card, in which he said, "My respect for the two lawyers who edit the Democrat forbids my believing the article was penned by either of them." And then he protested against the "comment on my official action."

The Democrat came back in the same issue which gave place to the card: "To satisfy his curiosity, we can inform him that the article was written by one of the editors of the Democrat." Then followed something very personal: "We remember that during Mr. Polk's administration, the very important fact of an offer to purchase Cuba by the American minister was made known to the public through the New York Herald, although the correspondence was not only not published, but was intended to be a state secret. As the district attorney was secretary of legation at that time, perhaps he can inform the public how the fact came to be known. Painful rumors were abroad through the country in regard to the manner in which the Herald obtained its information, but our memory does not

retain all of the particulars, and we therefore await enlightenment from the district attorney."

A Satisfactory Explanation.

When he came down to the Democrat office that morning, Brown received a note from Reynolds, asking if this second editorial was "designed to be offensive," closing with, "my friend Mr. Goode will receive your reply." This course was in accord with the technicalities of the dueling code. Brown replied: "I am the author of the articles to which you allude." He added that the card of Reynolds "contained an assumption which I conceived reflected upon me personally." Reynolds' answer was that he "had no intention in any part of that communication to reflect on either of the editors of the Democrat personally." Thereupon Brown wrote that this gave "an opportunity, of which I take pleasure in availing myself, to withdraw any language that is personally offensive to you in the editorial." The note of Brown was delivered to Reynolds "by my friend, Colonel Robert M. Renick." Reynolds answered: "Your note of to-day is received, and it gives me pleasure to accept the same as satisfactory."

Reynolds' interest in the controversy subsided suddenly when Brown avowed himself the author of the articles. Possibly Reynolds thought he was on the trail of big game. He knew, as did everybody in Missouri politics, that Benton was a frequent contributor to the editorial page of the Democrat. To the young district attorney, with his South Carolina theory of personal responsibility, an issue like this with the great Benton would be very attractive. In his card, evidently written as a feeler, Reynolds indicated his theory that the first editorial had not been written by either of the ostensible editors of the Democrat. He said his future course would depend upon his "opinion of the source" from which the editorial criticism emanated. Did he at first suspect that Benton might be the author of the editorial? If so, the readiness with which he expressed intention to avoid personalities and with which he accepted satisfaction is accounted for.

Robert M. Renick, the friend of Brown in this first affair, was a banker. George W. Goode, who acted for Reynolds, was a Virginian, and had passed through his own experience with the code in his native state. He had been a law partner of James A. Seddon, afterwards secretary of war in the Cabinet of Jefferson Davis. A close friend of Goode had sustained an injury which demanded satisfaction on the field of honor. He was prevented by religious obligations, possibly church relations, from sending a challenge, but Goode had acted for him. As a result of sending the challenge in Virginia Goode moved to St. Louis. There he was counsel in a famous land case, won a fee of $50,000, bought an estate in St. Louis county and lived the life of a country gentleman.

A Year Later.

The second affair between Brown and Reynolds enlivened the municipal campaign eleven months after the first; its beginning was a local report of a meeting held to unite various elements upon an anti-Benton ticket for the city election. Politics in Missouri, from 1850 to 1860, was a continuous performance. At the time of these affairs between Brown and Reynolds a mayor and other city officials were elected annually. Party lines were down. Factions formed and reformed. The Missourian could be a Benton Democrat, a "regular"

Democrat, a Whig, a Know-Nothing, a reform Republican, an Emancipationist, a Free-Soiler, an Abolitionist. Not infrequently he changed his factional affiliation from one campaign to the next. Benton was beaten for the Senate, elected to the House and defeated for governor, all in six years. St. Louis had in rapid succession a Democrat, a Whig, an Emancipationist and a Republican for mayors. The young editor of the Democrat, guided by a dimly defined political policy, realizing under-the-surface rumblings of the political earthquake which was coming, endeavored to make his editorial page virile and readable; he did not shun personalities.

In March, 1855, the combination was forming to beat the Benton party in the election for mayor of St. Louis. Anti-Benton Democrats, Know-Nothings and Whigs were in it. Boernstein, the German "boss," joined the coalition. This attempt to unite the Know-Nothings and the Germans gave the Democrat its opportunity. Strange to tell, just at this time Reynolds entered into a business enterprise with Boernstein. The district attorney and the German leader became partners in a brewery. Boernstein was the chief object of the Democrat's attack. Reynolds' name did not appear in the lively two-column description which the Democrat reporter wrote of the speeches and scenes of the anti-Benton mass meeting. A later generation in journalism would have called it "a good story." In the next column of the Democrat appeared a communication from "Anti-Know-Nothing" devoted to Reynolds and his brewery association with Boernstein. The letter assumed that the brewery was a cover for a political conspiracy "formed for the purpose of defeating Benton." In the August campaign of 1854, only a few months previous to this, when Benton was an unsuccessful candidate for Congress, Boernstein had pandered to Know-Nothing prejudices by anti-Catholic articles in the Anzeiger, his paper.

These articles were translated and republished in the Missouri Republican, credited to the Anzeiger, to drive Catholic support from Benton. At that time the Anzeiger was pretending to support Benton. The Democrat's correspondent, "Anti-Know-Nothing," insinuated that by secret intrigue Reynolds had prompted Boernstein, who was ostensibly supporting Benton, to assail the Catholics; that Reynolds translated these anti-Catholic articles and furnished them to the Republican. Benton was beaten in that election, but the appeals to religious prejudices led to the worst election riots St. Louis had known.

Referring to the application for the brewery charter by Reynolds and Boernstein, the Democrat asked, editorially, "Is it perjury or is it not?" Reynolds demanded "a withdrawal of your editorial of today, a disavowal and repudiation of the communication of the 17th and an apology for their insertion in your columns." He sent the note by the hand of the United States collector of customs at St. Louis, W. A. Linn, commonly known as "Gus" Linn, a relative of the former United States Senator Linn. Brown replied that instead of "proceeding in the usual manner to ascertain the author of the communication by which you feel yourself to be aggrieved," Reynolds was attempting "to dictate and bully." Reynolds sent a verbal challenge by Linn. Brown replied: "I have no more intention of permitting you to brow-beat me than I have of permitting you to place me in the wrong, and, therefore, whenever you desire to make a further communication in writing, you will not find me unwilling to respond to your satisfaction."

THE WHOLESALE DISTRICT OF ST. LOUIS, MAIN AND LOCUST STREETS, BEFORE THE WAR

Challenged by Reynolds.

Reynolds challenged: "Your notes are not only insufficient, but offensive. I ask the proper atonement. My friend, Mr. W. A. Linn, is authorized to act for me."

Brown accepted: "I am convinced of your determination to force a collision with me, and am, therefore, constrained to gratify your unjustifiable caprice. I will refer you for all further arrangements to my friend, Capt. D. M. Frost, who is authorized to act for me in the premises."

Captain Frost immediately notified Linn that the weapon to be used was "the common American rifle, with open sight, round ball, not over one ounce, each gentleman to select his own weapon of the kind named." Captain Frost added for his principal: "He has also chosen eighty yards as the distance, and will on Sunday next arrange as to time and place."

Then followed much letter writing on the part of Reynolds and the seconds. Reynolds demanded shorter distance. "I consider the rifle, which you have named as the weapon, to be unusual and barbarous, and generally excluded by gentlemen. With this protest, as you leave me no choice, I accept it and exercise the right (which I have absolutely) to shorten the distance from eighty paces to twenty. To show you that I do so not from caprice, but necessity, I assure you, and it is a notorious fact, that I am so nearsighted that I am unable, even with my glasses, in ordinary weather, to recognize any person, except an intimate friend, at a greater distance than thirty paces; and as you have the right to name the time of day for the meeting, I can not safely consent to a greater distance than twenty. I hope that in selecting a distance of eighty paces you were ignorant of my defective eyesight, and that you did not knowingly propose terms on which you, accustomed to the rifle, could shoot me down with perfect safety to yourself."

The correspondence carried on by Frost and Linn over the question of distance ranged through the history of the code. Rules of practice were quoted. Precedents were cited. In the end Frost declined to shorten the distance. Linn refused to proceed.

The Third Controversy.

Benton still was an issue in 1856. He was running for governor and was supporting Buchanan for President against a member of his own family. In the heat of that campaign the third controversy between Brown and Reynolds had its origin.

Reynolds made a speech in German at Mehl's store, in St. Louis county. He had taken the nomination for Congress as candidate of the anti-Benton Democracy. The Missouri Democrat charged that in his German speech Reynolds "placed Germans and Irish on an equality with negroes." Reynolds sent a card to the Missouri Republican proclaiming this to be "an unmitigated lie, worthy of a sheet whose proclivity to wilful and deliberate falsehoods is only exceeded by the notorious poltroonery of its editor in defending them, or his meanness in not withdrawing them after their falsehood has been proven." Brown took notice of the card by this comment in the Democrat: "The office-holding Pierce candidate for Congress is as full of manifestoes against the Democrat as a guinea fowl is of eggs." He added: "Mr. Reynolds must

certainly know that the Democrat has higher game in view in this canvass than himself or the bogus ticket on which he is running. He must also know that he, having on former occasion backed out of a challenge which he sent himself to the editor of this paper, can not be longer viewed as within the pale of those who appeal to such modes for the adjustment of personal difficulties, or expect his effusions to be noticed in that light."

Reynolds came out in the afternoon paper with another card, which concluded: "For him whom this whole community considers an unquestionable coward, and who has been repeatedly convicted of lying, to venture an opinion on my standing as a gentleman is the height of insolence, equaled in intensity only by the abject cravenness with which he has, over and over again, in private and public life, submitted to insults of the most stinging and degrading kind." Reynolds proceeded to "post" Brown by obtaining the publication of his two cards outside of St. Louis. To "post," in the language of the code, was to proclaim in the most public manner possible an adversary to be dishonorable and cowardly. Brown waited until after the election, having, as he explained in a personal note published in the Democrat, "no desire to mingle our own personal conflicts with the excitement of an election." On the 18th of August, he sent "a peremptory challenge." There was no exchange of correspondence. The acceptance was a matter of two lines.

The Last Political Duel in Missouri.

A graphic account of "the last political duel fought in Missouri" appeared in the Kansas City Times in 1872. John N. Edwards was the brilliant editor of the paper at that time. He had seen much of Reynolds in the days of the Confederacy. The two had gone to Mexico with Shelby after the surrender. Brown was governor of Missouri and a leading Presidential candidate in the Liberal Republican movement. The time for reminiscences was opportune. None other than Major Edwards knew so well the details or could have written the narrative that follows:

"Both men meant earnest work, and went about it very calmly and very deliberately. Both represented a party, an idea, a cause, both had a large number of firm and fast friends, and both were cool, brave, and daring. Brown's seconds were Col. David D. Mitchell, formerly a superintendent of Indian affairs in the west, and of great reputation as an Indian trader and fighter, and Leo Walker, a gentleman from South Carolina, who had married into a wealthy St. Louis family, and who resided there. It was understood, also, that besides these immediate friends, Brown had as advisers Col. Thomas H. Benton and Frank P. Blair. Reynolds' friends were Col. Ferd. Kennett, of Selma Hall, the best pistol shot in Missouri, and Capt. Thomas B. Hudson, a leading Democratic politician who had distinguished himself under Doniphan and in Doniphan's march to Mexico. For advisers, Reynolds had Col. David H. Armstrong, the present Chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of the State, Col. W. A. Linn, the then Collector of Customs at St. Louis, Isaac H. Sturgeon, for a long time President of the North Missouri Railroad, and, in fact, the Democrats generally of the city. John How was Mayor of St. Louis at that time, and Judge Henry A. Clover, Prosecuting Attorney. Although these gentlemen knew that a duel was on the *tapis*, and that a challenge had been sent and accepted, such was the tone of public sentiment and such the leniency with which these things were regarded, that no efforts at arrest were made, and no interference of any kind attempted. When people are in Rome, they must needs do as the Romans do, and hence every preparation was fully carried out by the principals and their respective friends.

"Selma Hall, the place of the meeting was an elegant country seat in Jefferson county, Missouri, forty miles below St. Louis, and the property of Col. Ferd. Kennett. Here nature and art had combined to make the spot one of the loveliest in the West. Flowers and fountains abounded everywhere. In the August noon, huge forest trees made a grateful shade, under which deer rested at ease, cropping the rich grass at intervals and crouching low at intervals, as the memory of the old wild days of horns and huntsmen came up from the lowlands and the river. There were steeds ever in stall for the young bloods who swore by Kennett and his hounds; books for the pale students who stole away from medicine and law to sleep one night with the hills and the clover; costly wines for whosoever would drink, and an open door and a ready latch-string for every wayfarer benighted through chance or inclination.

"To this delightful place, on the 23d day of August, 1856, Gratz Brown and his friends repaired. Etiquette required that Reynolds' second, Colonel Kennett, should receive them, which he did with princely hospitality, and they were at once domiciled and surrounded with every attention and luxury possible. The night before leaving St. Louis, Reynolds remained at the house of Isaac H. Sturgeon, and slept so soundly that Sturgeon had to call to him loudly the next morning before arousing him. He had in the meantime procured the services as surgeon of Dr. J. H. Shore, a distinguished physician of St. Louis, who, together with Reynolds, Kennett and Hudson, passed over into Illinois by the North St. Louis ferry. They proceeded down leisurely to a point opposite Selma Hall, passing the intermediate night at a friend of Kennett's, and reaching their destination at about twelve o'clock on the second day.

"On Monday evening, August 25th, Reynolds crossed over to Selma Hall, accepting the hospitality of G. W. Chadbourne, now President of the St. Louis Shot Tower Company, but then living on the river bank, a few hundred yards from Kennett's elegant mansion. For a week Kennett had been in his element. Nothing pleased him so well as a duel, if a duel had to be fought, and he made all of his preparations with that exact and scrupulous care so necessary in giving an air of elegance and aristocracy to the whole performance. Not a single detail was omitted. Two cushioned and commodious skiffs were launched into the Mississippi on the morning of Tuesday, August 26th, 1856. Into one Reynolds and his friends took their seats—into the other Brown and his friends. A stalwart negro oarsman in each rowed them to a sand-bar in the Mississippi river, midway between the States of Illinois and Missouri. The upper end of this bar was covered with a growth of young cottonwood. In the branches of these trees were singing birds that made the morning vocal.

"It was not yet sunrise. No cloud anywhere over the face of the sky hid the great, tender eyes of the dawn. It was a summer morning. The gorgeous robes of nature adorned all the trees with green. Not a land breeze shook the dew dimples out from the cheeks of the sleeping river. The whole earth smelt sweet with living. The cottonwoods and the oaks were jubilant as a hive. In their branches there was the noise of many wings—among their leaves the rippling of a thousand summer songs.

"As they went down to the skiffs together, Kennett took a long look at the panorama spread out before him—at the river unrolling a curtain of silver to the sea—at the orchards white and pink with fruit—at the glimpses of woodland and valley woven into warp and woof by the God of the Universe, and he turned to grim old Mitchell and said, curtly:

"'It is beautiful overhead and underfoot. Would you like to be shot today?'

"'As well one day as another. Why?'

"'It is so sweet to live when the sap is in the trees and the birds abound in their branches. It looks like tempting Providence.'

"'It may be, but Providence blesses him who shoots first and pulls the steadiest trigger.'

"Between these two there was no further conversation until they reached the bar.

"The principals stepped from the boats as men who were going to a dance—and that dance a waltz. Reynolds was then in his thirty-fifth year, and Brown was several years younger. The first had a wife whom he had left in total ignorance of the duel, the last was unmarried. Nothing could be cooler than the bearing of each. Brown was dressed scrupulously in black, with his coat buttoned up to his chin—Reynolds in a light gray suit, scarcely distinguishable from the sand of the river. The terms had all been arranged. They

were to fight with dueling pistols, carrying an ounce ball, were to face each other, and were to stand twelve paces apart. The drop shot had been accepted by both; that is to say, the pistols were to be held, muzzle upwards, until the word was given, when they were to be lowered and fired. This was understood to be the most deadly way of fighting.

"It was now a little after sunrise. All the east was red as with fire. A little breeze had arisen with the sun, just enough to shake the dew-drops from the leaves and give to the waves a speech as they broke on the bar.

"Kennett took a silver half dollar from his pocket and turned towards Mitchell, saying:

"'Shall we toss for the position?'

"'Yes, up with it.'

"Kennett won. He tossed again for the word, and won that.

"Walker drew nearer to Hudson, and remarked:

"'Reynolds is lucky. How about the pitcher which goes so often to the well?'

"'It gets broken at last, the proverb says. I hope we all may get safely out of this without a verification of that adage.'

"'We shall see.'

"The choice of position was not of much advantage, however, as the sun was too low to affect either. The word remained with Kennett, and he was to call out: *'Fire—One—Two—Three—Stop!'* The principals were not to lower their pistols before the word *'Fire,'* and not to shoot after the word *'Stop.'*

"Kennett and Mitchell measured the ground carefully. Each turned after he had finished and threw a keen glance along the tawny track, and then looked into the eyes of the other. They did not speak audibly, yet both said in their hearts:

"'It is close.'

"And it was. Too close for two such men, who had only between them the unpleasant memories of a political quarrel.

"They were placed face to face. Brown looked straight at his adversary, a pleasant half-smile on his lips. Not a muscle quivered. He stood as if carved from the sand, immovable and yet so full of bountiful life. Reynolds' attitude was none the less superb. The Kentuckian and the South Carolinian were to fight as their ancestors had fought before them for an hundred years. They recognized the code, and it was well. By the code they would be judged fairly, standing or falling.

"The pistols were brought and loaded carefully. A grain of powder more or less might sacrifice a life. They were ugly looking weapons to say the best of them, and of English make. On each barrel was the word 'London' engraved. The stocks were of mahogany, and of the 'saw-handle' shape. They had hair-triggers, double-sights, were smooth-bores, and carried each an ounce ball. The barrels were full six inches long, and were dark looking and ominous.

"It was now between six and seven o'clock. The negro oarsmen looked on in sober wonderment. The surgeons arranged their instruments and bandages. The respective friends of each principal took their positions, and when everything was in readiness, Kennett called out in a clear and distinct voice:

"'Gentlemen, are you ready?'

"So nearly together as to sound as one voice, both Brown and Reynolds answered:

"'Ready!'

"Kennett then cried out:

"*'Fire!'*

"Before the word *'One'* was heard, Reynolds lowered his pistol and fired. Brown fired almost simultaneously with his adversary. Indeed, the two reports were blended so nearly as to be indistinguishable and the seconds looked from one to the other to see if either was hit. Reynolds stood perfectly still, with the smoking pistol in his hand, while Brown shifted his weight from one leg to the other as if suffering pain.

"Hudson walked up to Reynolds and said to him:

"'I fear Brown is wounded in the groin.'

"Reynolds replied:

"'You must be mistaken, for I aimed at his knee.'

"Hudson then went nearer to Brown, returning in a short time to his principal remarking:

"'You are right. He is shot in the knee.'

"'I was certain of it,' replied Reynolds. 'The wound will not be dangerous.'

"Brown's friends, in the meanwhile, had approached him, and led him to one side, while the surgeons examined his wound. He was as cool as a grenadier. Although suffering extreme pain and scarcely able to stand, he sternly demanded another fire, insisting on his ability to remain upon the field. The surgeons overruled his wishes, and immediately a conference took place between all the friends of each, which was communicated to the principals, and Reynolds instantly advanced to where Brown was lying, the pain of the wound having forced him to the ground, and offered his hand in a frank and friendly manner. Brown took it in the same spirit, and they had some friendly conversation together. Mutual expressions of esteem were exchanged, and the mutual withdrawal of everything offensive that had taken place between them.

"Just at that time the steamer Editor, from Memphis, heavily loaded and crowded with passengers, came in sight down the river. She was at once hailed and stopped to take the party on board. Brown had to be removed in a blanket, the ball having split the bone of the right leg just upon the edge of the knee joint, causing profuse hemorrhage and intense pain. A state room was placed at once at his disposal, and he received the most generous attention from all.

"Naturally rejoiced that the duel had terminated no more unfavorably, a jolly time was had on board the boat. Several games of poker were improvised. Reynolds' purse was appropriated by one of his friends, and in a very short time its contents were entirely absorbed.

"All kinds of reports had preceded them to St. Louis, which they reached in the afternoon. Some had Brown killed and some Reynolds. One was mortally wounded, and the other dying. Neither had been struck within less than a fraction of an inch of the heart. The mayor and a squad of police were promptly on board, but having no jurisdiction, they of course made no arrests. Brown was carried at once to his lodgings, and Reynolds carried directly home, where he found his brave wife suffering greatly, yet fully resolved to bear the worst. She believed in fighting duels when duels were necessary, and like the Spartan matron would have buckled on her husband's armor and bidden him go forth to the fight and return on his shield or come not back dishonored.

"Both Reynolds and Brown were most excellent shots. Perhaps the first had the advantage of practice. Just before the duel, he had gone in company with Col. Wm. A. Linn to the grounds of the Marine Hospital in order to have a little exercise with the drop shot, with rapidity of firing, and with a low aim. While engaged in this kind of practice, Reynolds told Linn that he intended to hit Brown in the knee, so as not to wound him seriously. Linn remonstrated and said it was a dangerous business as Brown was a splendid shot.

"'Your life,' he continued, 'may depend upon a fatal wound.'

"Reynolds replied:

"'I am very sure of my quickness in firing, and were it otherwise, I would never consent to take any man's life for a mere political quarrel. If I can disturb Brown's aim by shooting him first, it will be all I desire.'

"Some difference of opinion existed as to the direction of Brown's bullet. Reynolds declared that he heard it whistle by his head, while Kennett was equally positive that it glanced from Reynolds' breast and told him afterwards that if he had not fired so quickly and so surely, Brown would have squarely hit him in the chest. Brown took his wound like a soldier, only gathering himself together once, and compressing his lips as a man does in extreme bodily pain."

The articles as first drawn provided that the second who "gave the word" should call, "Fire—one—stop" in a deliberate manner, "with an interval not exceeding one minute between words." Later the interval was cut down to one-half minute, but before the parties went to the sandbar the half minute was changed to one second. This required that the pistol which was held upright, be lowered and

fired very quickly. Kennett made the changes and probably prevented a fatal termination. Brown was lamed for life.

The Two Careers.

Political honors and official duties came thick and fast to both Brown and Reynolds after the duel. Brown distinguished himself the following winter at Jefferson City by the boldness of his utterances on the anti-slavery side in the legislature. He uttered sentiments which were of national comment. Reynolds took the nomination for lieutenant governor on the "regular" Democratic ticket in 1860 and was elected. Brown was in the councils of Blair, Lyon and other unconditional Union men before the capture of Camp Jackson. Reynolds presided over the state senate in the session of 1861, and shared with Governor Claiborne F. Jackson in the planning for the secession of Missouri.

He published a notable letter against Federal coercion of the sovereign State of Missouri. Brown was made colonel of one of the Union regiments raised in St. Louis in the spring of 1861, previous to the call of President Lincoln for troops to suppress the Confederacy. His regiment participated in the capture of Camp Jackson. When Governor Jackson left Jefferson City to try to take Missouri out of the Union, Reynolds had preceded him. The convention, which met after the departure of Jackson and Reynolds, organized a new state government. Jackson and Reynolds, moving from place to place with the state troops under Sterling Price, organized a traveling legislature and went through the forms of election of senators and representatives to the Confederate Congress at Richmond. Jackson died.

Reynolds became the Confederate governor of Missouri without a capital. Part of the time he marched with the army, and part of the time he was in Richmond, issuing occasional proclamations and messages to the people of Missouri and to his traveling legislature. Brown was made a brigadier general in the Union army. In 1863 he became United States Senator from Missouri. Before the convention of 1864, he supported the ordinance for emancipation of slaves in Missouri.

Toward the close of the war Reynolds did staff duty with General Shelby. After the war he went with Shelby and a considerable force of Missourians to Mexico, remaining in that country several years. In 1868 Reynolds returned to St. Louis. Two years later the Liberal Republican movement was inaugurated with Brown as the nominee for governor. The platform was restoration of civil rights to ex-Confederates. The Democrats made no nominations. Brown was elected and served two years. In 1872 the effort was made to give the Missouri idea national application and Brown was put forward for the Presidential nomination. The convention, held in Cincinnati, gave first place to Greeley and put Brown on the ticket for Vice President. In 1874 Reynolds, with his civil rights restored by the movement which Brown had headed, was elected to the Missouri legislature from St. Louis. During the administration of President Arthur he was appointed the Democratic member of a commission sent to investigate possible improvement of commercial relations with Latin-American countries.

Brown and Reynolds were on friendly terms after the war. From having been as far apart as possible politically, they came to have common political purposes.

During the closing years of their lives their professional work was similar. They performed such duties as masters in chancery and commissioners.

Political Honors Not Satisfying.

Brown and Reynolds gave the best of their years and talents to politics. When age came on, neither felt that his career had brought a satisfying degree of success. Brown thought he should have devoted himself to mathematics. He had a natural bent in that direction. A treatise on algebra which he wrote attracted much notice. "Governor Brown," said Enos Clarke, who knew him intimately, "should have been a college professor. He would have done honor to the chair of mathematics at any American university."

Reynolds was a linguist of no ordinary ability. He possessed natural aptitude for acquiring other languages. During the high tide of German immigration to St. Louis, he used his knowledge of that language to considerable effect in local political campaigns. He made many German speeches. William E. Curtis, the traveler and writer, was one of Reynolds' colleagues of the Central and South American Commission. He told of the surprise which Reynolds caused, as the commission went from capital to capital, by his responses in several languages to the addresses of welcome. Reynolds replied officially in English and then translated his remarks into one language after another until everybody present understood him.

Reynolds was a man of much sentiment. At the time of the death of his first wife, he wrote a sketch of her life, had it printed and sent copies to his intimate friends. In the spring of 1887 he went to the Federal building ostensibly on legal business; he was found at the bottom of an elevator shaft. A short time before his death he wrote this memorandum:

"I am troubled with insomnia and frequent nervousness. I suffer from persistent melancholy. My mind is beginning to wander. I have hallucinations and even visions, when I am awake, of materialized spirits of deceased ancestors, urging me to join them in another world. Life has become a burden to me. I am now still sound of mind and I write down this statement so that should I do anything rash, my friends may feel assured it was done in some temporary disorder of mind. In that event I commend myself to the mercy of God and the charitable judgment of men, soliciting for my excellent and devoted wife the sympathy of my friends."

CHAPTER XIII.

MISSOURI IN 1861.

"You Can't Coerce a Sovereign State"—An Extraordinary Vote—Advice from Two Governors—The Secession Program—Three Kinds of Democrats—The Contest for the Arsenal—General Frost's Report—Archbishop Kenrick Applies Scriptures—The Committee of Public Safety—Home Guards and Minute Men—Isaac H. Sturgeon's Warning—An Insult to Missouri—Harney Restores Quiet—The Testing of Sweeny—A Commissioner Before the Legislature—John D. Stevenson Interrogates Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds—A Loaded Military Bill—General Lyon Arrives—The State Convention—Election of Delegates—Missouri Goes Union by 80,000 Majority—Dismay of the Southern Rights Democrats—Blair's Appeal to Lincoln—John F. Philips on the Delegates—Sterling Price Elected President—Minute Men Raise a Secession Flag—Riotous Scenes in Front of Headquarters—The Legislature Refuses to Pass the Military Bill—Prompt Action by the Convention—Secession "Is Annihilation for Missouri"—Colonel Broadhead's Prediction—Price to Shackleford—The Convention Denounced in the Legislature—Police Control Taken from St. Louis—Lyon Promises Arms to Home Guards—The April Election.

There never was in this world a struggle in which time was more the essence of things than in the fight for Missouri. The people were divided into something like three equal parts—one for the Union, another for secession, while the minds of the third were not made up, but were in a plastic condition. This halting, wavering third became decisive of the contest. To control it Blair and his opponents waged a battle royal. If, in the beginning, Blair could have aroused the federal government to a realization of the vast strategic importance of Missouri and to the necessity for early action, his task would have been easy. If, in the beginning, his antagonists could have aroused the Missouri legislature to a comprehension of the situation and could have induced the state authorities to seize the United States arsenal at St. Louis before General Nathaniel Lyon was placed in command, their task would have been easy; but when Lyon appeared upon the scene, their one golden opportunity was gone.—*Champ Clark.*

South Carolina had passed the ordinance of secession on the 20th of December. Other Southern States were preparing to follow in January. What shall Missouri do? All Missourians were asking that when the new state administration came in. "You can't coerce a sovereign State," echoed through the valleys and ran like flame over the prairies. "Armed neutrality" was the slogan that winter of 1861.

The Presidential election of 1860 brought to the polls nearly the entire voting population of Missouri. The census that year gave the State 1,182,912. Of this population 114,935 were slaves. A vote was cast for every six white persons, an extraordinary proportion to be accounted for by the intense interest felt in the issues. But the vote was divided in a most remarkable manner. Douglas carried the State, yet he received only about one-third of the votes cast, 58,801. This was the strength of those Missourians who believed in "squatter sovereignty"—in giving to the Territories and new States the right to decide for themselves whether they would have slavery. The anti-slavery party cast 17,028 votes for Lincoln, nearly all of them in St. Louis and by Germans. "Southern Rights Democrats," as they preferred to be called, Missourians who sympathized with the South, believed in the right to secede and were willing to join in this movement, polled

only 12,000 more votes than the Republicans. They joined issue with the Douglas Democrats by declaring in favor of protecting "property" in every part of the Union. They gave John C. Breckinridge 31,317 votes. But there was another element in Missouri. It was almost as strong as the Douglas following. It cast 58,372 votes for John Bell and "Constitutional Union." These Bell men held that agitation of the slavery question was not only unnecessary but dangerous. Some of them had been Whigs. Others had been Benton men. All of them were against the extremists, whether Republicans or Southern Rights Democrats. While 17,000 Missourians were against extension of slavery and 31,000 demanded extension of slavery or secession, 117,000 Missourians were against the two extreme minorities. Five-sevenths, or nearly that, of the Missouri body politic, was hostile to the radical elements of the North and the South. Thus it was that Missouri, at the beginning of 1861, presented conditions of public sentiment that were unlike those of any other State.

Conflicting Advice from Two Governors.

Missouri changed state administrations on the 3d of January, 1861. The retiring governor, Robert M. Stewart, and the incoming governor, Claiborne F. Jackson, in their messages, had much to say of what Missouri should do. "Bob" Stewart was a Northern Democrat, a New Yorker by birth, but long a resident of Missouri. "Claib" Jackson was of Kentucky descent, a tall, fine-looking man, with a dignified bearing and considerable power on the stump. He had led the anti-Benton fight against free-soilism. Stewart didn't like slavery, but he had strong conviction that the Constitution guaranteed to slaveholders protection of their "property" and that they had the right to take that "property" into the Territories. South Carolina had seceded. Other Southern States were preparing to follow when Stewart, on the 3d of January, said in his retiring message:

"As matters stand at present Missouri will stand by her lot, and hold to the Union as long as it is worth an effort to preserve it. So long as there is hope of success she will seek for justice within the Union. She cannot be frightened from her propriety by the past unfriendly legislation of the North, nor be dragooned into secession by the extreme South. If those who should be our friends and allies undertake to render our property worthless by a system of prohibitory laws, or by re-opening the slave trade in opposition to the moral sense of the civilized world, and at the same time reduce us to the position of an humble sentinel to watch over and protect their interests, receiving all the blows and none of the benefits, Missouri will hesitate long before sanctioning such an arrangement. She will rather take the high position of armed neutrality. She is able to take care of herself, and will be neither forced nor flattered, driven nor coaxed, into a course of action that must end in her own destruction."

On the same day that the retiring governor defined the position of Missouri on the question of secession, his successor took the ground that the slaveholding States should stand together. In his inaugural Governor Claib. Jackson said of the Republican party which had triumphed in the election of Lincoln:

"It is purely sectional in its locality and its principles. The only principle inscribed upon its banner is Hostility to Slavery—its object not merely to confine slavery within its present limits; not merely to exclude it from the Territories and prevent the formation and admission of slaveholding States; not merely to

LUCAS PLACE, THE RESIDENCE SECTION OF ST. LOUIS AT THE TIME OF THE CIVIL WAR

abolish it in the District of Columbia, and interdict its passage from one State to another; but to strike down its existence everywhere; to sap its foundation in public sentiment; to annoy and harass, and gradually destroy its vitality, by every means, direct or indirect, physical and moral, which human ingenuity can devise. The triumph of such an organization is not the victory of a political party, but the domination of a section. It proclaims in significant tones the destruction of that equality among the States which is the vital cement of our federal Union. It places fifteen of the thirty-three States in the position of humble recipients of the bounty, or sullen submissionists to the power of a government which they had no voice in creating, and in whose councils they do not participate. It cannot, then, be a matter of surprise to any—victors or vanquished—that these fifteen States, with a pecuniary interest at stake reaching the enormous sum of $3,500,000,000 should be aroused and excited at the advent of such a party to power. Would it not rather be an instance of unprecedented blindness and fatuity, if the people and governments of these fifteen slaveholding States were, under the circumstances, to manifest quiet indifference, and to make no effort to avoid the destruction which awaited them?"

The Secession Leader.

The new lieutenant-governor, Thomas C. Reynolds, was more outspoken than Governor Jackson. While Reynolds had been nominally for Douglas in the state campaign, he took the leadership of the secessionists as soon as the assembly met. He issued an address the opening day of the session, declaring against the peace policy of the Buchanan administration. He argued for immediate and thorough militia organization "putting the State in complete condition of defense." Plainly indicating what this meant, he said that if there was not an adjustment between the North and South before March 4, the inauguration of the Republican administration, Missouri "should not permit Mr. Lincoln to exercise any act of government" within the State.

Reynolds' address to the public appeared a few hours before the messages of the retiring and the incoming governors. He had prepared himself well for the part he was to take. In the December preceding, while Congress was in session, Reynolds passed some time in Washington, conferring with the Southern leaders. He fully assured himself that the South would secede and that hostilities would follow the inauguration of Lincoln. Confident that he knew the situation, the lieutenant-governor did not hesitate to take the most advanced position of the Southern Rights Democrats of Missouri. His address was out on the 3d of January. The 4th of January was a "Day of National Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer," so appointed by President Buchanan in the hope of averting war. Nowhere was it observed more devoutly than in Missouri. On the 5th of January bills in line with the suggestions of Reynolds were introduced in the legislature. They were received with enthusiasm by the younger Democrats. Reynolds appointed the senate committees with strong southern rights chairmen to carry out his policy. The lieutenant-governor was in his fortieth year, "a short full-bodied man, with jet black hair and eyes shaded with gold-rimmed glasses. He spoke French, German and Spanish fluently, wrote profusely and with considerable force." He was particularly insistent that Missouri should declare her position on the question of "coercion." In his address he held that the National Govern-

ment had no right to compel any State to remain in the Union against its will; that it could not use force in any way to collect revenues or excute laws in a seceding State. He even denounced the course of President Buchanan and said: "To levy tribute, molest commerce, or hold fortresses are as much acts of war as to bombard a city."

For a short time it seemed as if the southern rights policy of Reynolds would sweep the legislature. George G. Vest was a member; he introduced a resolution declaring so "abhorrent was the doctrine of coercion, that any attempt at such would result in the people of Missouri rallying on the side of their Southern brethren to resist to the last extremity." The resolution passed with only one negative in the senate and fourteen in the house.

Another of the lieutenant-governor's recommendations was that a state convention be called. In a few days after the organization of the assembly one of the committees brought in a bill for such a convention "to consider the relations of the State of Missouri to the United States and to adopt measures vindicating the sovereignty of the State and the protection of her instituions." This measure passed with only two negatives in the senate and eighteen in the house.

The legislature which met at Jefferson City the beginning of 1861 was overwhelmingly Democratic, as the members classified themselves. In the senate were twenty-five Democrats, seven Unionists, and one Republican. In the house were eighty-five Democrats, thirty-five Unionists and twelve Republicans. Most of the Republicans were from the German wards of St. Louis. But there were three kinds of Democrats, as in the Presidential election. There were Democrats who believed in local option on the slavery question in the Territories; Democrats who condemned "all this fuss about the nigger"; Democrats who were ready to go out of the Union now that Lincoln had been elected. In the early days of the session the lines of cleavage in the Democratic party shaded so fine that the sentiment of the majority seemed to drift one way and then the other as the questions of policy were presented.

The Arsenal Issue.

In the matter of property rights as well as in other relations between the United States and the States this country has traveled far since 1861. According to the southern rights view, the right of secession carried with it ownership of government property within the seceding State. Missouri secessionists had no doubt that the arsenals as well as other government property would belong to Missouri the day that they adopted an ordinance of secession. They had, the first two months of 1861, no doubt Missouri was going to secede. But pending that action possession of the arsenals and the disposition of the contents gave great concern.

The United States had two arsenals in Missouri. One, the smaller, was at Liberty. This had been of considerable importance when Liberty was on the border of the Indian country and the principal frontier community, previous to the Platte purchase. At the beginning of 1861, the Liberty arsenal contained some hundreds of muskets, ten or twelve cannon and a large amount of powder for those days.

But the St. Louis arsenal was one of the most important in the whole country. Those were the days of river transportation, it must be remembered. The St.

Louis arsenal was the supply depot of war material for the entire West. It occupied fifty-six acres of ground, was surrounded by a massive stone wall, except upon the river frontage. Within the enclosure were four great stone buildings forming a square. In January, 1861, the St. Louis arsenal contained 60,000 stands of arms, nearly all of them Enfield and Springfield rifles. In all of the South, outside of Missouri, there were only 150,000 muskets. In addition to these rifles the arsenal contained 1,500,000 cartridges, 90,000 pounds of powder, several siege guns, the field pieces to equip a number of batteries, a large stock of equipment of various kinds. There were ordnance shops and machinery for the manufacture of war material. The arsenal was on a slope to the river's edge with hills of considerable height to the west and south. In the growth of the city these heights were afterwards graded down.

Maj. William Haywood Bell, a West Pointer, a native of North Carolina, an ordnance officer, had been in command at the arsenal for a long time. With him were a few staff officers. The workmen were unarmed. There was practically no guard save watchmen at the beginning of 1861. The few United States soldiers were stationed at Jefferson Barracks, several miles below the city. Bell had been at the arsenal so long that he felt himself a St. Louisan. He had invested in St. Louis real estate.

Southern rights leaders in Missouri were fully agreed that the arsenals at Liberty and St. Louis, with their contents would become state property when secession took place. They disagreed as to the policy which should be pursued by them before secession. The younger and more impetuous wanted immediate action. They planned to get control of the arsenals before the State seceded. They advocated forcible seizure, arguing that such course would insure secession. The older leaders counseled waiting for secession sentiment to develop. They insisted upon legal forms.

On the 8th of January, Brigadier-General Frost, commanding the state militia at St. Louis, went to the arsenal and had a talk with Major Bell. He reported to Governor Jackson that the interview was satisfactory. He said:

"I found the major everything that you or I could desire. He assured me that he considered that Missouri had, whenever the time came, a right to claim it (the arsenal) as being on her soil. He asserted his determination to defend it against any and all irresponsible mobs, come from whence they might, but at the same time gave me to understand that he would not attempt any defence against the proper state authorities. He promised me, upon the honor of an officer and a gentleman, that he would not suffer any arms to be removed from the place without first giving me timely information, and I promised him, in return that I would use all the force at my command to prevent him being annoyed by irresponsible persons. I, at the same time, gave him notice that, if affairs assumed so threatening a character as to render it unsafe to leave the place in its comparatively unprotected condition, I might come down and quarter a proper force there to protect it from assaults of any persons whatsoever, to which he assented. In a word the major is with us, where he ought to be, for all his worldly wealth lies here in St. Louis (and it is very large), and then again, his sympathies are with us."

Frost immediately issued a confidential notice to the militia officers that "upon the bells of the churches sounding a continuous peal, interrupted by a pause of five minutes, they should assemble with their men in their armories and await further notice." A copy of the notice was carried at once to Blair. In those days each

side had trusted men who reported promptly every move of one to the other. Archbishop Kenrick was seen and asked to prevent this use of the Catholic bells. Blair sent a copy of Frost's notice to General Scott with his interpretation of it as meaning the plan of the State to get possession of the arsenal. Montgomery Blair in Washington, Governor Richard Yates of Illinois and President-elect Lincoln indorsed Frank Blair's request that somebody be sent to supersede Bell. In a few days Major Bell was ordered East and Maj. Peter B. Hagner of the District of Columbia was sent to the arsenal as ordnance officer in control.

St. Louis Organizers.

Among the leading citizens of St. Louis who were against both secession and coercion were Hamilton R. Gamble, Uriel Wright, Robert Campbell and James E. Yeatman. They called a monster mass meeting in St. Louis early in January. Resolutions were adopted declaring that "the rights and property of all sections of the country could be better protected within the American Union than by destroying the government." They also indorsed the new Crittenden peace propositions, entreated the government and the seceding States to stay the arm of military power, and advised a state convention "to protect the union of the States and the rights and authority of this State under the Constitution."

On the 11th of January Mayor O. D. Filley sent to the common council the following:

"A very general and unusual excitement prevails in our community, and, although I do not apprehend that any actual disturbance or interference with the rights of our citizens will ensue, yet I deem it best that all proper precautionary measures should be taken to prepare for any event. I would, hence, recommend that the members of the council, from each ward, select from among their best citizens such a number of men as the exigencies of the case may seem to require and organize them to be ready for any emergency. Our citizens are entitled to the full protection of the laws and must have it."

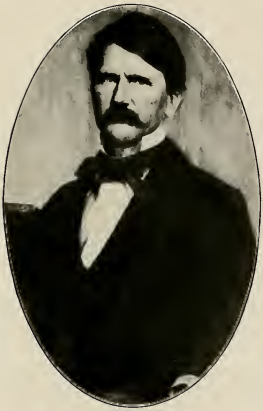
On the 12th of January Archbishop Kenrick published a card to the Catholics of St. Louis advising them to avoid all occasions of public excitement:

"To the Roman Catholics of St. Louis:

"Beloved Brethren: In the present disturbed state of the public mind, we feel it our duty to recommend you to avoid all occasions of public excitement, to obey the laws, to respect the rights of all citizens and to keep away, as much as possible, from all assemblages where the indiscretion of a word, or the impetuosity of a momentary passion might endanger public tranquillity. Obey the injunction of the Apostle St. Peter: 'Follow peace with all men and holiness, without which no man can see God.'

"PETER RICHARD KENRICK,
"Archbishop of St. Louis."

The Committee of Public Safety was organized. At the head of it was Oliver Dwight Filley. The other members were Samuel T. Glover, Francis P. Blair, Jr., J. J. Witzig, John How and James O. Broadhead. These six men received their commission to act from a mass meeting of unconditional Union men. Republicans, Douglas Democrats and Bell and Everett Democrats united in this movement. They had but one plank in their platform—"unalterable fidelity to the Union under all circumstances." Previous to the 11th of January a little group of Union men



FRANCIS P. BLAIR

met in Mr. Filley's counting room from time to time and planned the course which was followed. The Committee of Public Safety was an evolution. When the six men had been chosen, they made the Turner hall on Tenth near Market street the headquarters. Their meetings were held daily.

The personal composition of the Committee of Public Safety was most fortunate. Mr. Filley was from Connecticut, a descendant of one of the families which came over in the Mayflower. Mr. How had been reared in Pennsylvania. Mr. Witzig represented the great influx of German population. Mr. Blair was of Kentucky birth, the son of a Virginia father. Mr. Glover was a Kentuckian. Mr. Broadhead was of Virginia parentage. The widespread sources of St. Louis population were well represented in the formation of the group. Glover and Broadhead were lawyers of high standing, known personally to Mr. Lincoln. John How had been mayor two terms and was a business man of wide influence. Witzig had the confidence of his fellow countrymen. Blair was the Washington connection. He had served one term in Congress, and was Representative-elect. To tell what manner of man the chairman was detracts nothing from the honor due the men who were his associates on the committee. Familiarly he was called "O. D." He was kindly and approachable. When the Committee of Public Safety had won, when it had become safer in St. Louis to be a Union man than a secession sympathizer, the spirit of retribution was indulged. Men were arrested and punished for words. Mr. Filley protested. "Let them talk," he said. "If they do no overt act, do not disturb them." But behind the kindly disposition was the spirit which knows neither variableness nor shadow of turning when right is at stake. When cloth was wanted to uniform the force he was recruiting, O. D. Filley gave his word it would be paid for, and his word was accepted where another man's note would have been asked. That was the reputation the chairman had in the community.

In the Presidential campaign of 1860 there were "wide awakes" on the Republican side and "broom rangers" on the Democratic side. Two months before the inauguration of Lincoln, armed organizations, built upon the political clubs, were drilling in St. Louis. Those whose sympathies were with secession were "minute men." This organization came into existence early in January. Simultaneously began the formation of union clubs, which were called "union guards," "black jaegers," "home guards." The Minute Men had headquarters in the Berthold mansion at Fifth and Pine streets.

In six weeks sixteen companies of the Home Guards had been formed. The Minute Men were numerous. The drills were nightly. There was little attempt at secrecy. In the central and northern parts of the city the Minute Men were strong. South of Market street were the strongholds of the Home Guards. Every hall was an armory.

The Minute Men.

The best authority on "Missouri in 1861," from the southern rights point of view was Thomas L. Snead. He was a St. Louis newspaper man, connected with the Bulletin which was owned by Longuemare and which took the southern rights side in the campaign of 1860. In the winter of 1861 Snead gave up his newspaper relation. He went to Jefferson City and was in the confidence of the secessionists. He assisted Governor Jackson in his correspondence. Snead knew

the organization and plans of the Minute Men. He named three men as foremost in the movement—Basil W. Duke, a young lawyer from Kentucky, about twenty-five years old; Colton Greene, South Carolinian by birth, a young merchant of delicate physique and retiring manner; and Brock Champion, a bold, enthusiastic young Irishman. The organization was started on the 11th of January, the day that forty regular soldiers arrived from Newport Barracks, and marched to the custom house on Third and Olive streets to protect the sub-treasury and the $400,000 in gold. The troops had been sent as the result of a letter from the assistant United States treasurer, Isaac H. Sturgeon, to President Buchanan suggesting that such protection was advisable in view of the public excitement. If there had been wild talk before, it was nothing to what this show of authority by the government aroused. Papers issued extras. Great crowds filled the narrow streets around the postoffice. Threats were made to resent this insult to St. Louis. The news was telegraphed to Jefferson City. Governor Jackson sent word to the general assembly. Senator Parsons offered this:

"Resolved, That we view this act of the administration as insulting to the dignity and patriotism of this State, and calculated to arouse suspicion and distrust on the part of her people towards the federal government.

"Resolved, That the governor be requested to inquire of the President what has induced him to place the property of the United States within this State in charge of an armed federal force."

General Harney, commanding the district, acted quickly. The forty regulars marched away to the arsenal and the insult to Missouri became only a reminiscence with the general public. But Duke, Greene, Champion and a few others met that day and began to plan definitely for the future. Snead said:

"Never was there a finer body of young fellows than these Minute Men. Some were Missourians; some from the North; some from the South, and others were Irishmen. Among them all there was hardly a man who was not intelligent, educated and recklessly brave. Some who had the least education were as brave as the bravest, and as true as the truest. Most of them fought afterwards on many a bloody field. Many of them died in battle. Some of them rose to high commands. Not one of them proved false to the cause to which he then pledged his faith.

"They established their headquarters at the old Berthold mansion, in the very heart of the city, at the corner of Fifth and Pine streets, and also formed and drilled companies in other parts of the city against the time they could arm and equip themselves. They were hardly three hundred in all, but they were so bold and active, so daring and ubiquitous, that every one accounted them ten times as numerous.

"Like Blair and the Home Guards, they had their eyes fixed upon the arsenal and expected out of its abundant stores to arm and equip themselves for the coming fight. In that arsenal were sixty thousand good muskets, while in all the Confederate States there were not one hundred and fifty thousand more. They were barely three hundred men, and more than ten thousand stood ready to resist them, but for the love of the South, and for the love of the right, and for the honor of Missouri, they were willing to peril their lives any day to get those muskets. And they would have got them or perished in the attempt but for the advice of their leaders at Jefferson City. These counseled delay. They believed that it was better to wait till the people should, in their election of delegates to the convention, declare their purpose to side with the South. They never doubted that the people would do this; never doubted that they would elect a convention which would pledge Missouri to resist the subjugation of the South, and would put her in position to do it. Sustained by the voice of the people, and instructed by their votes, the governor would then order General Frost to seize the arsenal in the name of the State, and he, with his

brigade and the Minute Men, and the thousands that would flock to their aid could easily do it."

Sweeny and the Regulars.

In the letter he wrote about the danger to the gold, Assistant Treasurer Sturgeon called attention to the defenseless condition of the arsenal. Washington also acted upon that suggestion. Lieut. Thomas W. Sweeny, with a few regulars, was sent from Newport Barracks to take station in the arsenal. Sweeny was a one-armed Irishman. There was a good deal of interest felt by the Minute Men to know how Sweeny stood on the issue of secession. Many St. Louis Irishmen had joined the Minute Men under the leadership of Brock Champion. Other Irishmen had sided with Blair and the Home Guards. John McElroy in "The Struggle for Missouri" has told of the testing of Sweeny:

"One day a man presented himself at the west gate of the arsenal and asked to see Captain Sweeny. Sweeny went to the gate and recognized an old acquaintance, St. George Croghan, the son of that Lieutenant Croghan who had so brilliantly defended Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, in the war of 1812, and who afterwards was for many years inspector-general of the United States Army. Croghan's grandfather had been a gallant officer in the Revolution. It was a cold day, and Croghan wore a citizen's overcoat. On their way to the quarters, the guards properly saluted Sweeny as they passed. Said Croghan, 'Sweeny, don't you think those sentinels ought to salute me?—my rank is higher than yours.' At the same time he threw open his overcoat and revealed the uniform of a rebel field officer.

"'Not to such as that, by Heavens!' responded Sweeny, and added: 'If that is your business, you can have nothing to do with me. You had better not let my men see you with that thing on.'

"Croghan assured him his business in calling was one of sincere friendship; but he would remark while on the subject, that Sweeny had better find it convenient to get out of there, and very soon, too.

"'Why?' asked Sweeny.

"Replied Croghan: 'Because we intend to take it.'

"Sweeny in great excitement exclaimed: 'Never! As sure as my name is Sweeny, the property in this place shall never fall into your hands. I'll blow it to hell first, and you know I am the man to do it.'

"Nine months later Croghan was to fall mortally wounded at the head of a cavalry regiment while attacking the Union troops near Fayetteville, West Virginia, while Sweeny was to do gallant service in the Union army, rising to the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers, and commanding a division, and being retired in 1870 with the rank of brigadier-general."

A Commissioner from Mississippi.

While events were crowding at St. Louis, Reynolds and the secessionists were working incessantly at Jefferson City to have Missouri declare for the Confederacy. Mr. Russell came as a commissioner of the State of Mississippi to urge that Missouri secede. The lieutenant-governor gave him a dinner with Sterling Price, Governor Jackson and Speaker McAfee present. The legislature assembled in joint session to hear the commissioner. Reynolds planned an impressive reception with the members standing as the commissioner entered. John D. Stevenson, afterwards a general in the Union army, then a member of the house, objected to the program. He asked:

"Are we here, Mr. President, to do homage to the ambassador of some foreign country?"

President Reynolds: I understand, sir, that this is a joint session of the general assembly to listen to an address from the commissioner of the State of Mississippi, and I hope for the honor of all parties that the member from St. Louis will take his seat.

Representative Stevenson: Shall I have a chance?

President Reynolds: Take your seat.

A Voice: Good.

Representative Stevenson: I desire to have a chance—.

President Reynolds: Take your seat.

A Voice: Better!

Representative Stevenson: Mr. President, I can read, sir, the rules that govern this body, and I suppose, if I am well informed, that when the president rules me out of order, it is his duty to state why he so rules.

President Reynolds: The business of this session is to hear a speech from the commissioner from Mississippi, and all other business is out of order.

Representative Stevenson: I understand that the president commands the members to rise.

President Reynolds: I will change it to a request, and I hope that no member of this general assembly will have the indecency to refuse to rise.

Representative Stevenson: Oh! That will do, sir.

Loaded Legislation.

The military bill which was being pressed in the legislature aimed at more than organization in support of the southern rights movement. It was intended to abolish Blair's Home Guards. One of its provisions was that the commanding officer in each district must disarm all bodies not "regularly organized and mustered into the service of the State." Had the bill passed in February or March it would have given Frost authority to take all guns found in the possession of the Home Guards. Governor Yates had sent two hundred muskets from Springfield. These guns had been hauled under cover of beer barrels to Turner Hall and distributed to the Home Guards. Giles F. Filley had bought fifty Sharp's rifles, the crack fighting piece of those days and had armed the men in his factory. A fund of $30,000 had been raised by private contributions to get more guns for the Union companies. All of this was known to Governor Jackson and the secessionists. It added to their anxiety about the military bill. The State was not well prepared for fighting. In February, Harding, who was in charge of the armory at Jefferson City, reported to the governor that the State had about one thousand muskets, two six-pounders without limbers or caissons, forty sabres and fifty-eight swords. He said these swords were of such antiquated pattern that they "would not be as useful in war as so many bars of soap."

Five companies of Minute Men were recruited in St. Louis under Captains Barret, Duke, Shaler, Greene and Hubbard. Anticipating the passage of the military bill they were mustered into state service as militia by General Frost on the 15th of February and assigned to Frost's brigade. Subsequently these five companies were joined by others and made up Bowen's regiment.

Captain Nathaniel Lyon, with his company of regulars, came to St. Louis the beginning of February. He was forty-two years of age, a slender, sandy-haired man, with reddish beard, deep-set blue eyes, under medium height, of Connecticut

birth and Yankee positiveness. His service on the western frontier had given him a rather rough, weather-beaten appearance. Immediately the closest relations were established between Blair and Lyon. The two men were of the same age and possessed similar characteristics in that both were personally without fear. Both were devoted to the Union. Both were convinced that war was certain. Neither was too much hampered by regard for formalities of law. Lyon became at once the lieutenant of Blair in the organization of the Home Guards. He attended meetings of the Union men and talked war. He went to the secret armories, drilled the men and instructed their officers. He gained the confidence of the Committee of Safety. He impressed the Union leaders with the vital importance of saving the arsenal. Recruiting and preparations for fighting went on with the Home Guards much more rapidly after Lyon came.

The Election Brings Dismay.

The 18th of February approached, the day of the election of delegates to the state convention. Entirely confident of carrying the election the southern rights men talked openly of taking the St. Louis arsenal and securing the arms for distribution to the state guard to be organized under the pending military bill. Blair and Lyon went to Isaac H. Sturgeon and reported this talk of the secessionists. They persuaded him to write a letter to General Scott, telling him there was grave danger that the arsenal would be attacked on or immediately after election day. Scott ordered the troops from the barracks to the arsenal and they marched up there on the 16th of February. Sturgeon not only urged reinforcement, but advised that Lyon be put in command at the arsenal. The advice was not followed. If Lyon had been given command it was the purpose of Blair to put guns in the hands of the Home Guards, now several thousand strong, at the first movement of the Minute Men against the arsenal. Of the campaign methods and of the election results William Hyde, who was at the time a newspaper writer, said:

"The Republicans, in order to embrace a character of men like James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, James S. Rollins, Abiel Leonard, Samuel M. Breckinridge, Odon Guitar, had adopted the title of 'Unconditional Union' men. A fusion ticket was formed in St. Louis county, which was entitled to fourteen delegates, on the basis of the estimated strength of the three Union elements (Douglas, Lincoln and Bell men), the allotment being seven, four and three, respectively. This ticket carried the county by a majority of between 5,000 and 6,000. Similar combinations were made throughout the State, and the result was truly astonishing, being a surprise to all. The aggregate Union majority in the State was 80,000, and not a single secessionist was returned as delegate! So overwhelming a declaration of fidelity to the Union, and so stunning a rebuke to Jackson and his coadjutors, was indeed a marvel of popular outpouring.

"Amazement and dismay settled upon minds and hearts of the defeated. To them it seemed as though a political earthquake had riven the state from the Nishnabotna to the St. Francis, and from the Des Moines to the Neosho. Secession had seen 'all her pretty chickens and their dam' swept from Missouri's confines, and not one spared! The immediate effect upon the legislature was to indefinitely postpone the governor's pet measure for the reorganization of the militia, and was followed by a general and total collapse of any lingering idea that the State might be called on to take part in preparations to resist the placing of the 'despot's heel upon the virgin soil' of Missouri."

The Delegates.

Until nearly the end of January, the southern rights sentiment had waxed in official Missouri. State officers, the legislature, the United States Senators, the

Representatives in Congress, the supreme court, with few exceptions, sided with the South. The atmosphere at Jefferson City favored secession. But February brought a change. The State at large spoke. To the amazement and indignation of the southern rights leaders at the state capital the convention called to consider Missouri's relations to the United States was against secession. How did it come about that in the stress of public feeling, with all of the political intrigue and war preparation of those days, Missouri was so fortunate in the selection of the members of the convention? Judge John F. Philips, who was a member, in his recollections given the State Historical Society a few years ago, said: "In some respects that convention was the most remarkable body of men that ever assembled in the State. With a few exceptions, they were not of the class usually found in legislatures or popular assemblages. They were grave, thoughtful, discreet, educated men, profoundly impressed with the great responsibilities of their positions. Among them were judges of the supreme court, ex-governors, ex-Congressmen, ex-state senators and representatives, leading lawyers, farmers, merchants, bankers and retired business men, representing the varied, vital interests of the communities. No impartial, intelligent man can look over the debates of the body, extending over two years and more, without being deeply impressed with the idea of their tremendous intellectual power and sense of moral, patriotic obligation."

The convention was composed of ninety-nine delegates. It was said that fifty-three of the members were of Virginia or Kentucky descent. All but seventeen were natives of slave States. Thirteen were from the North. There were three Germans and one Irishman. The convention met in Jefferson City, but almost immediately adjourned to meet in St. Louis. The adjournment to St. Louis was taken, it was freely stated, because of the secession atmosphere of the state capital. In the election of president of the convention the issue of southern rights was raised. Nathaniel W. Watkins, a half brother of Henry Clay, was nominated by the southern rights delegates. He received only fifteen votes. Sterling Price was supported by the Unionists of varying opinions and received seventy-five votes. William Hyde said:

"It reads strangely, now, that the name of the gentleman who, for his stanch Unionism as well as his commanding influence, his unquestioned integrity, his familiarity with public affairs and his experience among large bodies of men, captured the enthusiastic support of the Convention as its president was—Sterling Price. In those days any cause was honored in its being followed by that personally magnificent man. As member of Congress and as governor, he had 'done the State some service, and they knew it.' Missouri was fond of him; the people were delighted with him."

Minute Men Plan a Surprise.

The effect of the election of Union delegates was felt at once at Jefferson City. It paralyzed for the time proposed legislation by the southern rights following. Talk of an immediate attack on the arsenal ceased suddenly for a few days. The Minute Men began to lay new plans. They hinted at a demonstration on the 4th of March, the day of Lincoln's inauguration. Blair and Lyon agreed the situation was very dangerous, although the State had elected Union delegates. Blair went to Springfield to see Lincoln who was about starting for Washington and to tell him plainly that the faction which got control of the arsenal would hold Missouri.

FOURTH STREET, BETWEEN WASHINGTON AVENUE AND ST. CHARLES STREET.
THE NEW SHOPPING DISTRICT OF ST. LOUIS IN 1857

convention or no convention. From Springfield Blair hurried to Washington and urged President Buchanan to give Lyon command of the arsenal. On the 25th of February Lyon wrote to Blair at Washington, telling of Hagner's refusal to strengthen the defenses of the arsenal, notwithstanding the expected demonstration of the Minute Men, and said: "This is either imbecility or damned villainy." Buchanan and General Scott refused Blair's plea. Hagner remained in command.

The convention met in St. Louis on the 4th of March, the day of Lincoln's inauguration. The place was Mercantile Library hall, just two blocks north of the Berthold mansion, where the Minute Men had hung out that day a secession flag and were inviting an attack by Blair's Home Guards. Snead has explained the purpose:

"During the preceding night some of the Minute Men (Duke, Greene, Quinlan, Champion, and McCoy) raised the flag of Missouri over the dome of the court-house and hoisted above their own headquarters a nondescript banner, which was intended to represent the flag of the Confederate States. The custodian of the court-house removed the state flag from that building early in the morning; but the secession flag still floated audaciously and defiantly above the Minute Men's headquarters, in the very face of the submissionists' convention, of the Republican mayor and his German police, of the department commander, and of Lyon and his Home Guards; and under its fold there was gathered as daring a set of young fellows as ever did a bold, or a reckless deed. They were about a score at first, but when an excited crowd began to threaten their quarters, and the rumor to fly that the Home Guards were coming to tear down the flag, the number of defenders grew to about one hundred. They all had muskets of the latest and best pattern. On the floors of the upper rooms were heaps of hand grenades. In the wide hall was a swivel, double-shotted, and so planted as to rake the main entrance if any one should be brave enough to try to force it. At every window there were determined men, with loaded muskets, and fixed bayonets; behind them were others, ready to take the place of any that might fall; and in all the building there was not a man who was not ready to fight to the death, rather than submit to the rule of Abraham Lincoln; nor one who would have quailed in the presence of a thousand foes, nor one of them who survives today, who would not fight just as willingly and just as bravely for the flag of the Union. Outside, too, throughout the ever growing crowd, other Minute Men were stationed to act as the emergency might require.

"Before the hour of noon had come all the streets in the vicinity were thronged with excited men, some drawn hither by curiosity and by that strange magnetism which mobs always exert; some to take part with the Minute Men, if 'the Dutch' should attack them; some to tear down 'the rebel flag,' and to hang 'the traitors,' who had dared to raise it on the day of Lincoln's inauguration.

"Everything betokened a terrible riot and a bloody fight. The civil authorities were powerless. It was to no purpose that they implored the crowd to disperse; in vain that they begged the Minute Men to haul down their flag. The police could do nothing. The Home Guards did not dare attack, for their leaders knew that the first shot that was fired would bring Frost's brigade, which was largely composed of Minute Men, to the aid of their friends, and that they would also be reinforced by the Irish, between whom and the German Home Guards there was the antipathy of both race and religion. Only once did any one venture to approach the well-guarded portals of the stronghold. The rash fools who did it were hurled back in the street, amid the jeers and laughter of the crowd. Blair and the Republican leaders, unwilling to provoke a conflict, kept their followers quiet, and finally towards midnight the crowd dispersed. The next day's sun shone upon the rebel flag still flying above the roof of the Minute Men's quarters. But Duke and Greene were unhappy, for they had hoped to bring on a fight, in which they would have been reinforced by Frost's brigade, and the Irish and many Americans, and in the confusion to seize the arsenal, and hold it till the secessionists of the state could come to their aid. They were, nevertheless, greatly elated because the people believed more than ever that there were thousands of Minute Men, instead of hundreds."

Another Move at Jefferson City.

On the 5th of March, the day after Lincoln's inauguration the southern rights members of the legislature made another effort to pass the military bill. They mustered their full strength. They made use of the riotous scenes in front of the headquarters of the Minute Men on Fifth and Pine streets in St. Louis the day previous. The Union men met the appeals of the secessionists. The youngest member of the House, a native Missourian, L. M. Lawson of Platte, was one of the leaders against the bill. He said it would place dangerous power in the hands of the governor. It would bring upon the people of Missouri "the horrors of fratricidal strife." He urged that Missouri had no reason to secede, to arm herself against the federal government. "Let her be loyal to the Union and the Union would still protect her as it had always done," Lawson said. The southern rights leaders, Claiborne, Harris and others, quoted from Lincoln's inaugural of the previous day and demanded the passage of the bill. The House again refused. "In this," said Snead, "the South sustained a defeat more disastrous to its independence than any which thereafter befell its arms, down to the fall of Vicksburg."

Blair used the 4th of March incident with telling effect on the War Department. Lincoln was in the White House. On the 13th of March Lyon was assigned to command of the arsenal, but was not given control of the arms.

Convention Spirit and Conclusions.

Uriel Wright made an anti-secession speech in the convention. He was the great advocate who moved juries as did no other Missourian of that day. He referred to the southern rights flag hanging in front of the headquarters of the Minute Men:

"I looked one day toward the southern skies, toward that sunny land which constitutes our southern possessions, and I saw a banner floating in the air. I am not skilled in heraldry, and I may mistake the sign, but as it first rose it presented a single dim and melancholy star, set in a field of blue, representing, I suppose, a lost pleiad floating through space. A young moon, a crescent moon, was by her side, appropriately plucked from our planetary system, as the most changeable of all representatives known to it, a satellite to signify the vicissitudes which must attend its career. The sad spectacle wound up with the appropriate emblem of the cross, denoting the tribulation and sorrow which must attend its going. I could not favor any such banner."

No time was wasted by the convention in discussion. Hamilton Gamble was made chairman of the principal committee—that on "Federal Relations." James O. Broadhead was the floor leader of the Unconditional Union men. John B. Henderson was, perhaps, the most outspoken against secession. Price, Gamble, Broadhead and Henderson were Virginians.

On the 9th the formal report on Federal Relations was ready. It was a dignified declaration: "To involve Missouri in revolution, under the present circumstances, is certainly not demanded by the magnitude of the grievances of which we complain; nor by the certainty that they cannot be otherwise and more peaceably remedied, nor by the hope that they would be remedied, or even diminished by such revolution. The position of Missouri in relation to adjacent States, which would continue in the Union, would necessarily expose her, if she became

a member of a new Confederacy, to utter destruction whenever any rupture might take place between the different republics. In a military aspect secession and connection with a Southern Confederacy is annihilation for Missouri."

The report pledged the convention to do all in its power to bring back the Southern States by a compromise through amendments to the Constitution, but repeated the conviction that Missouri could not join the Southern States in secession: "To go with those States—to leave the government our fathers builded—to blot out the star of Missouri from the constellation of the Union is to ruin ourselves without doing them any good."

One of the declarations was, "That while Missouri cannot leave the Union to join the Southern States, we will do all in our power to induce them to again take their places with us in the family from which they have attempted to separate themselves. For this purpose we will not only recommend a compromise with which they ought to be satisfied, but we will endeavor to procure an assembly of the whole family of States in order that in a general convention such amendments to the Constitution may be agreed upon as shall permanently restore harmony to the whole nation."

William A. Hall pointed out the geographical impossibility of Missouri's secession: "The geographical position of Missouri makes her essential to the North and even if the North should consent to the secession of every other slave-holding State, it will never consent to the secession of Missouri. She lies in its pathway to the West. She commands the navigation of the Missouri and all its tributaries, of the Upper Mississippi, the Illinois, the Ohio, the Tennessee, and the Cumberland. Never will the North and the Northwest permit the navigation of these great rivers to be controlled by a powerful foreign nation, for their free navigation is essential to the prosperity of these regions. They might let the mouths of the Mississippi be held by a weak confederacy of Cotton States, but never by a powerful people of which Missouri would form a part. Our feelings and our sympathies strongly incline us to go with the South in the event of a separation; but passion and feeling are temporary, interest is permanent. The influence of geographical position will continue so long as the face of the earth remains as it is, and the position of Missouri and the navigation of the Mississippi will be great and important interests long ages after the feelings and passions which now dominate the country shall have passed away and been forgotten."

The Convention Firm Against Secession.

The great majority of the convention accepted the report of the committee. Mr. Bast offered an amendment that if the proposed compromise failed and the other border States seceded Missouri would go with them. Twenty-three voted for this proposition, among them Sterling Price, Robert A. Hatcher, Prince L. Hudgins, John T. Redd and Nathaniel W. Watkins.

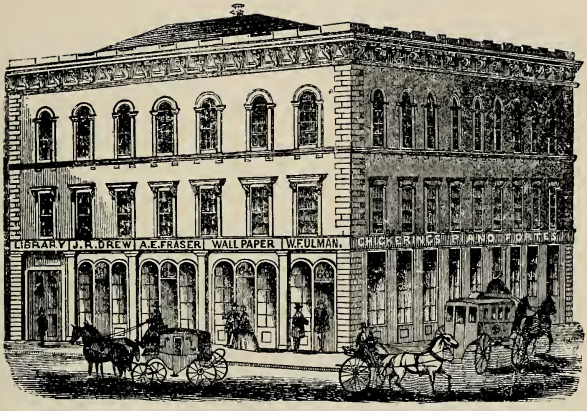
John H. Moss, a Union man, wanted the convention to declare that Missouri would "never furnish men or money for the purpose of aiding the general government in any attempt to coerce a seceding State." The resolution was voted down. In supporting his resolution, Mr. Moss said: "I submit to every man of common sense in this assembly to tell me whether Missouri will ever furnish a regiment to invade a Southern State for the purpose of coercion. Never! Never! And, gentlemen, Missouri expects this convention to say so." In conclusion Mr.

Moss declared it was the duty of Missouri "to stand by the gallant men of Southern Illinois, who have declared that they will never suffer a Northern army to pass the southern boundary of Illinois for the purpose of invading a Southern State." But Fort Sumter had not been fired upon at that time. In a few weeks Mr. Moss was to raise and command a Missouri regiment in the Union army. There were others whose views were to undergo sudden reversal on the subject of coercing a sovereign State. John B. Henderson opposed the Moss resolution because it was entirely unnecessary. "Does any man suppose," he asked, "that the President of the United States will so far disregard his duties under the Constitution, or forget the obligation of his oath, as to undertake the subjugation of the Southern States by force? Will the abstract principle of the enforcement of the laws ever be carried by the President to the extent of military subjugation? If so, this government is at an end. Will you tell me that Mr. Lincoln will send Don Quixotes into the Southern States with military force to subjugate those States? Certainly not."

Hyde said: "A profound impression was made by a speech by Colonel Broadhead, in which he declared, as though he knew whereof he spoke, that the State had 'not the power to go out of the Union' if she wanted to." Broadhead was a member of the Committee of Public Safety.

In his reminiscences, given before the Missouri Historical Society in 1901, Thomas Shackelford told some of the unpublished history of the time: "I now wish to mention an incident not heretofore published, in relation to the action of General Price. After the passage of the original resolution, a member introduced a resolution to the effect that if all of the border States, meaning Kentucky, Virginia and Maryland, seceded from the Union, then Missouri would take her position with her sister Southern States. Judge William A. Hall and myself voted no to this resolution, and General Price, who voted last, voted yea. That evening, after the adjournment of the convention, he took me by the arm and led me to the extreme south end of the hall in the Planters' House, and said to me: 'You were surprised at my vote to-day.' I told him I was. He said to me: 'It is now inevitable that the general government will attempt the coercion of the Southern States. War will ensue. I am a military man, a Southern man, and, if we have to fight, will do so on the part of the South.' His subsequent acts are matters of history.

"I must here mention the treatment to which I was subjected, by reason of my vote on the above resolution. On my return home from the convention to Howard county, I found printed placards, calling a meeting of the people at Fayette, to condemn Judge Hall and myself for our vote on this resolution. I attended the meeting, and asked to be heard, but was denied with hisses and shoutings. I asked the privilege of speaking on the steps of the yard to all who wished to hear me; this was denied. Just at this juncture a man with whom I was intimate, whom I knew to be raising a company to go South, came with a number of armed men, took position by my side, and said that I should have the privilege of speaking. I did so, and appealed to the Missourians present, and said: 'This resolution does not propose that Missouri shall go out of the Union on principle, but will abjectly follow the other border States. Now,' I asked, 'is there a Missourian present who would desire me to vote for such a cowardly resolution?' The brave Missourians present gave me a rousing cheer, and voted to approve my vote."



MERCANTILE LIBRARY HALL, BROADWAY AND LOCUST STREETS, ST. LOUIS

Where the state convention met in 1861 and declared for the Union

Denounced by the Legislature.

On the 22d of March the legislature received from the convention which had so disappointed the southern rights element the resolution proposing that a convention of all the States be called to frame constitutional amendments in the interest of peace. How resentful the southern rights men felt was shown in the treatment of the resolution. Mr. Vest made the report of the committee to which the matter was referred. That report declared it was inexpedient to take any steps toward calling a national convention. "Going into council with our oppressors, before we have agreed among ourselves, can never result in good. It is not the North that has been wronged but the South, and the South can alone determine what securities in the future will be sufficient."

In the discussion on the report, Mr. Vest said: "The convention has been guilty of falsehood and deceit. It says there is no cause for separation. If this be so, why call a convention? In declaring that if the other border slave States seceded Missouri would still remain within the Union, these wiseacres have perpetrated a libel upon Missouri. So help me God! if the day ever comes when Missouri shall prove so recreant to herself, so recreant to the memories of the past and to the hopes of the future, as to submit tamely to these Northern Philistines, I will take up my household goods and leave the State."

The convention adjourned on the 22d of March. The legislature adjourned about one week later. "Submissionist" was added to the political nomeclature of Missouri. As soon as it was evident that the convention was in the control of the anti-secession delegates, the southern rights men dubbed these delegates "submissionists," and thus referred to them in the fiery denunciations on the floor of the legislature and in the columns of the secession newspapers.

Home Rule Taken from St. Louis.

One of the legislative measures of the southern rights members of the general assembly took away from St. Louis home rule in police. The bill was introduced early in the session. It was not passed until March. St. Louis had a Union mayor, Oliver D. Filley. Up to that time the police had been a city department, controlled by the city government. The legislature passed an act creating a board of four police commissioners to be appointed by the governor. The mayor was a fifth member, ex-officio. This board was given "absolute control of the police, of the volunteer militia of St. Louis, of the sheriff, and of all other conservators of the peace." Snead said: "This act took away from the Republican mayor and transferred to the governor, through his appointees, the whole police power of the City of St. Louis. This was its expressed intention. It had other and more important purposes which were carefully concealed." Basil W. Duke was one of the police commissioners appointed under this act. He had been active in the organization of the Minute Men and commanded one of the companies.

The other members of the new police board were J. H. Carlisle, Charles McLaren and John A. Brownlee. Brownlee was a Northern man, in favor of peace and against forcible coercion of the South. The others were sympathizers with the South and in favor of the secession of Missouri if war came. The use which could be made of the police force under state control was shown when Lyon, for the better defense of the arsenal, posted some of his men outside of the walls to give warning of an approach. The police commissioners protested against this

use of United States soldiers. Lyon was compelled to recall his men within the arsenal. Rumors that the arsenal was to be seized by the State were renewed with the reorganization of the police force. Sentiment in St. Louis about the end of March shifted as the municipal election approached. It became strongly antagonistic to Blair and the Home Guards, most of whom were still without arms.

In the first week of April was held the municipal election. John How was the candidate of the Unconditional Union men. The leaders of the movement which had carried the city by 5,000 against the southern rights men in February supported How. Daniel G. Taylor, a popular Democrat, but not a secessionist, was elected by 2,600 majority.

CHAPTER XIV.

CAMP JACKSON.

Warlike Preparations—William Selby Harney—Plans to Capture the Arsenal—Lyon Patrols Streets—Muskets "to Arm Loyal Citizens"—Four Regiments of Home Guards Brigaded—Lincoln's Call for Soldiers—Governor Jackson's Defiance—Blair Grasps a Great Opportunity—State Militia Seize Liberty Arsenal—Washington Warned—The Commissioners to Montgomery—General Frost's Suggestion—Jefferson Davis Sends Siege Guns—Midnight Trip of the City of Alton—Lyon's Ruse with the Flintlocks—Governor Jackson Buys Ammunition—"Armed Neutrality"—Editorial Strategy—Champ Clark's Comments—A Pike County Mass Meeting—Confidential Letter from Jackson—Washington Recognizes the Committee of Public Safety—Police Assert State Sovereignty—Camp Jackson—Forms of Loyalty—Arrival of Confederate Siege Guns—"Tamaroa Marble"—Lyon in Disguise—Night Session of the Committee—General Frost Protests—March on the Camp—The Surrender—Baptism of Blood—Mob Demonstrations—More Loss of Life—Sunday's Panic—The Legislature Acts—Passage of Military Bill—Peace Agreement—Harney Removed—A Pathetic Letter—What Capture of Camp Jackson Meant—Frank Blair's Foresight.

This capture of Camp Jackson was the first really aggressive blow at secession that was struck anywhere in the United States.—*John Fiske. The Mississippi Valley in the Civil War.*

Camp Jackson is slurred over with an occasional paragraph in the history of books, but it was the turning point in the war west of the Mississippi, and it was the work of Frank Blair, the Kentuckian, the Missourian, the slave owner, the patrician, the leonine soldier, the patriotic statesman.—*Champ Clark.*

In April began the moves of Missouri's game of civil war. The State was the stake. The playing was fast. The legislators had gone home at the end of March. Governor Jackson came to St. Louis and held conferences with the southern rights leaders. Blair traveled and telegraphed between St. Louis and Washington. Lyon fretted at the arsenal. The Minute Men chafed when they thought of those sixty thousand muskets. The Home Guards stolidly drilled at night on sawdust deadened floors and with blanketed windows.

"A man to be reckoned with in those days," said John McElroy, the Northern writer, "was the commander of the department of the west, which included all that immense territory stretching from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, except Texas, New Mexico, and Utah. This man was the embodiment of the regular army as it was developed after the war of 1812. At this time that army was a very small one—two regiments of dragoons, two of cavalry, one of mounted riflemen, four of artillery, and ten of infantry, making with engineers, ordnance and staff, a total of only 12,698 officers and men—but its personnel and discipline were unsurpassed in the world. Among its 1,040 commissioned officers there was no finer soldier than William Selby Harney. A better colonel no army ever had. A form of commanding height, physique equal to any test of activity or endurance, a natural leader of men through superiority of courage and ability, William Selby Harney had for forty-three years made an unsurpassed record

as a commander of soldiers. He had served in the Everglades of Florida, on the boundless plains west of the Mississippi, and in Mexico during the brilliantly spectacular war which ended with our 'reveling in the Halls of the Montezumas.' He it was, who eager for his country's advancement, had, while the diplomats were disputing with Great Britain, pounced down upon and seized the debatable island of San Juan in Vancouver waters. For this he was recalled, but the island remained American territory. He was soon assigned to the department of the west, with headquarters at St. Louis. He had been for twelve years the colonel of the crack Second U. S. Dragoons, and for three years one of the three brigadier-generals in the regular army."

Plot and Counter-plot.

Snead said that among those with whom Governor Jackson conferred early in April were John A. Brownlee, president of the new police board; Judge William M. Cooke, and Captains Greene and Duke of the Minute Men. "They all agreed that the most important and the first thing to be done was to seize the arsenal so as to obtain the means for at once arming and equipping the state militia."

General Harney heard of this; so did Lyon. The contents of the armory were still under the custody of Major Hagner. Lyon said if any attempt was made by the Minute Men to take the arsenal he would issue arms to the Home Guards. If Hagner tried to stop him he would "pitch him into the river." On the 6th of April General Harney issued an order putting Lyon in full command of the arsenal and giving control of the contents. Lyon, however, went beyond instructions and sent his soldiers into the streets outside of the arsenal. Citizens protested against the military patrol. Harney ordered it stopped. When Blair came from Washington the 17th of April he brought an order on the arsenal for 5,000 muskets "to arm loyal citizens," the paper to be served when in his judgment conditions demanded. He sent a protest against Harney's instructions to Lyon. On the 21st of April Harney received notice to come to Washington. That same day Lyon began "to arm loyal citizens." Four regiments of Home Guards were given guns and formed into a brigade. Lyon was elected brigadier-general, by the regimental officers, Blair declining to be considered.

Fort Sumter fell on the 13th of April. President Lincoln called for 75,000 men, of which Missouri's quota was four regiments of infantry. Governor Jackson replied: "Not one man will Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade." Commenting on the governor's action, the Missouri Republican said: "Nobody expected any other response from him, and the people of Missouri will indorse it. They may not approve the early course of the Southern States, but they denounce and defy the action of Mr. Lincoln in proposing to call out 75,000 men for the purpose of coercing the seceding States. Whatever else may happen, he gets no men from the border States to carry on such a war."

Blair's Great Opportunity.

Blair came back from Washington the day Governor Jackson telegraphed his refusal to furnish Missouri's quota. He wired the Secretary of War:

"Send order at once for mustering men into service to Capt. N. Lyon. It will then be surely executed, and we will fill your requisition in two days."

On the 23rd of April the order came to Lyon to "muster into the service the four regiments" which the governor had refused. Lyon had an army. He immediately mustered into United States service the four regiments of "loyal citizens" already armed. The arsenal and the 60,000 muskets were lost to the Minute Men. One thing that operated to the advantage of Blair and Lyon in getting the order to arm the Home Guards was the seizure of the arsenal at Liberty, Missouri, on the 20th of April. Four brass guns and other munitions not in great quantity were taken by state troops. Another moving influence with the War Department at Washington was a letter which General Harney sent on the day that Jackson refused President Lincoln's call. "The arsenal buildings and grounds are completely commanded by the hills immediately in their rear, and within easy range, and I learn from sources which I consider reliable, that it is the intention of the executive of this State to cause batteries to be erected on these hills and also on the island opposite the arsenal. I am further informed that should such batteries be erected, it is contemplated by the state authorities, in the event of the secession of the State from the Union, to demand the surrender of the arsenal."

Lieutenant Schofield was the man who informed Harney of a plan to seize the arsenal under cover of a riot. The old war dog growled his reply, "A blanked outrage! Why the State has not yet passed the ordinance of secession. Missouri has not gone out of the United States." Lyon had the same information. On the same day he sent a messenger to Governor Yates at Springfield and asked him to get authority from Washington to hold the six Illinois regiments in readiness for service at St. Louis. Lyon also advised Governor Yates to make requisition on the War Department for muskets at the St. Louis arsenal and get them taken to Springfield as soon as possible.

Commissioners Sent to Jefferson Davis.

Harney and Lyon were well informed. On the day following Harney's writing and Lyon's message to Yates, Governor Jackson started Greene and Duke to Montgomery, the temporary Confederate capital, with a letter to Mr. Davis asking him for siege guns and mortars for the proposed attack on the arsenal. Judge William M. Cooke left for Richmond on a similar commission.

Snead said that just before Greene and Duke went South to see Jefferson Davis, Frost had drawn up a plan which Brownlee had indorsed and given to the governor. This plan provided for a special session of the legislature and for a proclamation to the people of Missouri. The governor was to warn the people "that the President has acted illegally in calling out troops, thus arrogating to himself the war-making power, that they are, therefore by no means bound to give him aid or comfort in his attempt to subjugate by force of arms a people who are still free, but, on the contrary, should prepare themselves to maintain their rights as citizens of Missouri."

The plan was dated the 15th of April. It also provided that the governor should order Frost "to form a military camp of instruction at or near the city of St. Louis; to muster military companies into the service of the State, and

to erect batteries and do all things necessary and proper to be done in order to maintain the peace and dignity of the State."

"It was intended," said Snead, "that the camp of instruction should be established on the river bluffs below the arsenal in such position that, with the aid of the siege guns and mortars which were to be brought from the South, Frost and his brigade, reinforced by Bowen's command and by volunteers, would be able to force Lyon to surrender the arsenal and all its stores to the State."

On the 23rd day of April, 1861, Jefferson Davis wrote from Montgomery, Alabama, to Governor Claiborne F. Jackson:

"I have the honor to acknowledge yours of the 17th instant, borne by Capts. Green and Duke, and have most cordially welcomed the fraternal assurances it brings. A misplaced but generous confidence has, for years past, prevented the Southern States from making the preparation required for the present emergency, and our power to supply you with ordnance is far short of the will to serve you. After learning as well as I could from the gentlemen accredited to me what was most useful for the attack on the arsenal, I have directed that Capts. Greene and Duke should be furnished with two 12-pounder howitzers and two 32-pounder guns with proper ammunition for each. These, from the commanding hills, will be effective, both against the garrison and to breach the enclosing walls of the place. I concur with you as to the great importance of capturing the arsenal and securing its supplies, rendered doubly important by the means taken to obstruct your commerce and render you unarmed victims of a hostile invasion. We look anxiously and hopefully for the day when the star of Missouri shall be added to the constellation of the Confederate States of America."

Secret Shipment of Guns to Illinois.

Yates promptly got his order to send Illinois troops "to support the garrison of the St. Louis arsenal." At the same time Lyon was ordered from Washington to equip these Illinois troops and to deliver to the agent of Governor Yates guns and ammunition for 10,000 more troops. These orders came on the 20th. But before Yates could send his regiments, Lyon had armed his four regiments of Home Guards and the arsenal was safe. On the night of the 26th, the City of Alton dropped down to the arsenal, took on board the muskets and ammunition and other equipment for Illinois.

Governor Yates sent Capt. James H. Stokes to represent him in the removal of the arms from the arsenal. Stokes came in citizen's dress. He had chartered the City of Alton but had instructed the captain to remain at Alton for orders. When Stokes reached the arsenal he found a crowd of southern rights men gathered at the gate. A rumor prevailed that an attack was to be made by 2,000 militia from Jefferson City. With considerable effort Stokes reached Lyon and presented the requisition for 10,000 muskets. In some way the southern rights men had learned that an attempt might be made to remove the arms. They had posted a battery on the river bank some distance above the arsenal. Lyon sent out his spies and learned of the plans of the Minute Men. On the 25th of April Stokes sent word to the captain of the City of Alton to come down the river and reach the arsenal at midnight. Early in the evening Lyon sent some cases of old flintlock muskets up to the levee as if intending to ship them by boat. Most of the southern rights men who had been watching the arsenal followed the cases of flintlocks and when they were

THE BERTHOLD MANSION, BROADWAY AND PINE STREETS, ST. LOUIS.
Headquarters of the Minute Men in 1861

unloaded took possession of them and moved them to a hiding place, under the impression that they had stopped a shipment of serviceable guns. Lyon arrested the remaining watchers and held them prisoners. The whole arsenal force was put to work moving the boxes of good muskets. The Alton arrived in front of the arsenal just before midnight. The 10,000 muskets were put on board so hurriedly that they carried the bow of the boat down into the mud. When the load was on, the Alton could not be moved. As quickly as possible 200 boxes, which had been piled in front to protect the engines if the boat was fired on by the battery, were carried aft. Lyon interpreted the requisition so liberally that when the Alton pushed off she carried 20,000 muskets, 500 carbines, the same number of revolvers, 110,000 cartridges and considerable other war material. The Alton took the channel and started north. Both Stokes and Captain Mitchell of the boat expected to be fired on when they passed the levee, but the battery was silent. The ruse of the flintlocks had apparently deceived the Minute Men. The boat reached Alton at 5 o'clock in the morning. Stokes ran to the market-house and rang the fire-bell. As the people responded he appealed for volunteers to help him get the Alton's load on board the cars. By 7 o'clock the work was done and Stokes was on his way to Springfield. Lyon prepared the arsenal for siege. He placed batteries, built platforms to enable the men to fire over the walls, cut port holes and arranged sand bags for protection.

When he learned of the shipment of arms from the arsenal and of Lyon's elaborate plans of defense, Governor Jackson sent Harding, his quartermaster-general, to St. Louis to buy all of the guns and ammunition he could find in the stores. The general was late. St. Louisans had been buying arms for three months. There were private arsenals everywhere. Capt. Sam Gaty went into the office of his lawyer, Samuel T. Glover, on legal business. He saw a gun leaning in the corner and said something about it. "You secessionists don't expect to drive the Union men out of St. Louis, do you?" retorted Glover. Harding found stocks in the gun stores depleted. With a good deal of trouble he bought for the State a few hundred hunting rifles, some tents and other camp equipage and seventy tons of powder. The purchases were consigned to the state authorities at Jefferson City. The shipment was made on the 7th of May and Captain Kelly's company of the state militia, composed of fighting Irishmen, went as a guard. That was the reason this crack company was not at Camp Jackson when the capture took place. Years afterwards the militant sympathizers with the South told the story of Camp Jackson in a song which ran:

"'Twas on the tenth of May
When Kelly's men were away ——"

The Armed Neutrality Policy.

While these warlike preparations of Blair and Lyon on the one side and Governor Jackson and the Minute Men on the other went on, the voice of Missouri at large was still raised for "armed neutrality." In his Columbia Statesmen of April 15, 1861, William F. Switzler said:

"Let them (the border States) stand as a wall of fire between the belligerent extremes, and with their strong arms and potential counsel keep them apart. Let them stand pledged,

as they now are, to resist any attempt at coercion, plighting their faith, as we do not hesitate to plight the faith of Missouri, that if the impending war of the Northern States against the Southern shall, in defiance of our solemn protest and warning actually occur (which God in his mercy forefend!) we shall stand by Virginia and Kentucky and our Southern sisters—sharing their dangers, and abiding their fortunes and destiny—in driving back from their borders the hostile fleet of Northern invaders. Of the South, we are for the South."

The Missouri Republican, organ of all the conservative elements, met the situation on the 22d:

"Let us take the same position that Kentucky has taken—that of armed neutrality. Let us declare that no military force levied in other States, shall be allowed to pass through our State, or camp upon our soil. Let us demand of the opposing sections to stop further hostile operations until reason can be appealed to in Congress, and before the people; and when that fails it will be time enough for us to take up arms. Why should we, all unprepared, rush out of the Union, to find a doubtful and reluctant reception in the Confederate States."

Long after the war was over, Champ Clark pointed out the futility of the "armed neutrality" argument. He said:

"Time fought for Blair in this strange contest for possession of a State, for the preservation of the Republic. Those who most effectually tied the hands of the secessionists and who unwittingly but most largely played into Blair's were the advocates of 'armed neutrality,' certainly the most preposterous theory ever hatched in the brain of man. Who was its father cannot now be definitely ascertained, as nobody is anxious to claim the dubious honor of its paternity. What it really meant may be shown by an incident that happened in the great historic county of Pike, a county which furnished one brigadier-general and five colonels to the Union army and three colonels to the Confederate, with a full complement of officers and men.

"Early in 1861 a great 'neutrality meeting' was held at Bowling Green, the county seat, Hon. William L. Gatewood, a prominent lawyer, a Virginian or Kentuckian by birth, an ardent Southern sympathizer, subsequently a state senator, was elected chairman. The Pike county orators were out in full force, but chief among them was Hon. George W. Anderson, also a prominent lawyer, an East Tennessean by nativity, afterwards a colonel in the Union army, a state senator, and for four years a member of Congress. Eloquence was on tap and flowed freely. Men of all shades of opinion fraternized; they passed strong and ringing resolutions in favor of 'armed neutrality,' and 'all went merry as a marriage bell.'

"Chairman Gatewood was somewhat mystified and not altogether satisfied by the harmonious proceedings; so, after adjournment sine die, he took Anderson out under a convenient tree, and in his shrill tenor nervously inquired, 'George, what does "armed neutrality" mean, anyhow?' Anderson, in his deep base, growled, 'It means guns for the Union men and none for the rebels!'—the truth and wisdom of which remarks are now perfectly apparent. So it was, verily Anderson had hit the bull's-eye, and no mistake. If he had orated for an entire month, he could not have stated the case more luminously or more comprehensively. He had exhausted the subject. Before the moon had waxed and waned again the leaders of that 'neutrality' lovefeast were hurrying to and fro, beating up for volunteers, in every nook and corner in the county,—some for service in the Union, others for service in the Confederate army.

"But it is proverbial that 'hindsight is better than foresight.' Men must be judged by their own knowledge at the time they acted, not by ours; by the circumstances with which they were surrounded, not by those which environ us. What may appear unfathomable problems to the wisest men of one generation may be clear as crystal to even the dullest of the succeeding generation. However ridiculous 'armed neutrality,' judged by the hard logic of events, may appear in the retrospect; however untenable we now know it to have been, the fact nevertheless remains that it was honestly believed in and enthusiastically advocated by thousands of capable, brave, and honest men all over Kentucky and Missouri, many of whom afterwards won laurels on the battlefield and laid down their lives in one army or the other in defense of what they deemed right."

Jackson's Confidential Letter.

A confidential letter by Governor Claib. Jackson to the editor of the St. Louis Bulletin, is in the manuscript collection of the Missouri Historical Society. It is dated April 28, 1861. It is an important revelation of the state administration's policy at the time and of purposes behind the scenes:

"I write this note in confidence and under a state of mind very peculiar. I know not when I have been so deeply mortified as on yesterday when I read the leading editorial of the Republican. Governor Price called on me a few days since, when passing on his way to St. Louis. We had an interview of ten minutes, not more. It was strictly private and confidential. Neither was at liberty to repeat what the other said, much less was either licensed to misstate and misrepresent the position of the other.

"Governor Price asked me what I thought as to the time of calling the convention. I told him not to be in a hurry but to wait 'til the legislature met, and to be here at that time, so that we could consult with the members from all parts of the State, and fix upon a proper time; that in my judgment we should not go out of the Union until the legislature had time to arm the State to some extent and place it in a proper position of defense. This was in substance, the sum total of all I said to him. Governor Price said many things to me in that short interview which I am not at liberty to repeat, and which I could not do without doing violence to my sense of honor, violating every rule of propriety which governs the intercourse of gentlemen, and forfeiting all claim to the position of an honorable member of the community.

"If it be the purpose of Paschall and Price to make me endorse the position of the Republican and the miserable, base, and cowardly conduct of Governor Price's submission convention, then they are woefully mistaken. Lashed and driven as they have been by an indignant and outraged constituency from the position of 'unconditional union,' they are now seeking shelter under the miserable absurdity of 'armed neutrality.' About the only truth in Paschall's article is that in which he states my policy to be a 'policy.'

"This is true. I am for peace, and so is everybody except Lincoln and Frank Blair. You will do me an especial favor to inform Mr. Paschall that whenever Governor Jackson wishes his position upon matters of public interest properly stated and set before the people, he will take some direct manner of doing it, and not rely upon the colored and garbled statements of a set of men who, under the garb of friendship, seek to obtain his confidence only to betray him, and play the part of pumps and spies.

"I do not think Missouri should secede to-day or to-morrow, but I do not think it good policy that I should publicly so declare. I want a little time to arm the State, and I am assuming every responsibility to do it with all possible dispatch. Missouri should act in concert with Tennessee and Kentucky. They are all bound to go out and should go together, if possible. My judgment is that North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas will all be out in a few days, and when they go, Missouri and Kentucky must follow. Let us then prepare to make our exit. We should keep our own counsels. Every man in the State is in favor of arming the State. Then let it be done. All are opposed to furnishing Mr. Lincoln with soldiers. Time will settle the balance. Nothing should be said about the time or the manner in which Missouri should go out. That she ought to go and will go at the proper time I have no doubt. She ought to have gone last winter when she could have seized the public arms and public property and defended herself. This she has failed to do, and must now wait a little while. Paschall is a base submissionist, and desires to remain with the North if every other slave State should go out.

"This he proved in indorsing all those who voted against Bast's amendment. The people of Missouri, I must think, understand my position. Paschall knows the people are twenty to one against him and hence he seeks to drag me into his aid and support. You should denounce his course, and expose his baseness. To frighten our people into the most slavish position he parades before them from day to day our defenseless attitude, and meanly makes it out a thousand times worse than it really is. Missouri can put into the field to-day twenty thousand men, better armed than our fathers were, who won our independence. If you can, I should be glad to see you here on Tuesday evening. I hope you will fully comprehend my whole policy. And without undertaking to shadow it forth specifically or in detail, I only

ask that you will defend me from the false position in which Paschall and Price seem disposed to place me. Call on every country paper to defend me, and assure them I am fighting under the true flag. Who does not know that every sympathy of my heart is with the South?

"The legislature, in my view, should sit in secret session and touch nothing but the measures of defense. Let the measures of Mr. Sturgeon, Mr. Paschall, Mr. Taylor, & Co., in regards to their railroads all go by the board. I have not the patience or the time to talk of such matters now. Let us first preserve our liberties and attend to business affairs afterwards. Let all our energies and all our means be applied to our defense and safety.

"Yours truly,

"C. F. Jackson."

As soon as he had mustered in his four regiments, Lyon set about his plans to make still more complete the defense of the arsenal. On the 30th of April he wrote to the Secretary of War: "The State is doubtless getting ready to attack the government troops with artillery. I have sent three volunteer companies with Captain Totten's battery to occupy buildings outside of the arsenal, hired for this purpose, both to give them shelter and to occupy commanding positions which the secessionists had intended to occupy themselves and upon which they openly avowed that they would plant siege batteries to reduce this place, the arsenal. This exasperates them and has given rise to a singular correspondence which, when convenient, I will lay before the War Department."

Committee of Public Safety Recognized.

The very day that Lyon's report on the intentions of the State against the arsenal was mailed, April 30th, there was started from the War Department a document that conveyed sweeping authority. It was signed by Secretary Cameron and was addressed to Capt. Nathaniel Lyon, commanding department of the west. It read:

"The President of the United States directs that you enroll in the military service of the United States loyal citizens of St. Louis and vicinity, not exceeding, with those heretofore enlisted, ten thousand in number, for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the United States and for the protection of the peaceable inhabitants of Missouri, and you will, if deemed necessary for that purpose by yourself and Messrs. Oliver D. Filley, John How, James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, J. J. Witzig, and Francis P. Blair, Jr., proclaim martial law in the city of St. Louis."

The document was indorsed, "It is revolutionary times, and therefore I do not object to the irregularity of this. W. S." The initials were those of Winfield Scott. The document bore the further indorsement, "Aproved April 30, 1861. A. Lincoln." The six men named were the committee of public safety who had been acting heretofore by authority of a meeting of citizens. Now the committee received government recognition.

Blair and Lyon lost no time in acting under this authority. To the regiments organized in April the name of Missouri Volunteers had been given. More regiments were organized with such celerity that four of them were sworn in and armed on the 7th and 8th of May, just after Frost's brigade of state militia had gone into camp in Lindell Grove. These regiments were named the United States Reserve Corps.

Police and Militia Movements.

On the 6th of May the police commissioners took action which was in accordance with the theory of state sovereignty held by those who sympathized with the South. They served a formal demand upon Lyon to withdraw all United States troops from all buildings and grounds outside of the arsenal. The document set out in legal phraseology that this occupancy was "in derogation of the Constitution and laws of the United States." Lyon replied with an inquiry. He asked, "what provisions of the Constitution and laws were being thus violated." The police commissioners stated Missouri had "sovereign and exclusive jurisdiction over her whole territory" save only where she had delegated certain tracts for military purposes in the form of arsenals and barracks. The answer of the police commissioners further asserted that outside of these ceded tracts the United States had no right to occupy any of the soil of Missouri without the consent of the state authorities. Lyon refused to recognize the doctrine of state sovereignty and continued to occupy the positions he had taken for his regulars and Home Guards in anticipation of an attack upon the arsenal. The police board referred the correspondence to the state authorities at Jefferson City and there the matter ended.

While awaiting the return of Greene and Duke from their southern mission, Governor Jackson called a special session of the legislature to meet in Jefferson City on the 2d of May, "for the purpose of enacting such measures as might be deemed necessary for the more perfect organization and equipment of the militia and to raise the money, and provide such other means as might be required to place the State in a proper attitude of defence." At the same time the governor ordered the commanding officers of the several militia districts to go into camp with their commands on the 3d of May for the annual instruction and drill, under the militia law of 1858.

Camp Jackson Established.

Camp Jackson was established on Monday, the 6th of May. Snead said: "Though the removal of the arms from the arsenal had taken away the motive that caused the governor to order the militia into camp at St. Louis, it was determined to hold that encampment, nevertheless. The intention of holding it on the hills near the arsenal was, however, abandoned. For to camp there now would be an idle threat at best, and besides, and this was a still more potent reason, those very hills had been quietly occupied by Lyon with both infantry and artillery. Frost, therefore, selected a camp in a wooded valley, known as Lindell Grove, near the intersection of Olive street and Grand avenue, in the western part of the city, and called it Camp Jackson, in honor of the governor. And there his brigade, aggregating a little more than seven hundred men, went into encampment. Besides the officers and men of the brigade, there were a number of young men in the camp, who had come from all quarters of the state to learn something of the art of war, and to take part in any hostile movement which Frost might undertake."

General D. M. Frost assembled the First and Second regiments on Washington avenue and marched to Camp Jackson. Three troops of militia cavalry under Maj. Clark Kennerly arrived in the camp the next day. The First regiment, Lieut.-Col. John Knapp commanding, was composed of long established

military companies. The majority, perhaps two-thirds of the members of this regiment and of the Engineer Corps, National Guards, were Union men. Many of them afterwards served with distinction in the Union army. The Second regiment, Col. John S. Bowen, was composed largely of the Minute Men who had been organized as militia in January from the "broom rangers" of the political campaign of 1860. The United States and the Missouri state flags floated over Camp Jackson.

The general spirit of the camp was not warlike. Many of the militia obtained daily furloughs and attended to their business down town, reporting for dress parade and sleeping in camp. Of the plans of the secessionists very few were informed. The forms of loyalty to nation as well as to state were maintained. This concession to the strong Union element in the older military companies was necessary. Colonel Pritchard and some of the other Union militiamen had been advised by Blair and did not go to Camp Jackson. Several officers had sent in their resignations before the camp was formed.

On the evening of the 8th of May, two days after the column had marched out to Camp Jackson, the steamboat, J. C. Swon, with a Southern flag flying, arrived at the St. Louis levee. She had taken on board at Baton Rouge the cannon and the ammunition intended for the siege of the arsenal. The guns and the powder and ball were in boxes of various sizes marked "marble Tamaroa." They were addressed to "Greeley and Gale." Carlos S. Greeley and Daniel Bailey Gale were New Hampshire born. They were most pronounced Union men. They were in the wholesale grocery business. When the boxes of "marble" were unloaded Maj. James A. Shaler was there to receive them, and the secret service men were there to see what became of the consignment. Major Shaler was a staff officer of Colonel Bowen's regiment of Minute Men. He removed the boxes quickly to Camp Jackson. The detectives followed and then reported to the Committee of Public Safety at Turner Hall The information was at once sent to Lyon at the arsenal. The afternoon of May 9 Lyon, in disguise, was at Camp Jackson, examining the surroundings. The boxes of "marble" were there, but unpacked. It developed long afterwards that but very few officers and men in the ranks knew of the arrival of the shipment.

Lyon's Visit to Camp Jackson.

The Committee of Public Safety, sitting long and late, knew better what was going on than did the citizen soldiers under the tents in Lindell Grove. Couzin's detectives were alert. Lyon's disguise consisted of clothes borrowed from Mrs. Alexander, the mother-in-law of Blair. Made up and veiled to pass for an elderly lady who was quite deaf, but armed with two heavy revolvers, Lyon in a carriage borrowed from Franklin A. Dick, rode through Camp Jackson. The disguise was so good that when the carriage halted in front of headquarters at the arsenal about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Blair stepped forward to greet his relative. He was undeceived when the toe of an army boot protruded from beneath the bombazine skirt. Lyon immediately sent out messages by Witzig to the members of the Committee of Public Safety to come to him at 7 o'clock in the evening. He had made up his mind what to do. He wanted the committee to approve his plan. He proposed to take

GEN. NATHANIEL LYON

Who captured Camp Jackson and fell at Wilson's Creek

JAMES O. BROADHEAD

Member committee of public safety, 1861

OLIVER D. FILLEY

Chairman committee of public safety, 1861

Camp Jackson. Late into the night the members of the committee talked. They were divided. There was no question of the gravity of the situation. The guns and ammunition from the government arsenal at Baton Rouge were in Camp Jackson. But the United States flag floated over Camp Jackson. There had been no "overt act"—how those two words did roll from the tongue in 1861! The lawyers on the committee favored a legal process. They proposed to Lyon to get out a writ of replevin for government property and have it served on General Frost as the first step. That was law, they said, and should be the first step. But Lyon said it was not war. Perhaps, in his mind he saw those big guns on the high grounds south of him and west of him. He insisted that the bringing of the guns and the ammunition from Baton Rouge and the removal of them to Camp Jackson were sufficient provocation. Late that night the committee voted. Four approved Lyon's proposition to take Camp Jackson. Two opposed and urged the legal process be tried first. One of the two was Samuel T. Glover. He insisted that the writ of replevin be sworn out and that the United States marshal march at the head of the troops, carrying the writ to serve as the first step. He went so far as to prepare the writ and place it in the hands of United States Marshal Rawlings. But when the marshal went to the arsenal next morning he was denied admittance. Another early morning visitor was not only refused admission, but the written note he carried was not accepted by Lyon. He was Colonel Bowen, commander of the Second regiment, the Minute Men. Colonel Bowen bore a letter from Frost to Lyon in which the commander of Camp Jackson denied that he or any of his command had any hostile intention toward the United States government. He referred to the reports that Camp Jackson was to be attacked, and expressed the hope that they were unfounded. He concluded: "I trust that after this explicit statement we may be able by fully understanding each other to keep far from our borders the misfortunes which so unfortunately afflict our common country."

Bowen carried the letter back to Camp Jackson. He was a West Pointer, a Georgian. He had resigned from the regular army and had established himself in St. Louis as an architect. There was no question as to his sympathies. He believed in the right of secession. He was undoubtedly in sympathy with Governor Jackson's purpose to get the arsenal. Frost, also, was a West Pointer. His service in the army had been marked by special bravery. He was a New Yorker by birth and of one of the old families of that State. Strangest of all to tell, he had graduated at West Point in the same class with Lyon. Other classmates of Frost were Grant, McClellan, Rosecrans and Franklin, all to become famous Union generals. In the same class was Beauregard of Louisiana. Frost carried the class honors in such company.

The Surrender and the Tragedy.

Bowen reported to Frost he was certain from what he had seen Lyon was about to move on Camp Jackson. There was a hurried consultation. These were brave men, but they had been trained in military precedents. They had 750 men in camp, some of them unarmed. Bowen had not been able to get guns for all of his Minute Men. Resistance was folly. So the leaders, who had studied in the same school that Lyon had, waited while the battalion of regulars

and six regiments of the ten recruited by the Committee of Public Safety, marched up from the arsenal. Blair took Laclede avenue; Boernstein, Pine street; Schuttner, Market street; Sigel, Olive street; Gratz Brown, Morgan street; McNeil, Clark avenue. In this order the regiments moved westward toward Grand avenue; thousands of men, women and children filling the sidewalks and many following. The men who were marching were St. Louisans. They were going out to kill or to take prisoners several hundred of their fellow citizens. Lyon went through all of the forms of war. He posted his artillery. He disposed of his troops so that the camp was surrounded. He demanded surrender. He had been a captain in the regular army when he came to St. Louis. He was in command of the army raised by a Committee of Public Safety, but was still without the commission suitable to the rank. He was calling for the surrender of his former classmate who had stood above him in the class at West Point and who was a brigadier general of state troops. When his force was in position Lyon sent his demand in writing. His note set forth that Frost was in communication with the Confederacy, and had received war material therefrom which was the property of the United States. He charged Frost with "having in direct view hostilities to the general government and cooperation with its enemies." Thirty minutes was given for the answer. Frost replied, protesting against the action of Lyon as unconstitutional. He added that being wholly unprepared to defend his command from the unwarranted attack he was forced to comply.

Lyon offered immediate parole to all who would take the oath of allegiance. Several accepted the terms. The others refused, stating that they had already taken the oath of allegiance, and to repeat it would be an admission that they had been enemies. The regulars gathered up the arms, including the "marble." The state militia were marched out and formed in line as prisoners, with armed guards on both sides of them. A long wait occurred. The crowds which had followed the regiments from down town pressed closer. They became noisy. They guyed the soldiers. They grew bolder. Insults were shouted. Clods were thrown. A pistol was fired. Then came war of the character which Sherman described—"War is Hell!" Ninety men, women and children were shot. Twenty-eight of them died on the streets or in the hospitals. A baby in its mother's arms was killed. The column moved on slowly, armed men and prisoners, to the center of the city and then southward to the arsenal. The prisoners were paroled. The baptism of blood, which the Committee of Public Safety for four months stayed, had come at last.

From the steps of the Planters Hotel, Uriel Wright, who had fought secession in the convention, Virginian born though he was, addressed a great throng of excited men. He denounced "the Camp Jackson outrage." He said: "If Unionism means such atrocious deeds as have been witnessed in St. Louis, I am no longer a Union man." Mobs formed and wildly cheered the violent speeches made by secession orators. One body of men started down Locust street to destroy the Missouri Democrat office. Mayor Daniel Gilchrist Taylor, who had succeeded Oliver D. Filley as the city's executive a few weeks before, met the rioters and warned them to go back. Behind the mayor was a line of policemen under Chief McDonough, blocking the entire street. The police were armed with guns. Their instructions were to use the bayonet and then fire. In

the Democrat office the shooting stick had been laid aside for the shooting iron. The force was armed. The building was prepared for desperate resistance. This coming of a mob was the fulfillment of many threats from those who sympathized with secession movement. For this night the newspaper force had been waiting weeks. The mob listened to the words of the mayor and went back to the Planters to be satisfied with oratory.

The official report of what was taken at Camp Jackson showed preparation for war. When Lyon had hauled the spoils to the arsenal he had captured, according to the inventory:

"Three 32-pounders.
"Three mortar beds.
"A large quantity of balls and bombs in ale barrels.
"Artillery pieces in boxes of heavy plank, the boxes marked 'marble, Tamaroa, care Greeley and Gale.'
"Six brass field pieces.
"Twenty-five kegs of powder.
"Ninety-six 10-inch bombshells.
"Three hundred six-inch bombshells.
"Six brass mortars, six inches in diameter.
"One iron mortar, 10 inches.
"Three iron cannon, six inches, five boxes of canister shot."

Besides the rifles taken from the brigade, there were "several boxes of new muskets and a very large number of musket stocks and musket barrels, together with lots of bayonets, bayonet scabbards, etc."

But for that long wait in the streets after Frost had surrendered, the bloodshed at Camp Jackson might have been avoided. And that wait was in considerable part occasioned by an accident to General Lyon. In dismounting, Lyon was kicked in the stomach by the horse of one of his aides. He was temporarily disabled. His condition was carefully concealed at the time by his staff and the movement of the troops back to the arsenal was delayed. It was another case of important history turning on a trivial event.

More Bloodshed and a Panic.

Harney returned to St. Louis on the 11th. He was again in active command. That day a regiment of Home Guards left the arsenal and marched up town. It was composed largely of Germans whose homes were in North St. Louis, or Bremen, as it was called. Some of the secessionists were seeking revenge for the bloody scene of Camp Jackson, the day before. A group gathered at Fifth and Walnut streets, where stood at that time a Presbyterian church, with large columns. As the regiment passed the church there came from the protection of the columns jeers and hisses and then stones. A pistol was fired. A soldier fell dead. Other shots were fired. Some of the soldiers who had already passed the church turned and fired back. They were raw recruits. They had been given the guns only a short time. They aimed badly. They killed three of their own men and two unarmed citizens, also wounding several persons who were standing on the sidewalk.

The bloodshed of Saturday intensified the excitement of Friday. With Sunday came the worst panic in the history of St. Louis. Everywhere in the

central section spread the rumors that the German Home Guards were going to sack the city. Shutters were closed. Doors were bolted. Many of the churches did not open for Sunday school and service. Citizens called upon General Harney and besought him to disarm the Germans. The general said he could not do that. The report got out that Harney had said he "had no control over the Home Guards." He meant to inform the panic stricken that these regiments were United States volunteers, accepted under the call of the President, that the guns had been issued to them in due form and that he could not take them away. But the most alarming construction was put upon the general's words. Thousands of citizens hastily gathered the most necessary articles and went out to the suburbs, west of the city. Others crossed the river to Illinois towns. Not few took boats and went up or down the river. All day Sunday the exodus went on. The panic fed upon itself. Those who did not think of leaving in the morning departed in the afternoon. Harney issued a proclamation and posted copies about the city, declaring there was no danger. He sent detachments of troops to several centers to give assurance of protection. When the people saw these soldiers moving about and on guard they were certain that the Germans were coming to attack the central part of the city. Curiously the panic spread to the northern and southern parts of the city, and in those sections it took the form of fear that the Minute Men and their friends were going to raid and destroy the homes of the Germans.

One regiment of Home Guards was composed principally of Americans and Irishmen who lived in the central part of the city. These men in numbers assembled after dark Sunday night and formed a skirmish line from east to west across the central part of the city. They moved slowly and cautiously southward to determine for themselves what there might be in the reports that the Germans were assembling to attack the central section. Some distance south of Chouteau avenue these American and Irish Home Guards came within hailing of another long line of Home Guards facing north. The Germans had heard that the Americans were coming down to burn their homes and they were ready to protect their families. As soon as the German Home Guards and the American and Irish Home Guards recognized each other and realized that each had been alarmed by false reports about the other there was some loud laughing and healthy cheering, after which the lines were disbanded and everybody went home to bed. Monday the panic was a joke, a rather serious one for it was the strangest, most strenuous moving day an American city had ever known. St. Louisans with bag and baggage moved home.

Union men were shocked at the bloodshed. One delegation went to Washington to urge the removal of Lyon. Another delegation went to urge Lyon's retention. The Committee of Public Safety sent on its report of the Camp Jackson affair, and every member signed the declaration indorsing Lyon's act. General Harney investigated and reported that the taking of Camp Jackson was justifiable. Lyon was made a brigadier-general. He followed up the Camp Jackson success by stationing strong detachments in different parts of the city. In the meantime the interior of the state was taking important action.

Prompt Action at the State Capital.

The military bill had dragged along through the regular session of the legislature. It had been taken up in the special session on the 2nd of May. In the afternoon of the 10th of May, Governor Jackson came into the representatives' hall and told members of the capture of Camp Jackson. The military bill was being discussed at the time, Union men resisting action as they had from the beginning in January. "In an instant," said Snead, "all resistance gave way and within fifteen minutes the bill had passed both houses and was awaiting the governor's signature."

Late that night an alarm was given by the church bells. The members of the legislature were called together. Governor Jackson notified the members that "two of Mr. Blair's regiments were on the way to the capital." About midnight an act was passed giving authority to "the governor to take such measures as he might deem necessary or proper to repel invasion or put down rebellion." It carried an appropriation of $30,000. Governor Jackson sent armed men to hold the Missouri Pacific bridges over the Osage and the Gasconade. One of the squads exceeded orders and set the Osage bridge on fire.

The military bill was well conceived. It made of each congressional district a division. It put in command of each division a brigadier-general. Immediately after the Camp Jackson affair the generals of the division were appointed. Alexander W. Doniphan, the famous "Xenophon" Doniphan of the march across the plains to New Mexcio, was offered one of these commissions. He declined and remained a Union man. The divisions of the Missouri State Guard as it was called, as finally organized, were:

First Division, M. Jeff Thompson.
Second Division, Thomas A. Harris.
Third Division, M. L. Clark.
Fourth Division, William Y. Slack.
Fifth Division, A. E. Steen.
Sixth Division, M. M. Parsons.
Seventh Division, J. H. McBride.
Eighth Division, James L. Rains.

These brigadier-generals were ordered to make an enrollment of men fit for military duty and to drill them for service. They were well chosen in respect to ability. Parsons, Clark and Slack had been in the Mexican war and had given good account of themselves. That the ultimate purpose of the State Guard was well understood by the men who organized it was apparent later. Parsons became a major-general in the Confederate army. Clark, Slack, Steen and Rains became brigadier-generals.

Wm. Y. Slack went at the organization of the fourth military district with energy. He was a lawyer at Chillicothe and had been a captain with Doniphan's expedition to Mexico. A paper was passed among the southern rights men at Livingston County and quite a sum of money was raised. The purpose of the subscription was "to defend our homes against the invader." With this credit, Slack placed an order at a Hannibal foundry for the casting of two cannon, six pounders. The guns were ready for shipment to Chillicothe about the 1st of June. The railroad refused to take the shipment. The foundry people loaded the guns into a covered wagon, concealed them with straw and

started the outfit overland. William A. Wilson, the driver, told all inquirers he was bound for Pike's Peak. But word reached St. Louis of the shipment of the cannon. The Home Guard at Brookfield was ordered to intercept Wilson. Twenty well-mounted men set out over the dirt road, captured the wagon near St. Catherines and drove furiously into Brookfield. They were only one hour ahead of the escort General Slack had sent out to meet and convoy his artillery. As the contract with the Hannibal foundry called for payment on delivery, the Chillicothe people never paid for the cannon. Twenty-five years afterwards the subscription list was still held as a souvenir by Congressman Charles H. Mansur.

John S. Marmaduke was stationed with his command of regulars at Fort Laramie when officers of the army faced the question under which government. He came home to Missouri and talked it over with his father. Virginian and slaveholder, the ex-governor was strongly against secession.

"John," he said, as a member of the family recalled the conference, "there can be but one result. You will sacrifice your profession. Secession will fail. Slavery will be abolished. But you must decide for yourself, following your own convictions."

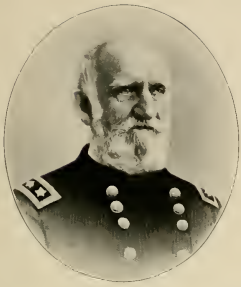
The young officer resigned his commission in the United States army and organized a regiment under the military bill. Many of his men were from Saline County. As the organization approached completion and was about ready to leave for Jefferson City, the father of the young colonel was invited to address the regiment. He knew many of the young soldiers and he knew the fathers of more of them. The regiment was drawn up at Marshall to receive the ex-governor. The address was made; it was along the same line as the counsel which had been given the son. The elder Marmaduke told the regiment that secession could not succeed; that they had enlisted in a cause that was bound to fail. The speech was not well received. In the Marmaduke family the issue of 1861 found a division of sentiment not infrequent among the families of Central Missouri. Many of the elders saw beyond the glamor of war and were against secession. Military ardor carried the sons into the field.

The Price-Harney Agreement.

On the 17th of May the Federal court at St. Louis issued warrants "to preserve the peace of St. Louis and promote the tranquility of Missouri." These warrants authorized United States Marshal Rawlings to seize war material. With the one-armed Captain Sweeny and a squad of regulars, the marshal went to the state tobacco warehouse on Washington avenue and Sixth street. There he took possession of several hundred rifles and pistols and some boxes of ammunition. The marshal then called at the metropolitan police headquarters on Chestnut street near Third and took possession of two cannon and many rifles. All of this was done at the instance of General Harney. Then the southern rights people proposed a truce. This agreement was entered into by Price and Harney:

"St. Louis, May 21, 1861.

"The undersigned, officers of the United States government and of the government of the State of Missouri, for the purpose of removing misapprehensions and allaying public excitement, deem it proper to declare publicly that they have this day had a personal inter-



GEN. A. J. SMITH

GEN. W. T. SHERMAN

GEN. ALTON R. EASTON

GEN. W. S. HARNEY

view in this city, in which it has been mutually understood, without the semblance of dissent on either part, that each of them has no other than a common object equally interesting and important to every citizen of Missouri—that of restoring peace and good order to the people of the State in subordination to the laws of the general and state governments. It being thus understood, there seems no reason why every citizen should not confide in the proper officers of the general and state governments to restore quiet, and, as among the best means of offering no counter-influences, we mutually recommend to all persons to respect each other's rights throughout the State, making no attempt to exercise unauthorized powers, as it is the determination of the proper authorities to suppress all unlawful proceedings, which can only disturb the public peace.

"General Price, having by commission full authority over the militia of the State of Missouri, undertakes, with the sanction of the governor of the State already declared, to direct the whole power of the state officers to maintain order within the State among the people thereof, and General Harney publicly declares that, this object being thus assured, he can have no other occasion, as he has no wish, to make military movements, which might otherwise create excitements and jealousies which he most earnestly desires to avoid.

"We, the undersigned, do mutually enjoin upon the people of the State to attend to their civil business of whatever sort it may be, and it is hoped that the unquiet elements which have threatened so seriously to disturb public peace may soon subside and be remembered only to be deplored.

"STERLING PRICE,
"Major-General Missouri State Guard.
"WILLIAM S. HARNEY,
"Brigadier-General Commanding."

The Removal of Harney.

Blair wrote to the Secretary of War: "The agreement between Harney and General Price gives me great disgust and dissatisfaction to the Union men; but I am in hopes we can get along with it, and I think Harney will insist on its execution to the fullest extent, in which case it will be satisfactory." At the time Blair was carrying in his pocket an order for Harney's removal, given him by President Lincoln with the understanding it would not be served unless necessary. After a few days Blair concluded that Price was not keeping faith with Harney. He served the order of removal. Harney wrote to the adjutant-general at Washington this pathetic letter:

"My confidence in the honor and integrity of General Price, in the purity of his motives, and in his loyalty to the government, remains unimpaired. His course as president of the state convention that voted by a large majority against submitting an ordinance of secession, and his efforts since that time to calm the elements of discord, have served to confirm the high opinion of him I have for many years entertained.

"My whole course as commander of the department of the west has been dictated by a desire to carry out in good faith the instructions of my government, regardless of the clamor of the conflicting elements surrounding me, and whose advice and dictation could not be followed without involving the State in blood and the government in the unnecessary expenditure of millions. Under the course I pursued Missouri was secured to the Union, and the triumph of the government was only the more glorious, being almost a bloodless victory; but those who clamored for blood have not ceased to impugn my motives. Twice within a brief space of time have I been relieved from the command here; the second time in a manner that has inflicted unmerited disgrace upon a true and loyal soldier. During a long life, dedicated to my country, I have seen some service, and more than once I have held her honor in my hands; and during that time my loyalty, I believe, was never questioned; and now, when in the natural course of things I shall, before the lapse of many years, lay aside the sword which has so long served my country, my countrymen will be slow to believe that I have chosen this portion of my career to damn with treason my life, which is so soon to become a record of the past, and which I shall most willingly leave to the unbiased judg-

ment of posterity. I trust that I may yet be spared to do my country some further service that will testify to the love I bear her, and that the vigor of my arm may never relax while there is a blow to be struck in her defense.

"I respectfully ask to be assigned to the command of the department of California, and I doubt not the present commander of the division is even now anxious to serve on the Atlantic frontier.

"I am, sir, very respectefully, your obedient servant,

"Wm. S. Harney,
"Brigadier-General U. S. Army."

General Harney, realizing that the second removal from command at St. Louis made it impossible for him to ask reinstatement there, offered to go to California. He started for Washington but on the way was taken prisoner by the Confederates when the train was captured at Harper's Ferry. The Confederate authorities at Richmond immediately ordered his release when he was brought there. Harney's mission to Washington was fruitless so far as transfer to California was concerned. He remained on the active list but without being given a command until 1863, when he was retired as a brigadier-general. At the close of the war the government attempted to repair the injustice done by brevetting him major-general.

Blair wrote to President Lincoln on the 30th of May, 1861, asking authority to recruit a large force of Missourians. "We are well able to take care of ourselves in this State without assistance from elsewhere if authorized to raise a sufficient force within the State; and after that work is done we can take care of the secessionists from the Arkansas line to the Gulf, along the west shore of the Mississippi."

What the Capture of Camp Jackson Meant.

Champ Clark said, "If Frank Blair had never captured Camp Jackson — for it was Blair who conceived and carried out that great strategic movement, and not Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, of New England, as the Northern war books say — Missouri would have joined the Confederacy under the lead of Governor Claiborne F. Jackson and Gen. Sterling Price, the peerless soldier, and, with her vast resources to command, Lee's soldiers would not have been starved and broken into surrender.

"When we consider the men who were against Blair it is astounding that he succeeded. To say nothing of scores, then unknown to fame, who were conspicuous soldiers in the Confederate army and who have since held high political position, arrayed against him were the governor of the State, Claiborne F. Jackson; the lieutenant-governor, Thomas C. Reynolds; Ex-United States Senator David R. Atchison; United States Senators Trusten Polk and James S. Green, the latter of whom had no superior in intellect or as a debater upon this continent; Waldo P. Johnson, elected to succeed Green in March, 1861, and the well-beloved ex-governor and ex-brigadier-general in the Mexican war, Sterling Price, by long odds the most popular man in the State.

"No man between the two oceans drew his sword with more reluctance or used it with more valor than 'Old Pap Price.' The statement is not too extravagant or fanciful for belief that had he been the sole and absolute commander of the Confederates who won the battle of Wilson's Creek, he would have rescued Missouri from the Unionists.

"The thing that enabled Blair to succeed was his settled conviction from the first that there would be war — a war of coercion. While others were hoping against hope that war could be averted or, at least, that Missouri could be kept out of it, even if it did come — while others were making constitutional arguments, while others were temporizing or dallying—he acted. Believing that the questions at issue could be settled only by the sword, and also believing in Napoleon's maxim that 'God fights on the side of the heaviest battalions,' he grimly made ready for the part which he intended to play in the bloody drama."

CHAPTER XV.

THE STATE THE STAKE.

Missourians Against Missourians—A Final Effort for Peace—Lyon's Ultimatum—"This Means War"—Jackson's Proclamation—The State Guard Called Out—An Expedition Southwest—The State Capital Abandoned—Battle of Boonville—Its Far-reaching Significance—A Week's Important Events—Richmond's Early Missouri Policy—The March Southward—Home-made Ammunition—Historic Buck and Ball—Character of the State Guard—Battle of Carthage—The Honors With 2,000 Unarmed Missourians—Sigel's Masterly Retreat—Lyon Reaches Springfield—Polk and the Army of Liberation—Richmond at Last Heeds Missouri's Appeal—McCulloch Joins Forces with Price—Lyon Outnumbered—Fremont's Costly Delay—The Battle of Wilson's Creek—McCulloch's Attack Anticipated—How the Missourians Fought—Death of Lyon—The State Won for the Union—Jeff Thompson's Dash for St. Louis—Grant Checks the Army of Liberation—The Battle of Lexington—A Great Victory for the State Guard—Ruse of the Hemp Bales—Fremont's Army of the West—The Marching Legislature at Neosho—Ordinance of Secession Passed—"A Solemn Agreement"—Fremont Removed—The Anti-Slavery Protest—Missouri the Kindergarten of the War.

Rather than concede to the State of Missouri the right to demand that my government shall not enlist troops within her limits, or bring troops into the State whenever it pleases, or move its troops at its own will into or out of or through the State; rather than concede to the State of Missouri for one single moment the right to dictate to my government in any matter, however unimportant, I would see you, and you, and you, and every man, woman and child dead and buried. This means war. In an hour one of my officers will call for you and conduct you out of my lines.—*General Nathaniel Lyon.*

Missourians went to war with Missourians on the 12th of June, 1861. The last futile effort to keep peace within the State was made the night before. William A. Hall, David H. Armstrong and J. Richard Barret appealed to Governor Jackson and Gen. Sterling Price to meet Blair and Lyon for conference. Thomas T. Gantt, the warm personal friend of Blair, joined with Mr. Hall in persuading Lyon. Safe conduct was given the governor and Price. The paper stipulated that if they "should visit St. Louis on or before the 12th of June, in order to hold an interview for the purpose of effecting, if possible, a peaceable solution of the troubles of Missouri, they should be free from molestation or arrest during their journey to St. Louis, and their return from St. Louis to Jefferson City."

On the evening of the 11th the conference was held in the Planters House. Six men were in it. Blair and Lyon represented the national government, Major Conant attending as Blair's aide. Governor Jackson and General Price represented the state government, Thomas L. Snead being present as the governor's aide. For more than four hours these men argued about the relations between the United States and the State of Missouri. That was the issue,—state sovereignty. Blair, at first, spoke for the Federal authority. But Lyon soon got into the discussion. Snead said: "In half an hour it was he that was conducting it, holding his own at every point against Jackson and Price, masters

though they were of Missouri politics, whose course they had been directing and controlling for years, while he was only captain of an infantry regiment on the plains. He had not, however, been a mere soldier in those days, but had been an earnest student of the very questions that he was now discussing, and he comprehended the matter as well as any man, and handled it in the soldierly way to which he had been bred, using the sword to cut knots that he could not untie."

It became plain to the six men that there was no middle ground on which they could agree. Lyon ended the conference. He said, finally, without passion but with deliberation and emphasis: "Rather than concede to the State of Missouri the right to demand that my government shall not enlist troops within her limits, or bring troops into the State whenever it pleases, or move its troops at its own will into, out of, or through the State; rather than concede to the State of Missouri for one single instant the right to dictate to my government in any matter however unimportant, I would see you, and you, and you, and you, and you, and every man, woman and child in the State dead and buried."

As he closed, he stood up and pointed in turn to each of the other five men in the room, not excepting Blair and Conant. Then he addressed Governor Jackson: "This means war. In an hour one of my officers will call for you and conduct you out of my lines."

It did mean war. Lyon "strode from the room, rattling his spurs and clanking his sabre." He went from the Planters House conference to telegraph for 5,000 more muskets and for authority to enlist more Missourians. The War Department answered immediately and favorably. This meant organization of Home Guards outside St. Louis, wherever there was strong Union sentiment, to fight State Guards.

Jackson Burns His Bridges.

Jackson, Price and Snead went from the Planters' to the old Missouri Pacific depot and took the evening train for Jefferson City. They burned their bridges behind them,— the Gasconade and the Osage, as soon as Price could give the orders to waiting State Guards. All of the way to Jefferson City that Tuesday night, they planned war measures. It was agreed the governor would issue a proclamation and call Missourians to arms to resist Federal aggression; that Price would muster an army; that an appeal would be made to Jefferson Davis to send Confederate troops to defend Missouri against the Union. The plans were formed when the little party left the train at Jefferson City after 2 o'clock in the morning. Before sunrise Snead had completed the proclamation as the governor outlined it and the printers were putting it in type. No state official slept that night. The packing of records and state papers went on. Wednesday morning brought such scenes as no other American state capital had witnessed. The entire official organization of a State still in the Union was preparing to evacuate the seat of government, not to escape a foreign enemy but the authority of the national government of which it was a part.

To all parts of the State the proclamation of the governor was sent out on Wednesday. It set forth the irreconcilable differences of the Planters House conference, which meant war. Nothing was said about slavery. Asserting that

the state authorities had "labored faithfully to keep the agreement with Harney, Governor Jackson continued:

"We had an interview on the 11th inst. with General Lyon and Colonel F. P. Blair, Jr., at which I submitted to them this proposition: That I would disband the State Guard and break up its organization; that I would disarm all the companies which had been armed by the State; that I would pledge myself not to attempt to organize the militia under the military bill; that no arms or other munitions of war should be brought into the State; that I would protect all citizens equally in all their rights, regardless of their political opinions; that I would suppress all insurrectionary movements within the State; that I would repel all attempts to invade it from whatever quarter and by whomsoever made; and that I would thus maintain a strict neutrality in the present unhappy contest, and preserve the peace of the State. And I further proposed that I would, if necessary, invoke the assistance of the United States troops to carry out these pledges. All this I proposed to do upon condition that the Federal government would undertake to disarm the Home Guards, which it has illegally organized and armed throughout the State, and pledge itself not to occupy with its troops any locality not occupied by them at this time.

"Nothing but the most earnest desire to avert the horrors of civil war from our State could have tempted me to propose these humiliating terms. They were rejected by the Federal officers. They demanded not only the disorganization and disarming of the state militia and the nullification of the military bill, but they refused to disarm their own Home Guards and insisted that the Federal government should enjoy an unrestricted right to move and station its troops throughout the State, whenever and wherever that might, in the opinion of its officers, be necessary for the protection of the 'loyal subjects' of the Federal government, or repelling of invasion; and they plainly announced that it was the intention of the administration to take military occupation, under these pretexts, of the whole State, and to reduce it, as avowed by General Lyon himself, to 'the exact condition of Maryland.'

"The acceptance by me of these degrading terms would not only have sullied the honor of Missouri, but would have aroused the indignation of every brave citizen, and would have precipitated the very conflict that it has been my aim to prevent. We refused to accede to them and the conference was broken up."

Rallying the State Guard.

Governor Jackson concluded by "calling the militia of the State to the number of 50,000 into the active service of the State, for the purpose of repelling said invasion, and for the protection of the lives, liberties, and property of the citizens of this State. And I earnestly exhort all good citizens of Missouri to rally under the flag of their State, for the protection of their homes and firesides, and for the defense of their most sacred rights and dearest privileges."

Before Wednesday night the proclamation was on the way to all parts of the State, but not as it would have been distributed in this later day. When Missourians went to war with Missourians conditions were far different. It is well that this be borne in mind. The rapid succession of strange and startling events of those June days of 1861 can be better understood. No railroad reached Kansas City. The Missouri Pacific stopped at Sedalia. The Wabash as it is now called, then the North Missouri, had been built only half way across the State. The Frisco, then the Southwest Branch, had its terminus at Rolla. The Iron Mountain ended at Ironton. Missouri's railroad development was in the first decade of its development. The telegraphic facilities were meagre. Jackson's proclamation was carried to many communities by couriers. But before Thursday night men were riding away from their homes to Boonville, to Lexington, to other rallying places.

With the governor's proclamation went orders from General Price to the commander in each military district, telling him to assemble all of the available State Guard and get them ready for service. There was one exception. Gen. John B. Clark was ordered to Boonville and was told to get his men there as quickly as possible. The war council had decided that Jefferson City must be abandoned; that the first stand against Federals would be made at Boonville. Germans were too numerous in Cole County; they favored the Federal side of the issue. Boonville was the center of strong state sovereignty sentiment.

Lyon Takes the Field.

Lyon was even more prompt in action than Jackson and Price. Tuesday night, following the conference, he issued orders for an expedition into Southwest Missouri. The regiments of Sigel, Salomon and B. Gratz Brown, composed of St. Louis Germans, were ordered to proceed to Springfield, Missouri. They formed part of the second brigade which Blair and Lyon had organized. Their commander was Thomas W. Sweeny, the one-armed captain of regulars who had prepared to make bloody defense of the arsenal. With Sweeny's St. Louis Germans went two batteries of guns under Major Backoff. This force began moving on Thursday. There was railroad transportation to Rolla. Beyond that was an overland march. Lyon had a double purpose in sending out this expedition. Ben. McCulloch, with Arkansas and Louisiana troops, was approaching the southwestern corner of Missouri. Lyon intended to drive Jackson and the State Guard south from the Missouri river. He intended to have Sweeny prevent McCulloch from coming to the help of Price. He also expected to trap the state forces between Sweeny and his own command. While one of these brigades was getting away to the southwest, Lyon was marching part of the other on board steamboats to go up the Missouri. Blair's regiment, nine companies of Boernstein's, two companies of regulars and Totten's battery, about 2,000 men, were marched on board the boats Thursday. In the afternoon of that same day there was another embarkation at Jefferson City. Jackson and the other state officers, with Kelly's St. Louis company of the State Guard went on board the River Queen and steamed up the river to Boonville. The militia men who had come to Jefferson City in response to the governor's proclamation were hastily organized by General Monroe M. Parsons. When the state officers left by river, Parsons took his force by land to Tipton and awaited orders.

Lyon reached Jefferson City at two o'clock Saturday afternoon. He left Boernstein and three companies for a garrison. Sunday, Lyon started for Boonville. Price had not counted on such rapid advance. His plan was to assemble an army at Lexington and hold the Missouri river permanently at that point. He meant to make as good a fight as possible at Boonville, holding Lyon there, if he could not defeat him, until Lexington could be fortified and a strong force could be organized and equipped. Price depended upon the rich and populous counties of Central Missouri for his army. Two or three weeks before Lyon issued his declaration of war, the quartermaster general of the State had moved to Boonville and had put his ordnance shop in operation.

The Battle of Boonville.

Clark had several hundred men at Boonville when Price and the state officers got there Thursday night. Friday and Saturday more militiamen came in. The

regiment which John S. Marmaduke had organized in May mustered in good force. The companies, however, had had little drilling. They had been sent home from Jefferson City shortly after being organized, when Harney and Price entered into their agreement. In addition to the men who had been recruited, Missourians who wanted to fight flocked by squads to Boonville, many of them riding their own horses, and bringing shot guns and rifles. Not since the "Lexington Alarm" had America known such an assembling for war, without waiting for organization or equipment.

Saturday brought news which tested the courage of these Missourians. There was some fighting between state troops and Federal cavalry near Independence. Kansas regiments and the dragoons were preparing to advance on Lexington from the west. Lyon and the St. Louis Germans were at Jefferson City. Sunday morning Price hurried to Lexington to take personal command. He ordered John B. Clark to hold Boonville as long as possible and then join his force with Parsons. The state forces were without artillery. Price realized that the abandonment of his plan to hold the river was certain if Lyon forced the fighting. And Lyon as usual, lost no time. Sunday he left Jefferson City. At daylight Monday morning he was eight miles below Boonville. His troops landed and moved up the river road. One company of Blair's regiment and a howitzer were left on the boats and started up the river to deceive the state troops. After Price left, Governor Jackson issued the orders. As soon as he learned that Lyon had left Jefferson City he sent word to Parsons, who was twenty miles away, to come to Boonville. He told Marmaduke he must take his regiment out to meet Lyon and try to hold him until Parsons could arrive. Marmaduke was a relative of Governor Jackson's wife. He protested that the movement was useless and advised that the proper course was to withdraw to the Osage river in the vicinity of Warsaw and concentrate there. But the governor insisted it would never do to give up Boonville without a fight. Against better judgment, Marmaduke marched eastward from Boonville until he met Lyon. He had about 500 men, one-fourth as many as Lyon. The country Missourians put up a fight against the city Missourians. Lyon brought up his battery and Marmaduke fell back to another position. "The Battle of Boonville" was soon over. On the Union side two were killed and nine wounded. Of the state troops two were killed and half-a-dozen were wounded. General Clark and General Parsons joined their forces and escorting the state government marched southward to the Osage. At Lexington Price heard of the fall of Boonville. He had found Brigadier-Generals Rains and Slack there with several thousand men, but many of them were unarmed. Lexington was evacuated. Rains and Slack moved with their unorganized army southwestwardly toward Lamar in Barton county. Price with a small escort rode as rapidly as possible across the State to Arkansas to find McCulloch.

Just one week from the Planters' House conference had passed. The state capital had been abandoned. The first battle had been fought. The Missouri river was in the possession of the Union forces. What did it mean? Snead, who was there and the right-hand man of Jackson and Price, said:

"Insignificant as was this engagement in a military aspect, it was in fact a stunning blow to the southern rights people of the State and one which did incalculable and unending injury to the Confederates. It was indeed the consummation of Blair's statesmanlike scheme

to make it impossible for Missouri to secede or out of her great resources to contribute abundantly of men and material to the Southern cause, as she would surely have done had her people been left free to do as they pleased.

"It was also the crowning achievement of Lyon's well-conceived campaign. The capture of Camp Jackson had disarmed the State and compelled the loyalty of St. Louis and all the adjacent counties. The advance upon Jefferson City had put the state government to flight and taken away from it that prestige which gives force to established authority. The dispersion of the volunteers who had rushed to Boonville to fight under Price for Missouri and the South extended Lyon's conquest over all that country lying between the Missouri river and the state line of Iowa, closed all the avenues by which the Southern men of that part of Missouri could make their way to Price, made the Missouri an unobstructed highway from its source to its mouth, and rendered it impossible for Price to hold the rich, populous and friendly counties in the vicinity of Lexington. Price had indeed no alternative now but to retreat in all haste to the southwestern corner of the State, there to organize his army under the protection of the force which the Confederate government was mustering in Northwestern Arkansas under General McCulloch for the protection of that State and the Indian Territory."

Price found McCulloch but received very little encouragement at first. McCulloch had been instructed quite positively from Richmond to confine himself to defense of Arkansas and the Indian Territory against attacks from Kansas. On the 4th of July, the Confederate Secretary of War further cautioned General McCulloch that "the position of Missouri, as a Southern State still in the Union, requires, as you will readily perceive, much prudence and circumspection, and it should only be when necessity and propriety unite that active and direct assistance should be afforded by crossing the boundary and entering the State."

Organizing an Army Under Difficulties.

As Rains and Slack with their thousands of volunteers marched southward from Lexington, the state officers, with Generals Parsons and Clark moved westward. The two bodies came together the 3rd of July on Spring river, three miles north of Lamar. Snead was with the state officers. He said the column of troops was followed by a "long, motley train of vehicles of every description laden not only with supplies for an army, but chiefly with household goods and utensils of every sort, conspicuous among which were featherbeds and frying-pans." High water in the numerous streams added to hardships of the march.

There were several encouraging incidents on the retreat from Boonville to Warsaw and Lamar. Cole Camp was one of the loyal centers to which Blair and Lyon had sent guns and ammunition. Home Guards had been organized. A command of State Guards raised in the vicinity of Warsaw by Lieutenant Walter S. O'Kane and Major Thomas H. Murray routed the Home Guards and joined the governor's column with 362 of the muskets which had been sent out from St. Louis for Union men. About the same time John O. Burbridge with a party from Pike county came into the state camp at Warsaw bringing 150 muskets which had been sent to arm Home Guards in their county. Two men from St. Louis trying to get into Jackson's camp were arrested on suspicion of being spies. They were Henry Guibor and William P. Barlow, lieutenants of a battery taken in the capture of Camp Jackson by Lyon on the 10th of May. Guibor and Barlow had concluded that their capture was illegal and that they were not bound by their paroles. They had come out to join the State Guards. As soon as the explanations were made, Guibor and Barlow were not only set free, but the four brass cannon taken

from the United States arsenal at Liberty in May were turned over to them. These cannon had been hauled away from Jefferson City by Parsons but were useless because they were without equipment and ammunition. Guibor and Barlow organized a company of artillery, took the bare guns and prepared for service. Lieutenant Barlow has told the wonderful story of that preparation. "One of Sigel's captured wagons furnished a few loose, round shots. Guibor established an arsenal of construction. A turning lathe in Carthage supplied sabots. The owner of a tinshop contributed straps and canisters. Iron rods which a blacksmith gave and cut into small pieces made good slugs for the canisters; and a bolt of flannel, with needles and thread, freely donated by a dry-goods man, provided us with material for our cartridge bags. A bayonet made a good candlestick. At night the men went to work making cartridges, strapping shot to the sabots, and filling the bags from a barrel of powder placed some distance from the candle. My first cartridge resembled a turnip, rather than the trim cylinders from the Federal arsenals, and would not take a gun on any terms. But we soon learned the trick and, at close range, at which our next battle was fought, our home-made ammunition proved as effective as the best." Was it any wonder that with such initiative and determination "Guibor's battery" of Missourians became one of the famous organizations of the Confederates!

Snead, who was chief of ordnance, said he "did not know the difference between a siege gun and a howitzer, and had never seen a cartridge." General James Harding, the quartermaster general, said: "We did not have any too much to eat, and at one time rations were very scarce, and much grumbling was heard in consequence. How we got along, I don't know; more by luck than management, probably."

As primitive and as effective were the ways found to supply ammunition for those of the State Guard so fortunate as to possess shot guns and squirrel rifles. Major Thomas H. Price organized an ordnance force from Missourians who had never seen an arsenal. He obtained lead from the Granby diggings. The ninety barrels of powder which Governor Jackson had bought in St. Louis after the Camp Jackson capture were drawn upon. Trees were cut down and made into molds. Buckshot and bullets by the bushel were turned out. From such raw material the historic buck-and-ball cartridges, terribly effective at short range, were manufactured.

Lyon stopped at Boonville two weeks. He wanted reinforcements. While he waited, he garrisoned Jefferson City, Boonville and Lexington. He put Colonel John D. Stevenson in command of the Missouri river from Kansas City to the mouth. Stevenson was the member of the legislature who had protested when Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds ordered the assembly to honor the secession commissioner from Mississippi by rising. He was of Southern birth but strongly for the Union. Wherever there was encouraging sentiment in the eastern counties Lyon organized Home Guards and supplied muskets and ammunition. From Boonville, he issued a soothing proclamation pledging that any man who had taken up arms would not be subject to penalty if he now returned to his home and was quiet. Price believed that this proclamation kept thousands of Missourians from joining the State Guards.

The Training Camp at Lamar.

At Camp Lamar the brigadier-generals organized their forces as rapidly as possible. Hundreds of the volunteers up to that time had not been assigned to commands. Rains had nearly 3,000 men. His effective force consisted of 1,200 infantry under Colonel Weightman, 600 mounted men and Bledsoe's battery of three guns. The remainder of Rains' men were without arms. Parsons' brigade consisted of 650 armed men and nearly as many without arms. Kelly had become a colonel and his St. Louis company had become a regiment. Guibor's battery was attached to Parsons' brigade. Under General John B. Clark were 365 armed men commanded by Burbridge. Slack had 500 mounted men under Rives and 700 infantry under Colonel Hughes and Major Thornton. With each of these armed commands were many unarmed men, "waiting to pick up and use the arms of those who might sicken in camp or on the march, or who might fall in battle." Such was Price's army of Missourians in July, 1861. Was there any other like command going to war on either side? Snead said: "In all their motley array there was hardly a uniform to be seen, and then, and throughout all the brilliant campaign on which they were about to enter there was nothing to distinguish their officers, even a general, from the men in the ranks, save a bit of red flannel, or a piece of cotton cloth, fastened to the shoulder, or to the arm, of the former. But for all that they were the truest and best of soldiers. Many of them, when just emerging from boyhood, had fought under Price or Doniphan in Mexico. Many had been across the great plains, and were inured to the dangers and privations of the wilderness; and many had engaged in the hot strife which had ensanguined the prairies of Kansas. Among them there was hardly a man who could not read and write, and who was not more intelligent than the great mass of American citizens; not one who had not voluntarily abandoned his home with all its tender ties and thrown away all his possessions, and left father and mother, or wife and children, within the enemy's lines, that he might himself stand by the South in her hour of great peril, and help her to defend her fields and her firesides. And among them all there was not a man who had come forth to fight for slavery."

A Battle Won by 2,000 Unarmed Men.

While Governor Jackson was trying to get the State Guard organized at Camp Lamar, waiting for Lyon to make the next move from Boonville, he had no idea of what was going on south of him. According to Snead, Sweeny reached Springfield on the 1st of July. On the way he added about a thousand Home Guards to his St. Louis regiments. Sigel was in advance of Sweeny. He pushed westward with Salomon's and his own regiment, hoping to cut off Price before the latter could reach McCulloch across the Arkansas border. He went as far as Neosho and Sarcoxie only to learn that Price had passed down to the state line. Sigel then turned northward to hold Governor Jackson and the State Guard until Lyon could arrive and spring the trap. Lyon left Boonville on the 3rd of July with 2,500 men and marched toward Camp Lamar. Sturgis with 900 regulars from Fort Leavenworth and two Kansas regiments was following the trail of Rains. Thus three small Union armies were converging on Jackson and the State Guard at Lamar. But Sigel arrived too soon. On the 4th of July Sigel marched into Carthage and was discovered by a quartermaster's detail which had gone

there from Jackson's army to get supplies. On the evening of the 4th of July a man rode furiously up to Parsons' headquarters with the news that the Federals were at Carthage. At daybreak of the 5th Governor Jackson started with his whole army of 4,000 armed and 2,000 unarmed men to meet the Union force. Sigel had been about as prompt. The two armies of Missourians came together on a prairie near Coon creek. Sigel had 950 infantry and Backoff's battery of seven guns and 125 men. He began the fight. For an hour Backoff on one side and Guibor and Bledsoe on the other pounded away without much damage. Then Governor Jackson ordered an advance of Rains' 600 mounted men at one end of his long front and of Rives at the other end. At the same time the 2,000 unarmed men were sent off to the right into some timber to take shelter and to be out of the way. Sigel saw this movement, but did not know the men were unarmed. He thought the 2,000 men moving for the timber were being sent round to take him in the rear. He retreated and so ended the Battle of Carthage. Sigel lost thirteen killed and thirty-one wounded. The State Guard's loss was ten killed and sixty-four wounded. The Battle of Carthage was famous for two things. The honors were with the 2,000 Missourians who had no guns and were trying to get out of the way. Sigel got away from an armed force outnumbering him four to one and saved his train. He did it by retreating in good order, fighting behind the fences and houses of Carthage and marching until three o'clock the next morning. Snead, the Confederate historian, gave Sigel this credit: "As the engagement took place about nine miles north of Carthage, Sigel had on the 5th of July marched under a blazing sun more than ten miles, had met and fought on the same day an army four times as numerous as his own and had then withdrawn his men in good order, first to Carthage, nine miles from the field, and then to Sarcoxie, fifteen miles further, without halting either to eat or sleep."

The Forced March to Springfield.

Lyon was far away when Jackson and Sigel met. He had about a hundred miles to march. On the evening of the 7th of July he reached Grand river south of Clinton. There he overtook Sturgis and the Kansans who had been waiting for him to come up. On the afternoon of the 9th Lyon was at the Osage, nine miles above Osceola, and there the news reached him that the state troops had defeated Sigel and that Price and McCulloch had formed the junction he had planned to prevent. Under the impression that the state troops were pursuing Sigel, Lyon ferried his army over the Osage, working day and night. There had been heavy rains. The rivers were bank full. On the morning of the 11th Lyon started on another eighty mile march toward Springfield. He made twenty-seven miles without a stop. A halt for food and rest was made in the afternoon. At sunset the forced march was resumed. At three o'clock in the morning Lyon was within thirty miles of Springfield when he learned that Price had not followed Sigel; that the latter had made a safe retreat, and that Price was at Cowskin Prairie. The night of the 12th Lyon camped within twelve miles of Springfield and the next morning he rode into Springfield with his "body-guard of ten stalwart troopers enlisted from among the German butchers of St. Louis for that special duty."

Price joined Jackson and the other state troops immediately after the Carthage affair. On his journey to Arkansas for help he had recruited 1,200 men for the

State Guard. He had obtained 650 muskets from the Arkansas people and he had induced McCulloch and his well organized and uniformed men to come into Missouri. Price had done quick work for word had reached him that Lyon and Sturgis and Sigel were marching against Governor Jackson. But the retreat of Sigel had averted the great danger. The coming of McCulloch although not needed created great enthusiasm among the Missourians. McCulloch marched back to the Arkansas line. Price took command of all of the State Guard and conducted them to Cowskin Prairie in the extreme southwestern corner of Missouri. Lyon modified his plan and joined Sigel at Springfield. The Union Missourians and the State Missourians now began to prepare for real battle. Both sides wanted a fight to a finish. Governor Jackson went to Memphis to urge General Polk to send a Confederate army into Southeast Missouri. Price urged McCulloch to bring his troops into Missouri and join him in an attack upon Lyon at Springfield.

There were strong reasons for pushing the campaign those July days. The state convention which had declared against secession and had given the southern rights wing in Missouri such bitter disappointment in March had been called to meet in Jefferson City on the 22nd of July. The action of that convention, if the Union men still held the State, was foreseen. The officers who had been driven to a corner of the State would be declared out of office. A new, provisional state government would be organized. Missouri would remain in the Union. As a State it would be permanently against the South. Response to the appeals of the Missourians was delayed. At Richmond the proposition to invade Missouri was still treated coldly. It was not until the 31st of July that McCulloch and the Arkansas troops, making with the Missourians an army of 15,000, got under way for Springfield.

The Army of Liberation.

General Polk, the militant Methodist bishop, on the 23rd of July had ordered Pillow to take 6,000 and join Jeff Thompson and the Missourians who had come together in Southeast Missouri. Polk called this "the Army of Liberation." Pillow entered Missouri on the 28th of July and occupied New Madrid. He had great expectations. The Battle of Bull Run had given the Confederates confidence. Those in the West were anxious to show that they, too, were irresistible. In his plan of campaign for the Army of Liberation, General Pillow declared that his army was in Missouri, at the request of Governor Jackson, to aid as allies in "placing our downtrodden sister on her feet." On the 1st of August Jeff Thompson at Bloomfield, issued this appeal "to the people of Missouri":

"Having been elected to command the gallant sons of the first military district of Missouri in the second war for independence, I appeal to all whose hearts are with us, immediately to take the field. By a speedy and simultaneous assault on our foes, we can, like a hurricane, scatter them to the winds, while tardy action, like the gentle south wind, will only meet with northern frosts, and advance and recede, and like the seasons will be the history of the war, and will last forever. Come now! Strike while the iron is hot! Our enemies are whipped in Virginia. They have been whipped in Missouri. General Hardee advances in the center, General Pillow on the right, and General McCulloch on the left, with twenty thousand brave Southern hearts to our aid. So, leave your plows in the furrow, your ox to the yoke, and rush like a tornado upon our invaders and foes, to sweep them from the face of the earth, or force them from the soil of our State! Brave sons of the first district, come

and join us! We have plenty of ammunition, and the cattle on ten thousands hills are ours. We have forty thousand Belgian muskets coming; but bring your guns and muskets with you, if you have them; if not, come without them. We will strike our foes like a southern thunderbolt, and soon our camp-fires will illuminate the Meramec and Missouri. Come, turn out!"

According to the War Records, General Thompson, not long after the issue of his appeal, sent out a scouting party for fresh meat. The only cow of a widow was taken. The widow came into camp and called upon the commander. "Why, General," she protested, "is it possible you intend to rob a widow of the only cow she has in the world, when, as you have said in your proclamation, the cattle on ten thousand hills are yours?" The general grinned and ordered the cow returned to the widow.

Wilson's Creek and the Corn Fields.

Some fields of ripening corn determined the location of the Battle of Wilson's creek. On the way to Springfield Price and McCulloch camped on the banks of the creek near the fields. They expected to live on that corn while waiting for their trains to come up. And there they were attacked by the man they expected to attack in Springfield. Wilson's creek has its beginning in the suburbs of Springfield. It flows in a westerly direction several miles, bends southward and follows that course about ten miles to its junction with the James.

At Springfield Lyon found himself with between 7,000 and and 8,000 men, nearly all of them Missourians. He had 3,000 men who had been enlisted for three months and their terms would be out the middle of August. He had no idea of giving up the advantage gained and began to prepare for battle, sending urgent messages to Fremont in St. Louis for reinforcements. "Governor Jackson will soon have in this vicinity not less than 30,000 men. I must have at once an additional force of 10,000 men or abandon my position," he wrote. He didn't get his reinforcements and he didn't abandon his position. Blair was in Washington. He carried Lyon's appeals to the Cabinet. Orders were sent to Fremont. Farrar, Cavender and John S. Phelps, afterwards governor, went as a delegation to Fremont and urged that help be sent to Lyon at Springfield. Fremont promised 5,000 men. It was not until the 4th of August, too late, that two regiments were ordered to go to Lyon, Stevenson's from Boonville and Montgomery's from Leavenworth. Finally Lyon sent defiantly to Fremont that he would fight anyway. And he did.

Lyon learned on the 1st of August that Price and McCulloch had started toward Springfield. He marched out to meet them, hoping to be able with his smaller force to attack them separately. A skirmish occurred at Dug Springs in which the Union troops had the best of it. Price urged McCulloch to join him in attacking Lyon. The commander of the Arkansas troops was reluctant. He referred to the instructions he had about going into Missouri. Snead said this was not McCulloch's real reason for holding back. "He had in truth no confidence in the Missouri troops, and none in General Price, or in any of his officers except Colonel Weightman." Up to this time McCulloch had commanded the Arkansas troops and Price the Missourians. Price saw the McCulloch had "determined not to advance another mile except in chief command of the entire force." On Sun-

day morning Price took Snead with him and went to McCulloch's headquarters to make a final effort. According to Snead General Price said:

"I am an older man than you, General McCulloch, and I am not only your senior in rank, but I was a brigadier-general in the Mexican war, with an independent command when you were only a captain; I have fought and won more battles than you have ever witnessed; my force is twice as great as yours; and some of my officers rank and have seen more service than you, and we are also upon the soil of our own State; but, General McCulloch, if you will consent to help us to whip Lyon and to repossess Missouri, I will put myself and all my forces under your command, and we will obey you as faithfully as the humblest of your own men. We can whip Lyon, and we will whip him and drive the enemy out of Missouri, and all the honor and all the glory shall be yours. All that we want is to regain our homes and to establish the independence of Missouri and the South. If you refuse to accept this offer, I will move with the Missourians alone against Lyon. For it is better that they and I should all perish than that Missouri be abandoned without a struggle. You must either fight beside us or look on at a safe distance, and see us fight alone the army which you dare not attack even with our aid. I must have your answer before dark, for I expect to attack Lyon to-morrow."

McCulloch accepted the offer of command about sunset. He explained that he had been awaiting dispatches; that having learned Pillow was advancing into Missouri from New Madrid, he felt justified in attacking Lyon.

The Fight for Missouri.

McCulloch had decided to move from Wilson's Creek the night of August 9th to attack Lyon in Springfield. Just before the hour set for the advance of the Confederates, rain began to fall. The order was countermanded. The reason for postponement was another of the extraordinary conditions of this early fighting for Missouri. Most of Price's men had no cartridge boxes. They were carrying their ammunition in their pockets. The rain would have wet the powder and put three-fourths of the Missourians on the Confederate side out of the fighting.

But Lyon, impatient to force the issue, didn't wait for McCulloch to attack. He left Springfield on the afternoon of the 9th, intending to surprise the Confederates by an early morning attack. The Union force was divided. Lyon marched by a route to take him around the left of the Confederates. He sent Sigel by a more southerly route to pass around the right of the enemy. Both Lyon and Sigel passed the opposite wings of the Confederates and were ready at daylight to attack in the rear. The Confederate report shows that so well was this movement carried out that at six o'clock the morning of the 10th neither Price nor McCulloch knew that Lyon had left Springfield and they were expecting to make the attack there.

Of the Missourians who fought five hours under Price on Bloody Hill, one who was in the thickest of it, Thomas L. Snead, said: "Many of them had not even enlisted, but had only come out to fight; thousands of them had not been organized into regiments; many of them were unarmed; none of them were uniformed; very few of them had been drilled. Their arms were mostly shot-guns and rifles, and they had no other equipments of any kind; no tents at all; no supplies of any sort, and no depots from which to draw subsistence, or clothing, or ammunition, or anything. They had no muster rolls and they made no morning reports. They bivouacked in the open air, they subsisted on the ripening corn, and they foraged their horses on the prairie-grass."

BARNUM'S HOTEL, ST. LOUIS, DURING THE CIVIL WAR

GRATIOT STREET PRISON, ST. LOUIS, DURING THE CIVIL WAR

ROBERT A. BARNES
Founder of Barnes Hospital

JOSEPH CHARLESS

So many of the higher officers on the Union side fell with Lyon, that the soldiers, when the battle closed were under command of a major. The First Missouri went into the fighting with 800 men and came out with 505. The First Kansas lost 284. Of Steele's battalion of regulars, sixty-one, out of 275 were killed or wounded. Price had 4,200 men when the fighting begun. He was wounded as were many of his officers. He lost on Bloody Hill 988 in killed and wounded. "Never before," said Snead, "considering the numbers engaged, had so bloody a battle been fought upon American soil; seldom has a bloodier one been fought on any modern field. The lines would approach again and again within less than fifty yards of each other, and then, after delivering a deadly fire, each would fall back a few paces to reform and reload, only to advance again, and again renew this strange battle in the woods. Peculiar in all its aspects, the most remarkable of all its characteristics was the deep silence which now and then fell upon the smoking field, while the two armies, unseen of each other, lay but a few yards apart, gathering strength to grapple again in the death struggle for Missouri."

Two newspaper men wrote histories of the Civil war in Missouri. Both had been connected with St. Louis papers. Both served in the war. They knew from personal observation the local situation which had no counterpart in any other State. One of these soldier historians was in the Southern army. The other served with the North. Thomas L. Snead, the Confederate, called his book "The Fight for Missouri." And from his point of view the fight ended with the battle of Wilson's Creek, in August, 1861. John McElroy, who gave the Northern view, carried "The Struggle for Missouri," as he called his book, down to the battle of Pea Ridge in March, 1862.

Lyon had not fallen in vain. "By capturing the state militia at Camp Jackson," said Snead, "and driving the governor from the capital and all his troops into the uttermost corner of the State, and by holding Price and McCulloch at bay, he had given the Union men of Missouri time, opportunity, and courage to bring their state convention together again, and had given the convention an excuse and the power to depose Governor Jackson and Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds, to vacate the seats of the members of the general assembly, and to establish a state government which was loyal to the Union and which would use the whole organized power of the State—its treasury, its credit, its militia, and all its great resources —to sustain the Union and crush the South."

The Part Performed by Grant.

On the day that Lyon marched out of Springfield to attack Price, at Wilson's Creek, Grant, sitting under an oak tree at Ironton, received his commission as brigadier-general. The sequel to the issue of that commission was a change in the plans of Albert Sidney Johnston, Polk and Pillow. The Army of Liberation did not make the intended advance into Missouri to capture St. Louis. Cairo very quickly became the new storm center. Jeff Thompson with 2,000 Missourians started from Columbus, Kentucky, early in October. He made a rapid march up through Southeast Missouri intending to show the Confederate generals what was possible. The Swamp Fox gave the Illinois colonels in the vicinity of Ironton quite a scare and did some good fighting. Thompson and his men were entirely at home in the valleys and mountains of that picturesque region. The Illinois troops were more accustomed to prairies. Jeff Thompson made his way as far north as

Big River bridge, forty miles from St. Louis. Fremont was busy with Price in the western part of the State. Jeff Thompson sent back word of his success to Albert Sidney Johnston. He expected Pillow to come on rapidly with an army and take St. Louis. All went well with the Swamp Fox until the battle of Fredericktown. There he was attacked by 3,500 troops, chiefly Illinoisans under Colonel Plummer and Colonel Carlin. Grant planned and ordered the attack. Thompson made a strong stand but found he was outnumbered. His men retreated. The infantry followed him ten miles and the cavalry pursued him twelve miles farther breaking up and scattering his force. Thompson reported from New Madrid that his command was "very much demoralized." This ended the proposed movement to take St. Louis. Grant moved over to Cairo and started an expedition to Paducah and elsewhere. It was Grant's activity in Southeast Missouri and Western Kentucky that prompted Lincoln's approving comment that the new brigadier seemed to be a man who "kept things moving."

Battle of the Hemp Bales.

The battle of Lexington lasted eight days, counting from the first skirmish. It was one of the strangest of the Civil war. Price's army had grown like a rolling snowball as he marched north from Springfield to the Missouri river in the early autumn of 1861. That was characteristic of the campaigning in Missouri. When Price advanced, recruits flocked to him. As he fell back many of them returned to their homes.

After the battle of Wilson's Creek, Price made his headquarters at Springfield for some days. Hundreds of his unarmed men were equipped with the guns captured on the battlefield. Organization was perfected. The experience of the first battle, the baptism of blood, had told upon the Missourians. The well uniformed and completely equipped Arkansas and Louisiana men under McCulloch no longer referred to Price's "undisciplined mob." The last week of August Price left Springfield with an army of 10,000 Missourians fit for any issue of war. He made a feint at Fort Scott which alarmed Kansas and then marched for the Missouri river. He reached Lexington on the 12th of September. The usual irregular contingents had joined him on the way, swelling his force to over 30,000. As Price approached, several bodies of Union troops fell back and concentrated at Lexington. Two of these commands were Mulligan's Twenty-third Illinois, an Irish regiment, and Marshall's First Illinois cavalry, both of them recruited largely in Chicago. The Eleventh Missouri under Colonel Everett Peabody, and 500 Home Guards under Colonel White made up the force in Lexington when Price arrived. The Union troops could have taken boats and escaped. But Lexington had been made a depot of supplies and commanded the river. Mulligan, who took command as the senior colonel, felt that he must stay and try to hold the place and protect the government property until reinforcements reached him. He selected a high hill between what were then known as Old Lexington and New Lexington. Around the grounds and buildings of the Masonic College he threw up heavy earthworks. Into the space of about fifteen acres the 3,500 men, half as many horses and the wagon trains were crowded. At Jefferson City were 5,000 men under General Jeff. C. Davis. Sturgis had 4,000 men at Mexico and Pope was in Northwest Missouri with 5,000. The expected reinforcements did not arrive. Mulligan fought well. Price's men worked closer and closer. The nights were

moonlight. Squads of Missourians crawled up ravines and found cover behind buildings. They kept up a fusillade by night as well as by day. This was great sport for the irregulars who had brought their shot guns and squirrel rifles and had joined Price's army on the way from Springfield. Mulligan's 3,500 ought to have been slaughtered several times over but the total number killed was less than 100. The batteries of Guibor, McDonald and Clark pounded away, making scars in the stone walls of the college and occasionally killing a horse and a mule which added to the discomfort of the besieged. Price finally ordered his men to close in. They did it by rolling bales of hemp up the hill. Mulligan saw this moving fort of hemp bales approach within 150 feet of works. He gave one last searching look for the reinforcements which never came and surrendered. Price gave honorable terms. He always did. The Union troops surrendered their arms, took an oath not to fight any more against Missouri, were ferried to the north side of the river and turned loose. Mulligan was told to keep his sword. He became the guest of General Price until some time afterwards he was sent to St. Louis, escorted by L. D. Kingsland, a young officer on Price's staff, to be exchanged.

Price captured at Lexington 3,000 rifles, five cannon, 750 horses, $100,000 worth of commissary stores, wagons, ammunition. He also dug up the great seal of Missouri which Governor Jackson and the state officers had buried in a cellar when they abandoned the idea of making Lexington the temporary capital and took a hurried departure. State records which had been left behind at that time were recovered by Price.

The men behind the hemp bales were from General Harris' command. When the military bill went into operation "Tom" Harris was given the most difficult of the Congressional districts to organize for the State Guard. His district was the northeast corner of the State. When he had recruited a considerable force, several newly mustered Illinois regiments were sent into North Missouri to be broken in. They were put to chasing Harris. One of these regiments was the Twenty-first Illinois, commanded by Colonel U. S. Grant. Harris was followed from place to place until his recruits scattered. The chase was not called off until it was reported that Harris' army was reduced to the general, his staff and three enlisted men and that they had successfully concealed themselves in the hills of Salt river.

Harris' opportunity came with the six days' fighting at Lexington. In his official report General Harris told how he took 132 bales of hemp and rolled them up the hill, sheltering his men behind them. He said, "I directed the bales to be wet in the river to protect them against the casualties of fire of our troops and the enemy, and soon discovered that the wetting was so materially increasing the weight as to prevent our men in their exhausted condition from rolling them to the crest of the hill. I then adopted the idea of wetting the hemp after it had been transported to this position."

Mulligan hoisted the white flag when he saw the 132 bales of hemp steadily approaching his trenches and within 150 feet of them. "Tom" Harris' movable breastworks became famous. There was some controversy about the credit for the suggestion. Friends of Colonel Thomas Hinkle, of Wellington, near Lexington, and in the hemp growing region of Missouri, claimed that he first proposed the use of the hemp bales.

Price and Fremont.

Price held Lexington until the 1st of October while Fremont was organizing the Army of the West with elaborate preparations to crush him. No other army of the Civil war was outfitted as was Fremont's in the fall of 1861. Among the supplies, which the quartermasters purchased in great quantity, were half barrels for water, although Fremont was about to traverse the Ozarks, a region abounding in springs and running streams. Mules in droves were bought. About the middle of October, Fremont started his divisions from several points to follow Price. He reached the Osage nine days after Price had crossed. Price moved at the rate of about fifteen miles a day. He was at times one hundred miles ahead of Fremont. When he arrived at Neosho he stopped long enough for the state government to set up a temporary capital and for members of the legislature who were traveling with the army to hold a two weeks' session. The principal business was the passage of an ordinance of secession declaring Missouri out of the Union. This paved the way for the election of Senators and Representatives to the Confederate Congress at Richmond. Price moved still nearer the Arkansas line and made his headquarters at Pineville. Fremont stopped at Springfield and began to prepare for battle. Price was fifty miles away. Instead of a battle a "solemn agreement" was entered into by Price and Fremont. It was dated the 1st of November. The stipulations signed by the two generals were:

"1. No arrests whatever on account of political opinions, or for the merely private expression of the same, shall hereafter be made within the limits of the State of Missouri, and all persons who may have been arrested and are now held to answer upon such charges only shall be forthwith released; but it is expressly declared that nothing in this proclamation shall be construed to bar or interfere with any of the usual and regular proceedings of the established courts under statutes and orders made and provided for such offenses.

"2. All peaceably disposed citizens who may have been driven from their homes because of their political opinions, or who may have left them from fear of force and violence, are hereby advised and permitted to return, upon the faith of our positive assurances that while so returning they shall receive protection from both the armies in the field wherever it can be given.

"3. All bodies of armed men acting without authority or recognition of the major-generals before named, and not legitimately connected with the armies in the field, are hereby ordered at once to disband.

"4. Any violation of either of the foregoing articles shall subject the offender to the penalty of military law, according to the nature of the offense."

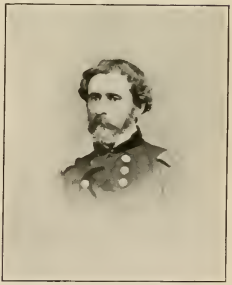
Fremont signed this agreement at Springfield on the 1st of November and Price signed it at Cassville on the 5th. But on the 2nd of November a messenger arrived at Springfield with an order from Winfield Scott telling Fremont to turn his command over to General Hunter and report to general headquarters. Fremont issued an address of farewell to the "Soldiers of the Mississippi Army" and left Springfield for St. Louis. In this address he said: "Soldiers, I regret to leave you. Most sincerely I thank you for the regard and confidence you have invariably shown me. I deeply regret that I shall not have the honor to lead you to the victory which you are just about to win, but I shall claim to share with you in the joy of every triumph, and trust always to be fraternally remembered by my companions in arms."

Fremont was the hope of the anti-slavery people. Not long after he took command at St. Louis he proclamed the freedom of the slaves owned by Missourians

THE BRANT RESIDENCE ON CHOUTEAU AVENUE

Headquarters of Fremont in 1861

MRS. JESSIE BENTON FREMONT
(Miss Jessie Benton)



GEN. JOHN C. FREMONT

who had joined the Confederates. President Lincoln repudiated Fremont's action. He held it was in violation of existing laws. Furthermore the general had usurped a prerogative of the President. John G. Whittier made this incident the subject of stirring lines which were copied throughout the country:

"Thy error, Fremont, simply was to act
A brave man's part, without the statesman's tact,
And, taking counsel but of common sense,
To strike at cause as well as consequence.
Oh, never yet since Roland wound his horn,
At Roncesvalles, has a blast been blown
Far-heard, wide-echoed, startling as thine own,
Heard from the van of freedom's hope forlorn."

Missouri's War Record for 1861.

Missouri was the kindergarten of the Civil war. From the little army with which Lyon fought the battle of Wilson's Creek in August, 1861, came seven major-generals and thirteen brigadier-generals. Of the southern rights Missourians who fought in that same battle seven rose to be general officers in the Confederate army.

When the year 1861 closed there had been fought in Missouri and for the most part between Missourians, sixty-one battles. The losses on the Union side were 500 to 600 killed, 2,000 wounded and 3,600 taken prisoners. The losses on the Confederate side were about the same.

Lincoln, in a letter about the close of the year, wrote, "Before Spring the people of Missouri will probably be in no favorable mood to renew for next year the troubles which have so afflicted and impoverished them during this."

CHAPTER XVI.

CIVIL WAR IN MISSOURI.

A Great Emergency—The Man of the Hour—"Old Sanitary"—Organizing the Plan of Relief—Merciful Missourians Behind the Firing Lines—Major Hodges' Narrative—James E. Yeatman—The Sanitary Fair—Assessment of Southern Sympathizers—Dr. Eliot's Protest to President Lincoln—How the Missouri Chaos "Stampeded" Sherman—A Leave of Absence—The Story of Insanity—A Long Hidden Confidential Letter—Halleck Called Upon to Explain—Missouri in the War Records—The Policy of Extermination—"War Is Butchery on a Grand Scale"—Guerrillas "Should Not Be Brought in as Prisoners"—"Forty-one Guerrillas Mustered Out by Our Boys in the Brush"—William F. Switzler on "The Reign of Terror"—Missouri Warfare as John F. Philips Saw It—Graphic Story of the Charge on a Church—Retaliation by Order of General Brown—Bill Anderson and the "Kansas First Guerrilla"—A Defiant Proclamation—The Death of Anderson—Depopulation Suggested for Boone County—A Man Hunt in the Lowlands of the Southeast—"We Killed in All Forty-seven"—The Paw Paw Militia Controversy—Gen. Clinton B. Fisk's Reports—A Brush Expedition in Western Missouri—The War on Smugglers—Gen. John McNeil's Order to Burn—Fisk Said, "Pursue and Kill."

In Missouri the war was waged with unspeakable bitterness, sometimes with inhuman cruelty. It was fought by men in single combat, in squads, in companies, in regiments, in great armies, in the open, in fortified town, and in ambush, under the Stars and Stripes, under the Stars and Bars, and under the black flag.—*Champ Clark.*

Unpreparedness was the state of the Union when Civil war broke out. Men could be enlisted. Guns and uniforms could be bought. Cartridges could be made. The fighting began as if no thereafter was taken into account. Back from the front trickled the earliest human stream of wounded and sick. It swelled rapidly as the months passed. The fighting became heavier. Born of a great emergency, late in the summer of 1861, the Western Sanitary Commission came into existence.

From the battlefield of Wilson's Creek in mid-August were brought to St. Louis 721 wounded men. In the whole city there were not hospital accommodations for so many. Medical Director De Camp had established an army hospital at the St. Louis House of Refuge only four days before the battle but was not ready for patients. According to an official report the hospital "had neither stoves nor bedsteads, nor beds, nor bedding, nor food, nor nurses, nor anything prepared. The first 100 arrived at night. They had been brought in wagons 120 miles over a rough road, by hurried marches, suffering for food and water, from Springfield to Rolla, and thence by rail to St. Louis, and to the station on Fourteenth street. Then, having had nothing to eat for ten hours, they were put into furniture cars and carried the remaining three miles. Bare floors, bare walls and an empty kitchen received them. The kind-hearted surgeon obtained from the neighbors cooked food for their supper, and lost no time in getting

together the means for their comfort. The poor fellows were so shattered and travel-worn that they were thankful to get food to eat and hard boards to sleep upon, and no word of complaint was heard from them. In the course of the week 300 or 400 more arrived. Conditions were improving, but there was so great a difficulty in obtaining what was wanted that many of the badly wounded lay in the same unchanged garments in which they had been brought from the battlefield three weeks before, but in the course of a month all were made comfortable. The sick and wounded continued to arrive and other accommodations had to be secured without delay. All the wards of the Sisters of Charity Hospital and the City Hospital were filled. The sad and neglected condition of those brought from Springfield excited the sympathies of the patriotic people. The wounds of many had not been dressed since leaving the battlefield, others were suffering from unextracted bullets and pieces of shell, and the hospitals were unprovided with clothing to substitute for that which in many cases was saturated with the blood of their wounds."

The Western Sanitary Commission.

Of such conditions was brought into activity the Western Sanitary Commission. Fremont launched the organization on its career of mercy by declaring in a military order: "Its general object shall be to carry out, under the properly constituted military authorities, and in compliance with their orders, such sanitary regulation and reforms as the well-being of the soldiers demands."

The general proceeded to indicate in specific details some of the services which might be performed. These were the selection and furnishing of buildings for hospitals, the finding of nurses, the visiting of camps, the inspection of food, the suggestion of better drainage, the obtaining from the public of means for promoting the moral and social welfare of soldiers in camp and hospital.

To avert friction and enlarge usefulness, Fremont concluded his order with the following: "This commission is not intended in any way to interfere with the medical staff or other officers of the army, but to cooperate with them and aid them in the discharge of their present arduous and extraordinary duties. It will be treated by all officers of the army, both regular and volunteer, in this department with the respect due to the humane and patriotic motives of the members and to the authoriy of the commander-in-chief."

The hour had come. Where was the man? The people recognized the emergency. Hearts were throbbing with sympathy. Hands were ready to contribute. St. Louis was the center of activities for an extensive military front. Here troops were mobilized. Hence armies moved southwest and south. Here supplies were received and forwarded. Back to St. Louis came the boatloads and trainloads of wounded. Whether Fremont's Western Sanitary Commission meant much or little depended upon the head. The man was found. He was southern born, a native of Tennessee. He had lived in St. Louis nearly twenty years. He was a banker, a little past forty years of age.

James E. Yeatman made the Western Sanitary Commission. Good men of St. Louis held up his hands. They were named with him—Carlos S. Greeley, Dr. J. B. Johnson, George Partridge and Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot. They were wise in counsel, efficient in assistance. But Mr. Yeatman was "Old Sanitary" to the soldiers in a thousand circling camps. This banker, in the prime

DR. JOHN T. HODGEN

Surgeon of the Western Sanitary Commission

JAMES E. YEATMAN

Head of the Western Sanitary Commission

ISAAC H. STURGEON

Assistant Treasurer of the United States in 1861

GEORGE PARTRIDGE

Of the Western Sanitary Commission

of manhood, had a bed put in a room connected with his office so that he might be ready to respond to any call. He was on duty while he slept. A great organization was gradually built up under Mr. Yeatman's direction. Everywhere in the north were local branches of the Western Sanitary Commission. The great work of relief was systematized and made effective. The collection and forwarding of supplies contributed were directed and controlled as a banker might deal with his country correspondents. There was no waste.

One of the first acts of Mr. Yeatman and his associates was to fit up and open a hospital for five hundred soldiers on Fifth and Chestnut streets. Surgeon John T. Hodgen was given charge. In this building were received the sanitary stores contributed from hundreds of cities, towns and villages. As needed, these stores were distributed. Hospital after hospital was prepared and opened as the wounded increased in numbers. Hospital boats were put in service to bring the wounded from the battlefields. A soldiers' home was opened in St. Louis to care for the furloughed and discharged sick as they came from the front. The military prisons in and around St. Louis were filled with Confederate soldiers and those who sympathized. The Western Sanitary Commission carried its work of relief into the prisons. Refugees flocked to the city and were temporarily cared for. Homes for soldiers' orphans were provided.

Nowhere else in the country was there a like center of suffering and misery from the war. Nowhere else were relief measures of such magnitude undertaken. The efficiency of Mr. Yeatman's organization came to be recognized the country wide. An appropriation of $50,000 by the state of Missouri was made for the commission. Another of $25,000 came later. The government of St. Louis made appropriations and placed the money in Mr. Yeatman's hands. Gifts came from all parts of the country. Here was the suffering. Here came the contributions. In the midst of business depression, of war hard times, the Mississippi Valley Sanitary fair held in St. Louis produced more than $500,000. When the books of the Western Sanitary Commission closed they showed that Mr. Yeatman had handled in money and stores for mitigation of the horrors of war $4,270,098.55. The magnificent liberality had been begotten of implicit confidence in the integrity of the Western Sanitary Commission.

Year after year, almost from the very beginning of hostilities, Mr. Yeatman gave himself to this work. Repeatedly he left the headquarters of the commission in St. Louis and went to the front to see for himself the needs. He sought the suffering and applied the measures of relief. It was this personal visitation and inspection that won for him the tender regard of the soldiers and the affectionate title of "Old Sanitary."

Wonderful Details of Work.

Major W. R. Hodges, of the Loyal Legion, has described in graphic detail the work of the Western Sanitary Commission:

"In September came the siege and battle of Lexington, Mo., which threw 300 more wounded into the hospitals of St. Louis, and within two months five additional hospitals were provided. The commission fitted up two hospital cars on the Pacific Railroad with berths, nurses, cooking arrangements, etc., probably the first of the kind in the United States. The commission continued their voluntary labors without abatement; appeals for

contributions were made through the newspapers and were generously responded to by New England, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and other Western States.

"In February came the battle of Fort Donelson, where 2,108 of our soldiers were wounded. An associate member of the commission, Doctor Pollak, accompanied by nurses, members of the Ladies' Union Aid Society, proceeded at once by rail to Cairo and thence by steamer to Paducah with sanitary stores. The wounded had been brought to this point. The steamer Ben Franklin was placed under their charge, and loaded with wounded. It was brought to St. Louis. It was then that the suggestion of hospital steamers was made by Medical Director Simmons and embodied in the report of the commission with the pledge that if the suggestion were approved the commission would take the whole care and labor of carrying it into execution. The plan was approved by Gen. Halleck, and the City of Louisiana was chartered and on the 20th of March she was thoroughly fitted with beds and commissary stores, the commission completing her outfit at an expense of $3,000.

"Her first trip was to Island No. 10, under the charge of Mr. Yeatman, as a great battle was expected there. Soon after came the battle of Shiloh, and this boat conveyed 3,389 patients to Northern hospitals. She was soon after purchased by the government and renamed the R. C. Wood in honor of the assistant surgeon general of the United States Army.

"During the month of February, 1863, the Western Sanitary Commission distributed 13,250 articles of hospital clothing, food for the sick, bottles of cordials and stimulants, etc., and the members labored unceasingly night and day in making the distribution.

"On the 7th and 8th of March, 1862, the battle of Pea Ridge was fought, and 980 Union soldiers were wounded. This battle field was 250 miles distant from Rolla, the railroad terminus. The roads were of the worst description, through a half civilized country, mountainous, without bridges, and without hotels, stripped of forage for teams and food for men, subject to raids and murders by guerrilla bands. It was impossible to bring the wounded to St. Louis. The army of Gen. Curtis was deficient in transportation, and the Medical Department was most miserably provided with means for caring for the wounded. Surgeons were without hospitals, clothing, stimulants or bedding for the wounded, and the supply of medicines was exceedingly limited. The country was thinly settled, mostly log houses, with few of the necessities of life. The courthouse at Cassville and all the principal dwellings were filled with wounded, and the same was true of Keitesville. A few of the officers were taken by ambulance to Springfield. The commission at once despatched its agent with hospital supplies to the front. In his report, he says, 'At Cassville I found two large tents, six buildings, including the courthouse and tavern, used as hospitals. The patients were lying on the floors, with a little straw under them, and with knapsacks or blankets under their heads as pillows. They had no comforts of any kind, no change of clothing, but were lying in the clothes they fought in, stiff and dirty with blood and soil.'

"There were 400 Federal wounded here. The stores were turned over to the different hospitals, and never was a provision train more joyously greeted by starving men than this ample supply of hospital supplies by these sick and wounded soldiers. The Confederate wounded were treated with the same consideration as our own. There were two Confederate surgeons, and one said to the agent of the Sanitary Commission, 'We are Texans. Our army has treated us shamefully; they stampeded and left us here with our sick and wounded men, and I will tell you, sir, that for two days we had nothing to give our poor fellows but parched corn and water. Every Federal officer and man has treated us like gentlemen, and Gen. Curtis told me that so long as he had a loaf of bread we should have half of it.' The agent said, 'I visited the hospitals at Pineville. No provision had been made by Price, and our scanty supplies had been shared with them. For twenty-five miles around every house was a rebel hospital. We had three there then. There was at this point a total absence of stimulants and men were dying for want of them.'

"During February and March, 1863, while the army of Gen. Grant was occupying the low region of country above Vicksburg, exaggerated reports of sickness among the troops were published by Northern newspapers.

"Mr. Yeatman went down and made a personal inspection and on his return published an account of his visit. While he found a large amount of sickness, his report tended to allay undue apprehension. He directed the agent of the commission to immediately establish his headquarters near Vicksburg for the distribution of supplies. After the assault by our forces on the 19th and 22d of May Mr. Yeatman made a second visit, in charge of the steamer Champion, accompanied by surgeons and nurses and dressers of wounds to the number of fifty-five, taking with him 250 tons of sanitary supplies, besides cots, mattresses and everything necessary for the care of 1,000 men. At the time of his arrival all sanitary stores were exhausted and the new supplies were received with gratitude. In his report he said: 'Supplies were distributed most liberally wherever wanted. Blessings were invoked by both surgeons and men for this timely care in providing for them, in the great extremity which always succeeds a series of battles and which can only be fully provided for in this way. No parched and thirsty soil ever drank the dews of heaven with more avidity than did those wounded men receive the beneficent gifts and comforts sent to them through this commission.' One hundred and fourteen thousand, six hundred and ninety-seven articles were distributed to Gen. Grant's army prior to the fall of Vicksburg.

"In addition to its work of ministering to the sick and wounded of the Western armies and navy and of promoting the health of soldiers in the field, the Western Sanitary Commission felt itself called upon to devote a portion of its labors to the relief of the 40,000 freedmen along the banks of the Mississippi River from Columbus to Natchez. They were in a country stripped by the ravages of war, with no demand for labor excepting in a few localities and without means of providing for food, clothing and shelter. In December, 1863, Mr. Yeatman returned from a special trip down the river to ascertain and report the actual conditions. He stopped at Island No. 10, Memphis, Helena, Goodrich's Landing, Milliken's Bend, Young's Point, the plantations of Jeff and Joe Davis and at Natchez. As an illustration, he found at Helena between 3,000 and 4,000 men, women and children, part of them living in a place back of the town called 'Camp Ethiopia,' in cast-off tents, caves, shelters of brush. Others were in the poorer houses of the town, sixteen to twenty persons in a room, and in huts on the outskirts. The able-bodied men were compelled to work on the fortifications, in unloading coal and freight from steamboats, teamsters and all manner of fatigue duty, for which they received no compensation, through neglect of officers to place them on the pay roll and general indifference of military commanders as to their condition. At one time an order was issued forbidding their payment on the ground that their former masters would have a claim against the government for their services.

"The terrible destitution and sufferings of these helpless people and the injustice to which they were subjected so moved the sympathetic heart of Mr. Yeatman that he went to Washington and presented the subject to the government and made 'suggestions of a plan of organization for freed labor, and the leasing of plantations along the Mississippi River.' The high character of Mr. Yeatman was so well known that his suggestions were received with favor, and he was authorized to accompany an agent of the Treasury Department to Vicksburg to mature and carry them into effect. This trust he accepted, declining an official position which was offered him. About 500 plantations were leased, wise and humane regulations for the compensation of labor were enforced, schools established, and incalculable benefits were derived by the colored people, who were encouraged in habits of self-reliance and saving. Large quantities of sanitary stores were distributed among those in dire extremity. From the efforts of Mr. Yeatman in this direction National Freedmen Relief associations were organized all over the Northern States.

"Assistance was also rendered to white refugees from the South, who came by thousands, many of them women with small children, often barefooted and wholly destitute, brought by steamers and landed. Their husbands had been killed in the war by guerrillas, or conscripted into the rebel army. One poor blind woman with six children walked all the way from Arkansas to Rolla, her little children leading her by the hand all the way over those hundreds of weary miles. From Rolla she was brought here by rail as a charity. Her youngest children she had never seen as they had been

born since she became blind. Her children were adopted by Dr. Eliot and placed in a mission school on Eighth street, and the mother was sent to a hospital, where Dr. Pope performed an operation; the cataracts were removed from her eyes and her sight restored. Her children were then returned to her. In consequence of the invasion of Missouri by Price in the fall of 1864 thousands of Union refugees, wholly destitute, came to St. Louis.

"The military authorities authorized a charity ration and shelter, but all other expenses, clothing, hospital treatment, teachers for the children, were borne by the Sanitary Commission. Its area of beneficence extended over the vast territory from St. Louis to the Gulf of Mexico, and westward to the Rocky Mountains. Wherever troops were the commission forwarded supplies. Every call for help from friend or foe was instantly responded to."

Mr. Yeatman and the Freedmen's Bureau.

Catholic in his conception of the commission's purposes, this southern born man, once a slave-holder, recognized the necessities of the freedmen. Great numbers of these ex-slaves had drifted away from the plantations and into communities. The commission sent physicians and nurses and then teachers. Mr. Yeatman suggested the plan of the Freedmen's Bureau. He recommended the leasing of abandoned plantations to negroes, to encourage them to become self-supporting. These views were indorsed as offering an "absolute solution of the cotton and negro questions." They appealed so to President Lincoln that he sent for Mr. Yeatman and offered him the commissionership of the Freedman's Bureau. Four years previously Mr. Yeatman, accompanying Hamilton R. Gamble, had called upon Mr. Lincoln. He was a Union man. His stepfather, John Bell, had headed the Union ticket as the Presidential nominee the year before. Mr. Yeatman and Mr. Gamble believed that a pacificatory policy, such as General Harney was pursuing in St. Louis, was wiser than the more radical course advocated by Francis P. Blair, who wanted Harney superseded. Mr. Lincoln rejected the advice of his visitors. Mr. Gamble and Mr. Yeatman came back to St. Louis, Mr. Gamble to become the provisional governor of Missouri and to hold it in the Union at the cost of his life, Mr. Yeatman to devote himself unsparingly to the mitigation of the horrors of war.

The Great Sanitary Fair.

The Western Sanitary Commission faced a depleted treasury at the beginning of 1864. The sources of revenue seemed exhausted. A great fair was planned. On the 1st of February the organization was formed. On the 17th of May the fair opened. The magnitude and success of that fair are worthy of place in history. That a city so stricken as St. Louis had been could plan and carry through such a movement is the wonderful fact. The building constructed for the fair was 500 feet long. It extended along Twelfth street from St. Charles to Olive, with wings 100 feet long on Locust street. In the center was a great rotunda seventy-five feet across and fifty feet high. In this central space were decorative features—flags and evergreens and flowers and battle trophies. Gifts of articles to be sold for the benefit of the commission came from as far east as Maine and as far west as Nevada. But Missourians gave in numberless ways and in marvelous generosity. Every element in the population was represented among the givers. The contributions were classified and put on sale in departments. There were agricultural implements and works of art. Such entertain-

ment features as the curiosity shop, the skating park and the gallery of fine arts were provided. The Holland kitchen and the New England kitchen catered to the crowds. A theater presented dramas. Military bands gave concerts. Guard duty was performed by colored soldiers.

The fair put into the treasury of the Western Sanitary Commission $554,591. That was at the rate of $3.50 for every man, woman and child in St. Louis. The fair enabled the commission to go on with its work to the end of the war, and to give the Ladies' Union Aid Society $50,000 for hospital service and for the assistance of soldiers' families. The sum of $1,000 a month was devoted to making the freed slaves self-sustaining and $40,000 was expended in the maintenance of a home for soldiers' orphans at Webster Groves. One who was especially active in the planning and conduct of the fair has commented upon it: "But the fair was a blessing not only to refugees and freedmen, to the sick and wounded in hospitals, to the widows and orphans of our slain heroes, but was also a measureless boon to St. Louis. It was one more mighty agency for curing us of our selfishness. For a time at least it broke upon our commercialism, and led us to think of others and to do something for their welfare."

The Assessment of Southern Sympathizers.

In the summer of 1862 there issued from the general commanding at St. Louis an order "to assess and collect without unnecessary delay the sum of five hundred thousand dollars from the secessionists and southern sympathizers" of the city and county of St. Louis. The order stated that the money was to be "used in subsisting, clothing and arming the enrolled militia while in active service, and in providing for the support of the families of such militiamen and United States volunteers as may be destitute." It was extended to other parts of the State.

The unpleasant duty of making and collecting the assessment was imposed upon half a dozen of the best known citizens of St. Louis. The assessment was begun. Collections were enforced by the military. Suddenly the board having the matter in charge suspended the work. The order countermanding the assessment came from Washington. It was terse: "As there seems to be no present military necessity for the enforcement of this assessment, all proceedings under the order will be suspended."

Two weeks before General Halleck directed discontinuance, a letter was sent to Washington saying "that the 'assessment' now in progress, to be levied upon southern sympathizers and secessionists, is working evil in this community and doing great harm to the Union cause. Among our citizens are all shades of opinion, from that kind of neutrality which is hatred in disguise, through all the grades of lukewarmness, 'sympathy' and hesitating zeal up to the full loyalty which your memorialists claim to possess. To assort and classify them, so as to indicate the dividing line of loyalty and disloyalty, and to establish the rates of payment by those falling below it is a task of great difficulty."

Reviewing the work as far as it had progressed, the writer continued: "The natural consequence has been that many feel themselves deeply aggrieved, not having supposed themselves liable to the suspicion of disloyalty; many escape assessment who, if any, deserve it; and a general feeling of inequality in the rule and ratio of assessments prevails. This was unavoidable, for no two tribunals

could agree upon the details of such an assessment either as to the persons or the amounts to be assessed without more complete knowledge of facts than are to be attained from ex parte testimony and current reports."

The writer appealed for a stay of the assessment proceedings. When the letter was written the intention was to have it signed by a number of loyal citizens of St. Louis. But the leading Union men declined to sign. Their feeling against the southern sympathizers was bitter. The war sentiment gripped. Business had been paralyzed. Sentiment rather sustained a policy which proposed to make sympathizers pay heavily toward the war expense. One man, with a deep sense of justice, stood out alone. He had been among the foremost the year previous in counseling the aggressive measures which made St. Louis a Union city. But now, when the Union elements were all powerful, his appeal for fairness toward the minority got no hearing. He signed his letter and sent it to Governor Gamble who forwarded it at once to Washington. Years after the war this letter was printed in a St. Louis newspaper but without the signature and without mention of the name of Rev. Dr. William G. Eliot.

The character of the assessment proceedings will seem almost incredible to this generation. When the board had organized to make the assessment the president addressed a request to "the unconditional Union men of St. Louis" to send in "such information as they have in their possession which will aid in carrying out the requirements" of the orders. He concluded his request with, "the board wish it to be understood that all communications and evidence will be considered strictly private."

"Crazy Sherman."

From the chaotic conditions of the war in Missouri came the story that General William Tecumseh Sherman was insane. On the 23rd of November Sherman, having been relieved in Kentucky, arrived in St. Louis and reported to Halleck, who had succeeded Fremont. He was sent at once to Western Missouri on an inspection tour, with orders to take command in case there was danger of attack. Within a week Sherman was telegraphing from Sedalia the most alarming reports. He said that Sterling Price's army was approaching in force and that an attack was imminent. He began to concentrate the troops for the expected battle. Pope, who received one of Sherman's orders, sent in a vigorous protest to Halleck. Other generals made reports which did not agree with the representations from Sedalia. Halleck called Sherman back to St. Louis and sent to Washington a letter which remained buried in the files of the War Department nearly thirty years—long after the death of Sherman.

"(Confidential.)

"St. Louis, Mo., December 2, 1861.—Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, Commander-in-chief, Washington, D. C.: General—As stated in a former communication, Brig. Gen. W. T. Sherman, on reporting here for duty, was ordered to inspect troops (three divisions) at Sedalia and vicinity, and if, in the absence of Gen. Pope, he deemed there was danger of an immediate attack, he was authorized to assume the command. He did so, and commenced the movements of the troops in a manner which I did not approve, and countermanded. I also received information from officers there that Gen. Sherman was completely 'stampeded,' and was 'stampeding' the army. I therefore immediately ordered him to this place, and yesterday gave him a leave of absence for twenty days to visit his family in Ohio.

"I am satisfied that Gen. Sherman's physical and mental system is so completely broken by labor and care as to render him for the present entirely unfit for duty. Perhaps a few weeks' rest may restore him. I am satisfied that in his present condition it would be dangerous to give him a command here.

"Can't you send me a Brigadier-General of high rank, capable of commanding a corps d'armee of three or four divisions? Say Heintzelman, F. J. Porter, Franklin or McCall. Those of lower grades would be ranked by others here. Grant can not be taken from Cairo, nor Curtis from this place at present. Sigel is sick and Prentiss operating against insurgents in Northern Missouri. I dare not intrust the 'mustangs' with high commands in the face of the enemy. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"H. W. Halleck, Major General."

Sherman Asks an Explanation.

This letter was in Halleck's handwriting. It was not made public but the news that Sherman had broken down physically and mentally got into the newspapers promptly. "Crazy Sherman" was the headline and common expression. Sherman must have suspected or had some intimation of the source, for he wrote only ten days later than the date of Halleck's confidential letter:

"Lancaster, O., December 12, 1861.—Maj. Gen. Halleck, St. Louis, Mo.: Dear Sir—I believe you will be frank enough to answer me if you deem the steps I took at Sedalia as an evidence of want of mind.

"They may have been the result of an excess of caution on my part, but I do think the troops were too much strung out, and should be concentrated, with more men left along to guard the track. The animals, cattle especially, will be much exposed this winter.

"I set a much higher measure of danger on the acts of unfriendly inhabitants than most officers do, because I have lived in Missouri and the South, and know that in their individual characters they will do more acts of hostility than Northern farmers or people could bring themselves to perpetrate. In my judgment Price's army in the aggregate is less to be feared than when in scattered bands.

"I write to you because a Cincinnati paper, whose reporter I imprisoned in Louisville for visiting our camps after I had forbidden him leave to go, has announced that I am insane, and alleges as a reason that at Sedalia my acts were so mad that subordinate officers refused to obey. I know of no order I gave that was not obeyed, except Gen. Pope's, to advance his division to Sedalia, which order was countermanded by you, and the fact communicated to me.

"These newspapers have us in their power, and can destroy us as they please, and this one can destroy my usefulness by depriving me of the confidence of officers and men.

"I will be in St. Louis next week, and will be guided by your commands and judgment. I am, etc.,

"W. T. Sherman,
Brigadier General."

An Inconsistent Reply.

Halleck replied at once but in a manner that was not satisfactory to Sherman and not entirely consistent with his letter to Gen. McClellan:

"St. Louis, December 18, 1861.—Brig. Gen. W. T. Sherman, Lancaster, O.: My dear General—Yours of the 12th was received a day or two ago, but was mislaid for the moment among private papers, or I should have answered sooner. The newspaper attacks are certainly shameless and scandalous, but I can not agree with you that they have us in their power 'to destroy us as they please.' I certainly get my share of abuse, but it will not disturb me.

"Your movement of the troops was not countermanded by me because I thought it an unwise one in itself, but because I was not then ready for it. I had better information

of Price's movements than you had, and I had no apprehension of an attack. I intended to concentrate the forces on that line, but I wished the movement delayed until I could determine on a better position. After receiving Lieut. Col. McPherson's report I made precisely the location you had ordered. I was desirous at the time not to prevent the advance of Price by any movement on our part, hoping that he would move on Lexington, but finding that he had determined to remain at Osceola for some time at least, I made the movement you proposed. As you could not know my plans you and others may have misconstrued the reason of my countermanding your orders.

"I deem it my duty, however, to say to you, General, in all frankness and kindness, that remarks made by you, both at Sedalia and in this city (if I am correctly informed), about our defenseless condition, and the probability that the enemy would take this city, have led to unfair and harsh comments by those who did not know. I say this merely to put you on your guard in future.

"I hope to see you well enough for duty soon. Our reorganization goes on slowly, but we will effect it in time. Yours, truly,

"H. W. Halleck."

Relatives Take Up the Controversy.

Sherman came back to Missouri when his leave was up. Relatives of Sherman, notably his father-in-law, Thomas Ewing, Sr., took up the story of insanity with a view of tracing the authorship. Halleck wrote a letter to McClellan, guarded and diplomatic:

"Headquarters Department of the Missouri, St. Louis, January 22, 1862.—Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan, General-in-chief of the army, Washington: General—I wrote you in November respecting the health of Brig. Gen. W. T. Sherman and my reasons for giving him a leave of twenty days. He returned and reported for duty at the end of that time, greatly improved, but not, in my opinion, entirely in condition to take the field. I therefore placed him in command of the Camp of Instruction at Benton Barracks, where he has rendered most excellent service, while at the same time his health has gradually improved. I think in a very short time he will be fully prepared to resume his duties in the field, either in this department or in any other to which he may be assigned.

"I have made this explanation as I deemed it due to both Gen. Sherman and myself, inasmuch as some of his friends may not understand why younger officers have been placed in more active commands. I know that Gen. Sherman himself is perfectly satisfied with the arrangement, and will cheerfully do duty either in this department or in any other to which he may be assigned. I should be very sorry to lose his services here, but will oppose no obstacle to the wishes of himself or friends if a transfer should be desired. Very respectfully, your obedient servant, H. W. Halleck."

On February 15, 1862, Halleck wrote a fourth letter on the subject of Sherman's mental condition. He addressed it to Ewing, partially admitting the impression he had received from Sherman's actions at Sedalia and making many explanations. The relations between Halleck and Sherman continued to be agreeable on the face. Sherman not long afterwards got into the field. After Shiloh, the newspapers ceased to call him "crazy." The story of insanity was only one of the strange and startling episodes of the war in Missouri.

Missouri in the War Records.

More than one hundred large books were filled with the war records. In all of these volumes there were no other that presented such revelations of the horrors of the conflict as those which pertained to Missouri. Four volumes, of 1,000 pages each, preserved the official history of what took place in this State during part of 1864.

"Our troops everywhere now consider it right to kill bushwhackers, even after they surrender," Maj. Gen. S. R. Curtis wrote, dated the middle of October. "Their recent barbarous butcheries in North Missouri, and the tortured bodies of their victims, and the scalps and ears worn on the bushwhackers' bridles, will evince a disregard of all rules of war, and even savage barbarity. I think, therefore, the sympathy of your people better be devoted to better objects of human sympathy.'

This was a private letter in reply to one deploring some specified atrocity. It began: "Your letter concerning the disposition of certain brigands calling themselves Confederate soldiers is received. I have not the least sympathy for such fiends; we are disposing of them very summarily everywhere. When men in our rear betray the parole implied by their shelter under the roofs of our people left at our homes they deserve hanging or any other sort of butchery, as you denominate the taking of their lives. War is butchery on a grand scale, and there is none of its horrors more justifiable than those which destroy the sneaks and cowards that steadily seek to carry on war in rear of our armed forces, and disguised as citizens. Brigands have no rights, and Napoleon had them shot down by regiments, even when they were caught in garbs of some military show."

That was the way war was waged in Missouri the last half of '64.

The Policy of No Quarter.

Two messages from Gen. Fisk on the progress of a bushwhacker hunt are interesting. More particularly because they drew from headquarters at St. Louis a plain expression of the policy of no quarter. Gen. Fisk wired:

"The bushwhacker hunt is progressing successfully. Our forces are capturing and killing a large number of the guerrillas and securing their horses and arms. The brush on Platte and Fishing Rivers, and in the country between, swarms with the Thornton squads. Our dragnet will bring them out."

"The Thornton conspiracy is fast flickering out. We are drag-netting every brush-patch and killing a good many of the rascals. Capt. Ford's Paw Paw Militia have today sent in a petition asking that they be permitted to turn again and live. What shall I do with them?"

To the inquiry about the disposition of those who wanted to surrender Gen. O. D. Greene replied:

"Your dispatch asking for instructions as to the manner of disposing of such of the Paw Paws as went over to Thornton and are now coming in and giving themselves up is received. My opinion of the matter is that as many of them as are captured in arms and resisting should not be brought in as prisoners. This not from a spirit of revenge or blood thirstiness, but as mercy to them, for under no conceivable circumstances can they escape the penalty of their unpardonable crimes. In the history of the world there is not an instance of a soldier's deserting to the enemy being pardoned if caught. Of course, if any lay down their arms and surrender without being so compelled by the force of arms it would be murder to slay them. They must be held for action in due course of law."

The policy of extermination and banishment was not only countenanced in execution by subordinates, but openly advocated by the highest authorities.

"Kill" was the order from headquarters, and the Union scouting parties returning from the brush reported the dead as hunters might their strings of game.

A personal letter in July to Gen. Rosecrans from E. M. Samuel, President of the Farmers Bank of Missouri at Liberty, contained the following:

"I am grieved to inform you that this morning, while Capt. Kemper was on a scout in this county (Clay), about ten miles from Liberty, the bushwhackers fired on his men from a safe position, wounding Capt. Kemper (who has just been brought in) and two others, and killing two more. The county is in a deplorable condition. Nearly every Union man in the county has come to town for safety, and nearly all talk of leaving the county. Last week B. A. Bailey, S. G. Bigelow and John Bigelow (Union men) were shot down and killed, two at their homes and one on his way home from town. Is there no remedy for those who have, through trials and sufferings, adhered to the flag of their fathers?"

"Burn Him Clean."

"My dispatches of today," Gen. Clinton B. Fisk wrote, "from the bushwhack hunters report forty-one guerrillas mustered out by our boys in the brush in the lower counties. I assure you, Major, we are doing all we can with the means in our hands to exterminate the murdering fiends."

To Col. J. T. K. Hayward, at Hannibal, Gen. Fisk telegraphed about the same time:

"Make your subdistrict a very hot place for rebels and a secure place for loyalists. Put down, drive out, kill and exterminate every guerrilla and thief you can find."

The above was in reply to the following from Col. Hayward asking authority to use extreme measures:

"I think all who are proved to be in a civil complicity with bushwhackers should be shot. When a known disloyal man feeds and harbors bushwhackers and can't show that he did all he could to prevent it, and to give the most speedy notice of it, burn him clean. In this way you soon make it for the interest of disloyal men to take sides actively. If they go to the bush shoot them; if they don't you will find them at work in earnest to put a stop to guerrilla depredations. This may not look well in a published order, but I think it would work well in practice. When our men leave home to do duty let the disloyal at home take care of their crops. Our Union men have always borne all the suffering; let it fall now on the other side, and all good men will bless you. I hear today that nearly every loyal man in Ralls County is a refugee from home. The above will be my programme unless you countermand it, and don't require positive orders."

From Col. Switzler's View Point.

So mild a mannered man as Wm. F. Switzler indorsed the plan of extermination. In August he wrote to Gen. Fisk: "I fear that your duties elsewhere in directing the movements of our troops against the rebel cut-throats and thieves with which the district is infested will prevent you from being present at our meeting. This I deeply regret, as well on account of the cause of your inability to attend as the fact itself. Having no convenient escort, and it being rather unhealthy to travel in Boone without one, I could not myself attend the meeting,

but the presence of Maj. Rollins, whom I saw here on his return from Washington, supersedes the necessity. I hope it will turn out well, though the reign of terror is so great in Boone I fear the result. As soon as advised I will write you again. Meantime be assured of my cordial co-operation with you in your noble efforts to overthrow this wicked rebellion and drive from our State or exterminate the bushwhackers and murderers infesting it."

In a postscript Mr. Switzler, writing from St. Charles to Gen. Fisk, said: "Quite a serious disturbance is brewing in this county, growing out of the outrages against peaceable citizens by a force of Germans. As I understand it, the trouble is about this: One evening last week a report reached the neighborhood of O'Fallen, in this county, that Troy had been captured by 700 bushwhackers, whereupon many members of a militia company (Enrolled Missouri Militia), composed mostly of Germans, collected with the view of marching to its rescue. Excited by the report and many of them drunk, they went through the neighborhood at night, pressing horses and guns, in doing which they unfortunately abused, cursed and exasperated several quiet citizens and families, insulted one or more ladies, used personal violence against one, hurt with a gun very badly a Union man who discredited the report and refused to go, threatened to kill several, broke open houses, shot into one several times, greatly to the danger and terror of its inmates. Several citizens are now in this city, refugees from the neighborhood, afraid to remain at home, owing to the violence that is threatened them."

Missouri Warfare as John F. Philips Saw It.

A vivid illustration of the character of this Missouri warfare is given in a report made by Col. John F. Philips, later Judge Philips, of the Federal Court in the Western District of Missouri, by appointment from President Cleveland. In the summer of 1864 Col. Philips, in command of the 7th Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, was hunting guerrillas. From Camp Grover—mark the name—he sent in this story:

"I sent Maj. Houts, of my command, with 150 men, northwest of this place, with instructions to scout the country thoroughly. They went twenty-five miles, and then turning north struck the Missouri River at Wellington. In this march they discovered abundant signs of the presence of guerrillas. This country is a safe covert for these outlaws. It is a complete jungle and a perfect solitude, the adjacent country to the Sni affording forage and rations. Arriving at Wellington about 10 a. m. on Sunday morning, Maj. Houts learned from a reliable contraband that two guerrillas had been in this town that morning, and her opinion was they had gone to a church—Warder's Church—distant two miles, where a Hardshell was in the habit of preaching to the 'Brushers' the unsearchable riches of good whisky and guerrilla warfare. The Major, with accustomed promptness, at once detached about fifty men, under command of the intrepid and cool-headed Capt. Henslee, Company L, and sent him to this church. The force approached this church very stealthily. It is situated on a high eminence, a bluff overlooking the Sni River. The command had to reach this church by a narrow road, having to cross a bridge within twenty paces of the building and ascend a very abrupt bank. The Captain took the precaution to send forward Sergt. Brassfield with six men, with instructions to dash at all hazards over this bridge up the hill, and passing the church to occupy a position beyond, with a view of intercepting fugitives, and at the same time, by attracting the attention of the congregation, to make a diversion in favor of the main column. The guerrillas were then seven or eight in number, besides some outpost pickets on the Lexington road. The cry of 'Feds!' 'Feds!' thundered from the audience, and the worthy pastor, who was

in the midst of a fervent supplication, found his flock greatly demoralized, and concluded it wasn't worth while to pray any longer under the circumstances. The guerrillas were on the alert, some at their horses, some in the church, and one, who was to be married—perhaps that very day—to the pastor's daughter, was standing at the window, making love to his inamorata. The guerrillas as quick as thought saw their peril, and with drawn revolvers they began earnest work, with a nerve and determination worthy of a better cause. The Captain's whole force was thrown into the work. The women and children screamed with terror, and, rushing wildly from the church, exhibited a method in their madness by throwing themselves in front of the rebel outlaws. Captain H., whose presence of mind is equalled only by his gallantry, rode out and commanded the women to 'squat.' They obeyed the summons, and the work of death went bravely on. Five bushwhackers were killed outright, the sixth mortally wounded, and one or two, despite all vigilance, made their escape amid the furore and confusion. Wilhite and Estes were numbered among the slain. These were noted and desperate fellows, and their crimes are as black and infamous as they are numerous.

"Justice to merit requires me to mention the names of Privates John T. Anderson, Company L, and James D. Barnes, Company D. Anderson was one of the advance who passed by the church. He received three shots through his clothes, one knocking the skin off his nose and one striking the pistol in his hand. He rode right in the midst of the scoundrels, and with great coolness and precision shot right and left, emptying twelve barrels and loading four more, all the while directing the movements of other soldiers around him. Anderson was badly wounded a year ago in a hand-to-hand fight with Livingston in Southwest Missouri. Barnes, discovering one of the bushwhackers making his escape, singled him out, charged on him, discharging his rifle flung it aside, and with drawn pistol spurred forward, chasing for half a mile the rebel who was firing back at him; Barnes, holding his fire until he drew up on his game, was just in the act of shooting at short range when his horse fell headlong, precipitating the rider over his head with a fearful fall. The horse recovered and ran away after the guerrilla, carrying equipments, etc., all of which was the private property of the soldier, and is lost. Barnes is a mere boy and quite small, but is as bold and dashing a trooper as ever looked an enemy in the face."

Retaliation on High Authority.

There was no lack of deliberation and high official sanction for some of the acts of retaliation. An order from Brigadier-General Brown reads: "It having come to the knowledge of the general commanding that a band of guerrillas, led by one Shumate, have committed depredations such as robbing and plundering peaceable, law abiding citizens in Miller and adjoining counties, and to the end that quiet and safety may be restored to the people of this district, it is hereby ordered that upon the first overt act of lawlessness committed by this or any other band of guerrillas or bushwhackers upon the lives or property of the people of this district, the prisoner John Wilcox, a member of the said Shumate's band, now confined at Jefferson City, Mo., awaiting trial by military commission, will be immediately shot. The assistant provost-marshal of the First Sub-Military District will cause the prisoner, John Wilcox, to be securely ironed and confined, and will carry out the provisions of this order under the direction of the district provost-marshal."

"Bill Anderson's Proclamation" was one of the curious things which the compilers of the War Records found among the papers pertaining to the savage conflict in Missouri during 1864. This proclamation was sent to Gen. Rosecrans by Gen. E. B. Brown, into whose hands it had fallen. The accompanying indorsement spoke of it as a curiosity and a speciment of a guerrilla chief's correspondence. Gen. Brown was commanding the Central District of Missouri, with

headquarters at Warrensburg. Anderson was in the bush. The scouting parties had orders to kill him and his men wherever they found him. The proclamation was addressed:

"To the editors of the two papers in Lexington, to the citizens and the community at large, Gen. Brown and Col. McFerran and his petty hirelings, such as Capt. Burris, the friend of Anderson."

Bill Anderson's Proclamation.

The portion referring to the editors of the Lexington papers was as follows:

"Mr. Editors—In reading both your papers I see you urge the policy of the citizens taking up arms to defend their persons and property. You are only asking them to sign their death warrants. Do you not know, sirs, that you have some of Missouri's proudest, best and noblest sons to cope with? Sirs, ask the people of Missouri, who are acquainted with me, if Anderson ever robbed them or mistreated them in any manner. All those that speak the truth will say never. Then what protection do they want? It is from thieves, not such men as I profess to have under my command. My command can give them more protection than all the Federals in the State against such enemies. There are thieves and robbers in the community, but they do not belong to any organized band; they do not fight for principles; they are for self-interest; they are just as afraid of me as they are of Federals. I will help the citizens rid the country of them. They are not friends of mine. I have used all that language can do to stop their thefts; I will now see what I can do by force. But listen to me, fellow citizens; do not obey this last order. Do not take up arms if you value your lives and property. It is not in my power to save your lives if you do. If you proclaim to be in arms against the guerrillas I will kill you. I will hunt you down like wolves and murder you. You can not escape. It will not be Federals after you. Your arms will be no protection to you. Twenty-five of my men can whip all that can get together. It will not be militia such as McFerran's, but regulars that have been in the field for three years, that are armed with from two to four pistols and Sharp's rifles. I commenced at the first of this war to fight for my country, not to steal from it. I have chosen guerrilla warfare to revenge myself for wrongs that I could not honorably avenge otherwise. I lived in Kansas when this war commenced. Because I would not fight the people of Missouri, my native State, the Yankees sought my life, but failed to get me. Revenged themselves by murdering my father, destroying all my property, and have since that time murdered one of my sisters and kept the other two in jail twelve months. But I have fully glutted my vengeance. I have killed many. I am a guerrilla. I have never belonged to the Confederate army, nor do my men. A good many of them are from Kansas. I have tried to war with the Federals honorably, but for retaliation I have done things, and am fearful will have to do, that I would shrink from if possible to avoid. I have tried to teach the people of Missouri that I am their friend, but if you think that I am wrong, then it is your duty to fight. Take up arms against me and you are Federals. Your doctrine is an absurdity, and I will kill you for being fools. Beware, men, before you make this fearful leap. I feel for you. You are in a critical situation. But remember there is a Southern army, headed by the best men in the nation. Many of their homes are in Missouri, and they will have the State or die in the attempt. You that sacrifice your principles for fear of losing your property will, I fear, forfeit your right to a citizenship in Missouri. Young men, leave your mothers and fight for your principles. Let the Federals know that Missouri's sons will not be trampled on. I have no time to say anything more to you. Be careful how you act, for my eyes are upon you."

The guerrilla then turned his attention to Col. McFerran in the following strain:

"Col. McFerran, I have seen your official report to Gen. Brown of two fights that have taken place in Johnson and Lafayette Counties with your men. You have been wrongly informed, or you have willfully misrepresented the matter to your superior officer.

I had the honor, sir, of being in command of both of those engagements. To enlighten you on the subject and to warn you against making future exaggerations I will say to you in the future to let me know in time, and when I fight your men I will make the proper report. As to the skirmish I had with your men in Johnson, I started to Kingsville with fifty men to take the place, but before I arrived there I discovered a scout, fourteen or fifteen of your men, on the prairie some half a mile distant to my left. I immediately gave chase. They fled. There were not over eight of my men ever got near them. They did not surrender or I would not have killed them, for I understand that Company M were Southern men; they sent me that word. I ordered them to halt and surrender. I was astonished to see them refuse after sending me such word. One of their Lieutenants even planned the assassination of Gen. Brown and the taking of his headquarters, but I refused to commit so foul a deed. But they refused to surrender and I had them to kill. I regret having to kill such good Southern men, but they are fit for no service but yours, for they were very cowardly. Myself and two men killed nine of them when there were no other men in sight of us. They are such poor shots it is strange you don't have them practice more. Send them out and I will train them for you. After that I came down near Burris' camp with twenty-five regulars all told, belonging to the 1st Kansas, some of my first men. I understand that Burris was anxious to give me a thrashing. Not wishing to lose more than twenty-five men at one time, I thought I would try him with the aforesaid number, but while I was waiting for him to come out from camp, that I might devour him or be devoured, forty-eight of your men coming from Lexington with three wagons had the audacity to fire on my pickets, and very imprudently asked me to come out of the bush and fight them. I obeyed reluctantly. They dismounted and formed on a hill. I formed under their fire under the hill and charged. They fled and I pursued. You know the rest. If you do not, I can inform you; we killed ten on the ground and wounded as many more. Had all of my men done their duty we would have killed thirty of them. Farewell, friend."

To Capt. Burris, who was trying to trap him, Anderson inclosed this message: "To Burris—Burris, I love you; come and see me. Good-by, boy; don't get discouraged. I glory in your spunk, but damn your judgment."

This remarkable proclamation closed with the following to Gen. Brown:

"Gen. Brown. GENERAL—I have not the honor of being acquainted with you, but from what I have heard of you I would take you to be a man of too much honor as to stoop so low as to incarcerate women for the deeds of men, but I see that you have done so in some cases. I do not like the idea of warring with women and children, but if you do not release all the women you have arrested in Lafayette County, I will hold the Union ladies in the county as hostages for them. I will tie them by the neck in the brush and starve them until they are released, if you do not release them. The ladies of Warrensburg must have Miss Pickle released. I hold them responsible for her speedy and safe return. General, do not think that I am jesting with you. I will have to resort to abusing your ladies if you do not quit imprisoning ours. As to the prisoner Ervin you have in Lexington, I have never seen nor heard of him until I learned that such a man was sentenced to be shot. I suppose that he is a Southern man or such a sentence would not have been passed. I hold the citizens of Lexington responsible for his life. The troops in Lexington are no protection to the town, only in the square. If he is killed, I will kill twenty times his number in Lexington. I am perfectly able to do so at any time. Yours respectfully,

W. ANDERSON,
"Commanding Kansas First Guerrillas."

The Death of Anderson.

A few weeks later came the report by Assistant Adjutant General Rainsford of the identification of Anderson's body at Richmond in Ray County: "On Anderson's body was also found his likeness and that of his wife, a small Con-

federate flag with these words inscribed on it: 'Presented to W. L. Anderson by his friend, F. M. R. Let it not be contaminated by Fed. hands.' He also had letters from his wife from Texas, and a lock of her hair, about $600 in gold and greenbacks. His body, while at Richmond Court House, was recognized by several persons. We have heard of the band, some 300 in number, crossing the river at Brunswick, bound south; they acknowledge having had a fight with the Ray County Militia, and that Bill Anderson was killed on the 27th. I shall have his likeness in a day or two and I will have some taken and send you one."

Fisk Suggests Depopulation and Devastation.

In a letter to Gen. Rosecrans, dated midnight, September 28, Gen. Fisk gave a graphic description of the difficulties attending the incessant war in the brush:

"I had the honor to write you fully under yesterday's date, since which time my telegrams have advised you of the disasters at Centralia. The capture of the railway train, the inhuman slaughter of the defenseless soldiers thereon, the robbery of the passengers, the burning of the moving train, and the indignities visited upon helpless women must be regarded as one of the chief barbarisms of the war. I am not yet fully advised of the extent of our loss by the defeat of Maj. Johnston, but fear it is greater than the meager reports already received have led me to believe. I am greatly pained at these reverses, and am straining every nerve to make reparation. Troops were never more earnest and active in their duties than the officers and men now seeking the destruction of the infernal fiends who are guilty of such barbarous atrocities. I am aware that it may seem to yourself and the impatient public remote from this section that we ought to accomplish more than we do; that the guerrillas ought to be exterminated from the country, and such disasters as those at Centralia prevented, but could you see this section of the State and study not only the topography of the country, but the hearts and consciences of the people, you would readily discover the great difficulties in the way of finding and exterminating bushwhackers. Jackman, with less than 100 men, remained in Boone County for fifteen months, waging his bushwhacking warfare, and during that period there were scarcely any other bushwhacking gangs in North Missouri. Yet Gen. Guitar, who was born and raised in Boone County, and knew every pathway and brush patch, with 6,000 good troops, was not able to drive out or kill them. Boone and Howard are now our two worst localities. In one of them I have Gen. Douglas, who is a native of the county, has been its Sheriff, and knows intimately the character of the country and the hearts of its citizens; and in Howard is Maj. Leonard, whose advantages for operating in his county are equal to those of Gen. Douglas for Boone. In addition I have Lieut. Col. Draper, who has scouted through both counties for two years. Yet with all their knowledge, industry and perseverance the guerrillas thus far scatter and concentrate so as to elude our forces. Our movements, though made as secretly as possible, are discovered by the bushwhackers' friends and revealed from one to another. The citizens at home are our secret and most dangerous foes, and in no spot of all our disturbed territory has the rebellion more earnest friends than in the Missouri River counties of this district. The invasion in the Southeast strengthens our sympathizing class and they are made to believe that Price with 'redemption draweth nigh.' How shall these guilty people be brought to repentance and good works? And what punishment, short of extermination, is mete for their treachery and encouragement of a warfare more barbarous than that practiced by the savages of the plains and frontier? We have in these counties not only the resident rebels, but in addition a large proportion of those who, by Gen. Ewing's order, were last year expelled from Johnson, Jackson, and other border counties. Depopulation and devastation are extreme measures, but if this infernal warfare continues it will be humane and economic of human life to adopt and vigorously enforce such measures wherever the bushwhackers have more friends than the government."

A Man Hunt Among the Bayous.

The story of a guerrilla hunt in the lowlands of Southeast Missouri was told in a report made by Lieut. Col. John T. Burris. The party left New Madrid on the 21st of July. Between that time and the 26th the report says:

"We routed several parties of bushwhackers, killed four of their number, burned a distillery and a grocery at which they were accustomed to meet, and captured some arms and horses. We arrived at Scatterville on the evening of the 28th. There we routed a rebel recruiting party under Col. Clark and had a skirmish with Bolen's guerrillas. We killed one rebel Lieutenant, took Capt. Linebach prisoner, captured some arms and horses and burned the houses under cover of which the guerrillas had fired on my command. On the 1st of August we marched through the swamps and along Big Lake in a southerly direction. During the day we surprised a party of bushwhackers and thieves, captured some arms, recaptured some negroes and horses previously stolen by these marauders, and burned five of their houses. On the 2d we marched through an almost continuous swamp for about twenty miles; struck the settlement near Osceola late in the afternoon; soon after came upon a rebel picket, who, after firing, retreated. My advance, under command of Capt. Preuitt, pursued, the whole command following up closely until we came upon a main rebel force of that vicinity, under Capts. Bowen and McVeigh, when a general charge was made. The rebels fled. A running fight ensued, which was kept up for several miles until the enemy's forces were scattered in every direction. We killed seven, including a lieutenant, and took twenty-five prisoners, including Capt. Bowen. We also captured a considerable number of arms and horses. No casualty on our side. August 3, marched north to the Chicasawba settlement, crossed Pemiscot Bayou, and encamped in Cowskin settlement. During the afternoon a scouting party, under Capt. Edwards, surprised a party of the enemy and killed two of them, capturing their arms and horses. The same evening a foraging party killed one of Convers' bushwhackers. August 4, marched at daylight. Soon came upon a rebel picket commanded by Lieut. Hedges. The rebels fled, and were pursued by Lieut. Hiller, commanding my advance guard, and Sergt. Wright's party of scouts. After a chase of two miles Hedges was overtaken and killed. His men escaped. We pursued the enemy six miles across Dogskin Swamp, when we found him in line of battle in a dense forest, two miles south of Elk Chute, in Pemiscot County, Mo. I immediately formed my battalions in line and attacked him. Our first volley partially broke the rebel line, when I ordered a charge, which was made with spirit. The whole rebel force fell back in confusion. A running fight was kept up for two miles, through the swamp, among the trees, and over logs. The enemy several times succeeded in partially reforming their lines, but each time only to be driven back in greater confusion. The last effort of Col. Erwin, the rebel commander, to rally his forces, was within about 200 yards of the Chute; but the impetuosity of the charge of my battalions on their lines, the deadly fire poured into their ranks, and the exultant shouts of my pursuing forces were more than they could stand. They again fled precipitately, many of them rushing, panic-stricken, into the stream, some attempting to swim their horses across, others abandoning their horses and everything else, and seeking to save themselves by swimming, while the rebel Colonel, with a portion of his terrified followers, suddenly turned to the right and, scattering, soon hid themselves in the dense forest and almost impenetrable swamps of that region.

"Our only loss in this engagement was Capt. Francis, of the 3d Cavalry Missouri State Militia, mortally wounded, and two enlisted men slightly wounded. The rebel loss was 30 killed, 6 mortally wounded, who fell into our hands, about 40 less severely wounded, who escaped, and 28 prisoners. Among the killed was a captain, and with the prisoners a lieutenant. On the morning of the 5th I had scouting parties out in every direction. They killed two guerrillas and took two of Erwin's men prisoners. On the same day marched to Gayoso, and on the 6th reached New Madrid without anything further of interest occurring. We killed in all 47, including 1 captain and 3 lieutenants, mortally wounded 6, not mortally about 40, and took prisoners 37, including 2 captains and 1 lieutenant. We captured upward of 200 stand of arms, including shotguns and common rifles, most of which, however, we were compelled to destroy for want of transportation.

We captured, brought in, and turned over to the Quartermaster 230 horses and mules. We also emancipated and brought with us near twenty colored persons who were being held as slaves by rebel masters in Arkansas. Having started out without transportation of any kind, and almost without subsistence, both men and animals subsisted off the enemy. We have, I think, pretty effectually cleared out the guerrillas and punished their accomplices in the Second Subdistrict."

The Paw Paw Militia.

References to the Paw Paws were frequent in the reports:

"The so-called Paw Paws," Gen. Clinton B. Fisk wrote in a report, "were disloyal citizens and returned soldiers and officers from the rebel army who had been enrolled as disloyal under general orders in 1862. These men were organized into companies and regiments, under the direction of the governor of the State of Missouri, in the summer of 1863, for some purpose to me unknown. Of the policy that dictated this organization, or of the effect upon the loyal element thus to be guarded, protected and watched by armed rebels, many of them fresh from the Confederate army, I say nothing. Representations were often and freely made to the proper authorities that these troops were doing a vast amount of harm to the loyal sentiment of the State of Missouri, and it was shown in many instances that these troops would in no case fight the guerrillas and thieves who infested the neighborhoods where they were stationed in the northwestern portion of the State. The officers and men of the 82d Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia allowed the Confederate Col. Winston to remain safely harbored and protected in the County of Clay during the winter of 1863-64, and used no exertion to arrest him, although his presence in their very midst was a well-established fact. They would not and did not arrest him.

"It was a matter of common report that Winston left a companion in Clay County, commonly known as Coon Thornton, but whose name is John C. Calhoun Thornton. This man, it was well known, was recruiting for the Confederate service. Companies of the 81st and 82d Enrolled Missouri Militia were in league with Thornton.

"It was often reported to me by loyal men that these armed rebels were one by one slipping out of sight into the brush with their arms, and upon diligent inquiry I ascertained these reports to be in the main true. I immediately ordered the disarming of these men, their arms to be delivered to the armory at St. Joseph, Mo., and upon the receipt of the order twelve men of Capt. Cox's company, of the 81st Enrolled Missouri Militia, took their arms and disappeared. The company commanded by Capt. Bywater, at Camden Point, came in and delivered up their arms at Camden Point preparatory to sending them to St. Joseph. They were stored in an old warehouse and two men of the same company left on guard over them. The same night a small body of unarmed guerrillas rode into the town, surprised the guard and carried off the guns and accouterments. Capt. Bywater's company has not been heard of since then."

As a further illustration of what an uncertain quantity the Paw Paws were Gen. Fisk told what happened at Platte City, where Maj. John M. Clark, of the 82d Enrolled Missouri Militia, was commanding. A body of the guerrillas under Coon Thornton approached Platte City. First Lieut. William Downing, of the 82d, went out and met the guerrillas. On his return he told Maj. Clark that the guerrillas were coming into town, and that he for one did not intend to resist them.

"On the morning of the 10th of July Maj. Clark abandoned the command of the post to Capt. R. D. Johnston, Company A, 82d Regiment, and started off for a visit to his family, fifteen miles distant. Capt. Johnston being left in command immediately took counsel with such of his officers as were present, and determined, in view of the known disloyalty of most of the command and the continued assertions of Lieut. William Downing that he would not fight the guerrillas, but help them, that he could do no better than surrender the garrison. Upon his announcing this fact, Lieut. Downing immediately went out and came into the town with the guerrillas, who forthwith took possession of the town and all that was in it. They took down the flag of the Union, and, tearing it into shreds, fastened them to the heads of their horses. Here again was repeated the scene of transformation of Missouri State soldiers into bushwhackers, for in less than a quarter of an hour after the occupation of the town nearly the whole of Capt. Johnston's command appeared dressed in Confederate uniforms.

"Not less than 250 or 300 of these so-called Enrolled Missouri Militia joined the guerrillas. Maj. Clark, as soon as his way was clear, reported safely at my headquarters. I shall have him brought to trial speedily. The total number of troops that joined Thornton and Thrailkill, his second in command, was four times the force at Thornton's disposal at the outset of his raid. Since the 15th of July about thirty-five of these traitors have been killed. About 100 are in the brush sending messages to me to know how they can renew their allegiance, claiming to have been conscripted by Thornton, and a few have been taken at Atchison and Leavenworth, Kan., in attempts to escape, and are now confined in jail at Atchison.

"In closing this report I can only say that every word of it is capable of proof, and an examination of all facts such as I propose to make will probably show up a darker shade of villainy and corruption than appears in this preliminary report."

A Brush Expedition in Western Missouri.

Capt. Ezra W. Kingsbury led a detachment of the 2d Colorado Cavalry on a typical brush expedition from Independence through Western Missouri counties. He camped one night at Young's farm, four miles from Blue Mills.

"While at this place," his report says, "I learned that Fletch Taylor, Thrailkill and other bushwhackers had been in that vicinity. On starting next morning at about 3 o'clock, scouting the country thoroughly in the vicinity of Six Mile, learned that Taylor had procured a buggy and started for Lafayette County, being severely wounded. Struck the trail and followed it about fifteen miles, until near Bone Hill, when lost it, and after searching some time turned back on Lexington road for Lafayette County. Found numerous signs of small parties of bushwhackers, and finally reached the farm of one Ish, in Lafayette County, where, by means of passing as bushwhackers, learned from a boy, whom I took and compelled to go with me, that there was a body of about 100 men encamped in Big Bottom, about six miles from that place. I started for that point, but ascertained that Drs. Murphy and Regan, of Wellington, had amputated Taylor's arm the morning before, and, wishing to secure Murphy, started twenty-five men to Wellington to bring him, and proceeded south with the command two miles to Ewing's farm, where I found Murphy, who happened to be there; arrested him, and, forage being plenty, fed the horses. On examining Murphy found that he had reported the facts concerning Taylor to Lexington immediately after the amputation took place, but could learn nothing definite concerning his whereabouts. Before the detail sent to Wellington returned

it was nearly night, and thence I moved south to the house of one Fishback and camped for the night, having released Dr. Murphy. Traveled this day about fifty miles. Next morning started at sunrise and went in a southerly course to the Sni, striking it at the old mill-dam, thence proceeded in a west course to Gardiner's farm; struck from thence in the direction of Bone Hill and Judge Gray's farm, scouting thoroughly the brush in that vicinity; arrived at the house of one Bord, near the line of Jackson and Lafayette Counties. On examining him at first could get no information from him; said he had never seen but six bushwhackers; saw them the evening before. Knew nothing of the whereabouts of any of them. I then made him go with us, and told him to guide us to their camp. At first he denied as before, but finally took us to the camp where Fletch Taylor had his arm amputated, and had left there very recently, as the signs were fresh and new. Found bandages stained with blood, pillow, etc., but no man. Finding that Bord was only leading us through the brush in order to give the bushwhackers time to escape I gave him a little hanging, which immediately improved his knowledge of the country. He told me two bushwhackers had been at his house the evening before to see his daughter, and on our starting again he led us through the thickest kind of brush to four other camps, one of which had only been vacated that morning, judging by the forage scattered around and other fresh signs; the other three were older, but had been used during the course of the summer. Searched the brush thoroughly, but could find no one. Learned further from Bord that there were plenty of them in the country in small parties ranging from Big Bottom to Bone Hill. Having obtained what information from Bord I could, released him and struck west for Robinson's, in Jackson County; trailed fifteen to that place and followed the trail to eastern edge of Fire Prairie, where I started fifteen in a party and pursued them through the thick brush ten miles in a southerly course, when they scattered and I lost the trail; thence returned northwest, until I struck the eastern edge of Fire Prairie; thence west, and started another party of eight, but at too great a distance to do anything with them. Struck the trail of a large party and followed them four miles to an old bridge across a ravine, where I heard a gun, fired evidently as a signal for them to disperse, as the tracks scattered immediately, and I lost them. This vicinity is evidently full of small parties of them continually passing back and forth. After searching the brush I crossed Fire Prairie to the timber on the Blue, and scouted up the river till I reached Spring Branch Crossing; thence returned to this place, arriving here about 6 p. m., traveling that day about sixty-five miles."

Plenty of signs but no game was the result of the Colorado man's scouts. It took Missourians to catch Missourians in this kind of warfare.

A Raid from Rolla.

House burning was not only considered the proper thing, but it was reported with evident pride in the official narratives of the scouts against bushwhackers. Capt. Ferd Charveaux, of the Fifth Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, in giving the details of an expedition made from Rolla in the direction of Houston, made a report:

"After traveling about six or seven miles I received information that about thirteen bushwhackers had passed through that country the night previous. I went to the house of Richmond, who is bushwhacking with his son. I ordered the things taken out of the houses and had the houses set on fire. I then proceeded five miles farther to the house of Absly, who is out with the bushwhackers, which I had burned in the manner of Richmond's. I went about three miles farther and received information that there was a gang of about fifty bushwhackers in the direction of Spring Valley; I tracked them about six miles, and lost their track through the woods and the hills. I stopped over night at Thomas Kinnan's and started early next morning, September 17, to Spring Valley, where I received information that some rebels had been at Thomasville two or three days previous. I immediately proceeded in direct course for Thomasville, taking by-roads. I stopped over night at the house of William H. Goldsberry's. Next morning, September 18, started toward

Thomasville. After traveling about three miles I met a man who informed me that Colonel Coleman was to be at Thomasville with his command of about 300 men the night previous. I kept on my route, hastening my speed; six miles this side of Thomasville, at the house of Nallmesses, I was informed that Coleman had camped at Thomasville the night previous. When I arrived within one mile of Coleman's camp the advance guard captured a prisoner, who stated that Coleman had 300 men, but that there were only from 160 to 200 in camp. I used the prisoner as guide, and as soon coming in sight of the camp, which was in a field, I gave the order to charge, which was promptly executed by my men, who were eager for the sport. After a half hour's skirmish the enemy were completely routed, killing 20 men and 1 captain (Taylor), captured 10 prisoners, 24 head of horses and 5 mules, nine saddles, and about 30 stand of small-arms, which I was obliged to have broken up except three guns that I brought in, as I had not transportation or means to bring them here. No loss on our side except one horse slightly wounded."

A Long Chase Near Huntsville.

Lieut. Col. Alexander F. Denny, of the 46th Missouri Militia, telling about a skirmish near Huntsville, conveyed a good idea of what the bush fighting was.

"We came upon the trail of Jim Anderson, the notorious robber and guerrilla," he replied, "some five miles south of this place, about 10 o'clock, and after pursuing it about two hours lost it. I scoured the brush for miles, and at 2 p. m. came out upon the road from Huntsville to Fayette, at the residence of Owen Bagby. Four of our men rode up to the house, when Anderson and his men commenced firing upon them from the house. I ordered the column to dismount and charge them on foot. The boys came up in fine style with a deafening yell, when Anderson mounted his men and retreated hastily through the rear of the farm, having previously left the gates down. I ordered the men to remount, and with some five or six of the men who had their horses in advance, charged the enemy as he retreated through the fields. We were obstructed by gates and fences, and the enemy got under cover of the woods some 300 yards in advance of us. With the little handful of men in the advance I ordered a charge through the thick brush, which was made in gallant style, random shots being fired at us and returned by our men until we reached a long lane. Here the chase became fierce and rapid. We ran upon the rear, coming on two men mounted on one horse. The horse was shot from under them, and the men scaled the fence and took to the pastures. George Raynolds of Captain Mayo's company, who was with me in the advance, having fired his last shot, fell back to reload. A short hand-to-hand conflict with pistols ensued between the robber and myself, when, after the exchange of some four or five shots, George Peak, Company D, Ninth Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, came to my relief and ended his existence with a rifle-shot. He had been previously wounded in the neck and back. John Kale, of Company D, Ninth Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, pursued the other dismounted man on foot through the fields until he had exhausted his last shot, having previously wounded him in the neck. So soon as the men came up I ordered them forward, but Anderson being so well mounted could not be overtaken. The men all conducted themselves well. At the time of the attack we were not fully aware of Anderson's strength. There were only ten men at Bagby's, yet their number was reported to us subsequently at thirty men. Result of the skirmish: One man killed and one mortally wounded; also, Jim Anderson reported shot through the nose; one horse killed, one wounded and one captured; also, one gun and four or five pistols. Money taken from the person of the dead man—$90 in gold, $286 in greenbacks, $4.50 in silver, $16 W. M. B.; total, $396.50. Our loss, one horse. Anderson turned into the brush after a run of three miles and scattered his men. We followed the trail as long as we could, when we turned in the direction of Huntsville. We came upon him again at 6 o'clock in the brush within three miles of Huntsville. A few shots were fired by our men, and an exciting chase of ten minutes followed, when the enemy was lost in the thick brush."

War on the Smugglers.

A good deal in brief space was told by Capt. J. W. Edwards, commanding at Cape Girardeau: "I sent a scout, under Lieut. Davis, of twenty men, Tuesday morning, up the country around Wolf Island and vicinity. They returned Thursday evening, having scouted the whole country within six miles of Charleston and also on the river. They succeeded in breaking up large gangs of smugglers, killed three authorized Confederate smugglers and three noted guerrillas; they broke up seven skiffs and one flatboat that were used by the smugglers; just opposite Columbus captured two horses and some contraband goods. I think it has been a severe lesson to them. The guerrillas murdered John Gardner Tuesday morning near Fugitt's. They shot him sixteen times and robbed him of his money and horses. Neute Massey and four of his gang did it. Lieut. Davis killed John Hancock, who was Massey's right-hand man and was a regular authorized Confederate smuggler. I think the scout did well."

One of Gen. John McNeil's Orders.

In the latter part of September, Gen. John McNeil, commanding the District of Rolla, in sending out a scouting party issued this order: "Lieut. L. Storz, 5th Regiment Cavalry Missouri State Militia, will proceed, with twenty-five men and five days' light rations in haversacks, to the country between Mill Creek and Spring Creek, in search of guerrilla bands and disloyal persons. The former will be pursued and exterminated, taking no prisoners in arms, except such as voluntarily surrender previous to conflict. The latter when found guilty of harboring and feeding guerrillas will be warned out of the State and their houses burned, their fences and crops destroyed. The inhabitants of the country will be warned that aiding and assisting the enemies of this Government, whether in regular force or when acting as guerrillas, will call down certain destruction on them, and that the commandant of this district gives them a friendly warning, which he hopes they will heed, and save him from the disagreeable duty that will devolve on him when they are detected in such practices. Lieut. Storz will call on the officer in command at Little Pina for a guide and such advice and assistance as he may need in the execution of these orders. He will make the power of the Government felt and respected in the counties he moves through by the good order and discipline of his men and respect for the property of the loyal; next, by the destruction of every house and farm where the occupants have violated the repeated orders of this department against feeding and harboring or giving aid and information to bushwhackers."

Forced Contributions in Callaway.

Assistant Provost Marshal Charles D. Ludwig sent in from Fulton, Callaway County, a discouraging review of the situation:

"During the past month the bushwhackers have been more troublesome in this subdistrict than at any time before. The bands are numerous and large, and it is impossible for small squads of men to scout, as the bushwhackers in every instance, nearly, outnumber them, and they are better mounted and better armed. In the first part of August the troops here, in conjunction with a company stationed at Columbia and a small squad of Illinois men, had a fight with bushwhackers in Boone County, under command of one Todd, killing and wounding several of the latter. About the middle of August a squad of from twenty to forty were in the eastern part of this county, and on the 20th entered

Portland, robbed stores and made the citizens pay a tax of $25 a head. They went to the place of Mr. Martin, on Nine-mile Prairie, and robbed him of $5,000. They collected over $10,000 in this manner, besides several fine horses. A squad of soldiers sent out from here fell in with these scoundrels the next day and killed one of them. The bushwhackers are concentrating in Boone County. There is a rendezvous in Prussia Bottom, above Providence, in Boone County, where there are from 300 to 500 men, who lately crossed the Missouri River. They are not mounted, but are procuring horses very fast, and are splendidly armed. They are recruiting with great success. It is beyond a doubt that most of the drafted men in this and Boone County will join them, as it is openly avowed by many. An outbreak is feared here every moment, and Union men are fleeing from their homes. David Cunningham, a citizen of Boone County, a preacher, is recruiting bushwhackers. He is said to have eighty men. This man is one of the wealthiest citizens of Boone County, and holds a large real estate, as also others who are now in the rebel service.

"There can be nothing done with the troops here, as only a few men of Company L, Ninth Missouri State Militia Cavalry, are mounted. The enrolled militia is apparently dissolved, as many of them have joined the twelve-months' troops and the rest went home. It is a sad fact that the men of Company L, Ninth Missouri State Militia Cavalry, are dreaded even by loyal men nearly as much as bushwhackers, as their officers seem to exercise but little control over them. They have a very loose discipline on scouts as well as in camp, as the empty hen houses and watermelon patches, etc., can testify. Complaints are coming in nearly every day of depredations committed by these men, but I am at a loss how to detect the transgressors and bring them to justice, as I have never met with the desired aid and co-operation from the hands of Capt. T. L. Campbell, commanding post here, and the men, knowing this, pay very little respect to the property of private citizens, who are insulted and annoyed by such vandalism."

Congratulations from General Fisk.

Maj. Austin A. King, 6th Missouri Militia, sent in a report that he had come upon Holtzclaw's command east of Roanoke, Howard County. In a running fight of five miles he killed six men and wounded several. "I congratulate you," Gen. Fisk wrote from St. Joseph to Maj. King, "on the good beginning of the bushwhacking campaign. Strike with vigor and determination. Take no prisoners. We have enough of that sort on hand now. Pursue and kill. I have two of Holtzclaw's men, just captured. They state that he camps, when in Howard County, in the rear of old man Hackley's farm, not far from Fayette. Make a dash in there at night, and get him if possible. Let a detachment secretly watch his mother's residence. He is home almost daily, and his sisters are great comforters of the bushwhackers. Old man Hackley has a son in the brush. I shall soon send out of the district the bushwhacking families."

CHAPTER XVII.

RECONSTRUCTION IN MISSOURI.

A State Without Civil Authority—The Secret Conference in a Newspaper Office—Midsummer Session of the Convention—State Offices Declared Vacant—The Provisional Government—Lieutenant-Governor Hall's Keynote—Judge Philips' Analysis of the Anomalous Conditions—Erratic Course of Uriel Wright—The Factional Spirit—Governor Gamble's Death—Charcoals and Claybanks—The Enrolled Militia—President Lincoln's Advice to Schofield—The Seventy "Radical Union Men of Missouri"—Encouragement from the Anti-Slavery People—The Visit to Washington—Reception at the White House—Address of Grievances—Prayer for Ben Butler to Succeed Schofield—Enos Clarke's Recollections—Lincoln's Long Letter—What Was the Matter With Missouri—"Every Foul Bird Comes Abroad and Every Dirty Reptile Rises Up"—Common Sense Remedies—The Election of 1864—Blair on the Permit System—The Constitutional Convention—Immediate Emancipation, Test Oath and the "Ousting Ordinance"—The Revolutionary Proposition—Removal of 1,000 Judges and Court Officers—Judge Clover's Astonishingly Frank Report—Ousting Vital to the Reconstruction Policy—The Protests—The Ordinance Enforced—Justices of the Supreme Court Removed from the Bench—A Display of Military Force—Thomas K. Skinker's Valuable Contribution to Missouri History.

The dissensions between Union men in Missouri are due solely to a factious spirit, which is exceedingly reprehensible. The two parties ought to have their heads knocked together.—*President Lincoln to James Taussig, in May, 1863.*

In July, 1861, Missouri was without civil government. "The governor and the legislature had fled the State," said Thomas Shackleford. "I was called to St. Louis to meet other parties in regard to the situation. In an upper room of the Planters' House, Nathaniel Paschall, editor of the Missouri Republican, had a conference, at which I was present, to determine what it was best to do under the circumstances, to prevent anarchy. Mr. Paschall said he had come to the conclusion that it was best to depose the present governor and elect a provisional governor. He said that in the next issue of the Republican he would advise this. This was done, and in accordance with the advice, the convention was called together."

Upon the adjournment in March, after declaring in favor of the Union, the convention had provided for future possibilities by giving to a committee the power to reassemble the body.

The convention met in Jefferson City on the 22d of July. Its president, Sterling Price, was not there but most of the members were. Three of the state officers, the treasurer, auditor and register of lands, who had left with Jackson, came back, swore allegiance to the United States and took up their duties. The governor, the lieutenant-governor and the secretary of state, the official staff of the legislature and most of the state clerical force were away. The first action of the convention was the appointment of a committee to consider this

fifty-six to twenty-five. In his paper prepared for the State Historical Society, Judge John F. Philips described the conditions which confronted the delegates:

"The state treasury was depleted, and the convention was left without the means of defraying its own expenses. There was no military force to protect the State in the condition of exposure to anarchy. The State was under martial law; and a German military commandant, with but crude ideas of civil government, was dominant at the state capital. Under the recent census the State was entitled to two additional Representatives in the Congress of the United States, demanding a new apportionment of the Congressional districts, or a legislative enactment providing for the manner of securing such additional representation. The legislature had disbanded without making any provision therefor.

"What was the duty of the members of the convention in such a conjuncture to the people of the State who had sent them to the capital to represent them? Were they to display the moral cowardice of those 'who do not care what becomes of the Ship of the State, so that they may save themselves in the cockboat of their own fortune,' or should they first save the State, and leave their action to the sober judgment of posterity? They chose the latter course.

"Naturally enough the few favoring secession or nothing, and others in sympathy with the absent state officials, desiring that nothing should be done conflicting with the mere theory of their official existence, vigorously opposed any action of the convention other than an adjournment sine die. The opposition was led principally, in so far as talking was concerned, by Uriel Wright of St. Louis, who had come to the convention as an unconditional Unionist; and at its first session had made a three days' speech in opposition to the whole theory of secession, minimizing the grievances of the seceding States, with a force of eloquence that enthused, beyond description, the entire convention, including the presiding officer, General Price, who while with dignity seeking to repress the applause of the galleries said to me on adjournment, in walking to the old Planter's House where we boarded: 'That speech was so fine I too felt like applauding. But alas, for the infirmity of great geniuses, Wright was carried off of his high pedestal by the small incident of the Camp Jackson affair, and came to the July session of the convention anxious to display the usual zeal of the new convert. So he turned loose the whole vocabulary of his invective against everything and everybody pro-Union. To my conception he was the most brilliant orator of the State, with a vast wealth of historical, political and literary information. Like a very tragedian he bestrode the platform, and with the harmony of accent and emphasis he charmed like a siren. But he was unsteady in judgment, unstable in conviction and inconsistent of purpose. And, therefore, was wanting in that moral force that holds and leads thoughtful men. His rhetoric went into thin air before the severe logic and more sincere eloquence of such men as Judge Gamble, the two brothers, William A. and Willard P. Hall, John B. Henderson and James O. Broadhead."

The Convention's Authority.

The convention was authorized in the act creating it "to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the State, and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded." The southern rights majority in the leg-

islature intended these words to mean secession. The convention found in them the power to go forward and reconstruct an entire state government loyal to the Union. Judge Philips said: "The arguments advanced in favor of the power of the convention to establish a provisional government to meet the emergency may be summarized as follows: The convention called for by the legislature was elected by popular vote of the people. Under our form of representative government when such delegates met they were as the whole people of the State assembled.

"In so far as concerned the domestic local affairs and policy of the State, the people were all powerful to make and unmake, bind and unbind, so long as they maintained a government republican in form, and not in conflict with the Federal constitution. The only recognizable limitation upon its power was to be found in the terms of the legislative enactment calling it.

"In anticipation and expectation of the framers of the act that an ordinance of secession would be adopted, they sought to invest the convention with most plenary powers in order to meet the requirements of the new, extraordinary conditions likely to arise, both from without and within the State. Accordingly the convention was authorized not only to take consideration of the existing relations between the government of the United States and the governments and the people of the different States, but also 'the government and people of the State of Missouri, and to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the State, and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded.' So that the convention during its deliberations found civil government in the State paralyzed, without a head, society unprotected by the arm of the State, disorder and confusion fast spreading over it like a pall of anarchy. It was the deliberate judgment of the great majority that it was neither extra-constitutional, usurpatory, nor without the recognized law of the public necessity, that the convention should provide a provisional government, ad interim.

"The first step in this work of conservation was to provide for an executive head. And no higher evidence of the conservative impulses of the convention could be furnished than the fact of its designation of Hamilton R. Gamble as governor and Willard P. Hall as lieutenant governor. Where could have been found two wiser, safer, more prudent, unselfish men? Their very names were a rainbow of promise to the sorely vexed and perplexed people of the State. With unsparing energy, consummate ability and unfaltering courage, Governor Gamble set his face and all the aids he could command to the work of restoring order, lawful process, and peace within the borders of the commonwealth."

The Evolution of the Factions.

Of the subsequent trials of Governor Gamble and the provisional government, Judge Philips drew this picture: "That in that endeavor and purpose he and his coadjutors should have encountered opposition and criticism from the very element he so earnestly strove to protect excited wonder among thoughtful, good citizens at the time; and in the light of experience it now seems anomalous. There were two extremes in the State. One was the impracticable theorists, who, rather than accept deliverance from any source other than the Claib Jackson defunct government, would accept anarchy. The other was the inflamed radicals, who preferred the substitution of military for civil government, so long

as under its bloody reign they could make reprisals and wreak personal spites upon an unarmed class who had incurred their dislike. In other words, they preferred a condition of disorder and confusion as more favorable to rapine, plunder and persecution. The very determined policy of Gamble's administration to extend protection to noncombatants, to life, liberty and property, was made the slogan of the rapidly recruiting forces of radicalism that 'the Gamble government' was but another name for southern sympathy. This feeling was ingeniously communicated to the Secretary of War, Stanton, whose motto seemed to be 'Aut Caesar aut nihil.'

"Between the two factions, the one denying on every occasion the lawful authority of his administration, and, therefore, yielding him not even needed moral support, and the other demanding non-interference with predatory warfare and reprisals on 'rebel sympathizers,' to say nothing of the machinations of ambitious politicians, his soul was sorely vexed and tried. But with a fortitude as sublime as his moral courage he never hesitated nor halted in waging, with all force and resources at his command, an uncompromising war on outlawry, no matter under what guise it masqueraded or under what banner it despoiled. He believed in liberty with law and government without unnecessary oppression.

"Oppressed with the heavy burdens of such an office, under such conditions, and weakened physically with increasing ill health, Governor Gamble tendered his resignation to the convention in 1863, and begged that it be accepted. But so profoundly impressed was the convention with the supreme importance to the welfare of the State that he should continue his great work, it implored him to withdraw the resignation. I can yet see his pallid face, furrowed with the ravages of care and disease, his hair like burnished silver, his eyes aglow with the fire of martyrdom, his voice so mellow, yet perfectly modulated, as he stood before the convention and said: 'Your will be done not mine.' With the harness chafing and bearing hard upon his wasting frame he went to his death, January 31, 1864, lamented and honored at his funeral as I have never before or since witnessed in this State."

Schofield and the Enrolled Militia.

The Minute Men of the winter of 1861 were enlisted by the Southern Rights leaders "to protect the State." The next year, under an act of Congress, was begun the organization of the Enrolled Militia of Missouri for the "defense of the State." It had been found by the Union leaders that there were many young Missourians who were willing to enlist for service in Missouri on the Union side. These young men would not go south to fight against the Union. Neither were they willing to go outside the State to fight against southern relatives and friends in the Confederate armies. They were ready to enlist under officers appointed by the Union governor to preserve order in the State and to repel invasion of Missouri by Confederates. General John M. Schofield, who had been a professor in Washington University, a major in one of the Home Guard regiments which took Camp Jackson, and Lyon's chief of staff in the battle of Wilson's Creek, was given charge of the Missouri Enrolled Militia. He organized into regiments 13,000 men who rendered the State good service, making possible the withdrawal of troops from other States.

President Lincoln promoted Schofield to command the department of Missouri and on May 27, 1863, wrote him this letter for guidance in his difficult position:

"Having relieved General Curtis and assigned you to the command of the department of Missouri, I think it may be some advantage for me to state to you why I did it. I did not relieve General Curtis because of any full conviction that he had done wrong by commission or omission. I did it because of a conviction in my mind that the Union men of Missouri, constituting when united a vast majority of the whole people, have entered into a pestilent factional quarrel among themselves—General Curtis, perhaps not from choice, being the head of one faction, and Governor Gamble that of the other. After months of labor to reconcile the difficulty, it seemed to grow worse and worse, until I felt it my duty to break it up somehow; and as I could not remove Governor Gamble, I had to remove General Curtis. Now that you are in the position, I wish you to undo nothing merely because General Curtis or Governor Gamble did it, but to exercise your own judgment and do right for the public interest.

"Let your military measures be strong enough to repel the invader and to keep the peace, and not so strong as to unnecessarily harass and persecute the people. It is a difficult role, and so much greater will be the honor if you perform it well. If both factions, or neither, shall abuse you, you will probably be about right. Beware of being assailed by one and praised by the other.

"Yours truly,
"A. Lincoln."

The Seventy "Radical Union Men."

At 9 o'clock in the morning of the last day of September, 1863, President Lincoln, accompanied by one of his secretaries, came into the great east room of the White House and sat down.

"He bore the appearance of being much depressed, as if the whole matter at issue in the conference which was impending was of great anxiety and trouble to him," says one of the St. Louisans who sat awaiting the President's coming.

These were seventy "radical Union men of Missouri"; they had accepted that designation. They had been chosen at mass convention—"the largest mass convention ever held in the State," their credentials said. That convention had unqualifiedly indorsed the emancipation proclamation and the employment of negro troops. It had declared its loyalty to the general government. It had appointed these seventy Missourians to proceed to Washington and "to procure a change in the governmental policy in reference to Missouri." The movement had originated in St. Louis, and St. Louisans were at the head of it.

This action meant more than a city or a state movement. It was the precipitation of a crisis at Washington. It was the voice of the radical anti-slavery element of the whole country, speaking through Missouri, demanding that the government commit itself to the policy of the abolition of slavery and to the policy of the use of the negro troops against Confederate armies. It was the uprising of the element which thought the administration at Washington had been too mild. President Lincoln understood that the coming of the Missourians meant more than their local appeal. The Missourians understood, too, the importance of their mission. On the way to Washington the seventy had stopped

in city after city, had been given enthusiastic reception by anti-slavery leaders; they had been encouraged to make their appeal for a new policy in Missouri insistent and to stand on the platform that the border States must now wipe out slavery of loyal owners. Hence it was that immediately upon their arrival in Washington the seventy Missourians coming from a slave State put into their address to the President such an avowal as this:

"We rejoice that in your proclamation of January 1, 1863, you laid the mighty hand of the nation upon that gigantic enemy of American liberty, and we and our constituents honor you for that wise and noble act. We and they hold that that proclamation did, in law, by its own force, liberate every slave in the region it covered; that it is irrevocable, and that from the moment of its issue the American people stood in an impregnable position before the world and the rebellion received its death blow. If you, Mr. President, felt that duty to your country demanded that you should unshackle the slaves of the rebel States in an hour, we see no earthly reason why the people of Missouri should not, from the same sense of duty, strike down with equal suddenness the traitorous and parricidal institution in their midst."

The Missouri Movement.

Here was the essence of the Missouri movement which gave it national interest, which prompted the grand chorus of approval, which led to the series of indorsing ovations concluding with the mighty demonstration over the seventy radical Union men in Cooper Institute, New York City, with William Cullen Bryant presiding. President Lincoln, pursuing the course which seemed to him necessary to keep the united North with him, felt fully the critical character of the issue which the Missourians were raising.

Conditions and events wholly apart from what was going on in their State added to the signifiance and importance of this conference between President Lincoln and the radical Union men of Missouri. The week before the seventy started from St. Louis for Washington that bloodiest battle of the war, Chickamauga, had been fought, and the whole North was depressed by the narrow escape of Rosecrans' army. When the Missourians arrived in Washington Hooker's army was marching all night long over the Long Bridge out of Virginia and into Washington to take trains for the roundabout journey to Chattanooga to reenforce the penned-up troops, that they might not be forced north of the Tennessee by Bragg. Meade's failure to follow up the success at Gettysburg in July previous had given great dissatisfaction. In the cabinet there was division over administration policies. The Presidential campaign was coming on in a few months. Perhaps at no other time since the beginning of the war had President Lincoln faced more discouraging criticism and more hostile opinion in the North.

The address reviewed the origin and the development of antagonism between the Gamble administration and the radical Union men. It charged Gamble with the intention to preserve slavery in Missouri and asserted "the radicals of Missouri desired and demanded the election of a new convention for the purpose of ridding the State of slavery immediately." It dwelt at length upon the "proslavery character" of Governor Gamble's policy and acts.

"From the antagonisms of the radicals to such a policy," the address proceeded, "have arisen the conflicts which you, Mr. President, have been pleased

heretofore to term a 'factional quarrel.' With all respect we deny that the radicals of Missouri have been or are, in any sense, a party to any such quarrel. We are no factionists; but men earnestly intent upon doing our part toward rescuing this great nation from the assaults which slavery is aiming at its life."

With the Missourians affirming such a position, it is not difficult to understand the wave of sympathy from the anti-slavery element which spread over the country, taking the form of indorsements by newspaper, speeches by leaders of the anti-slavery people and enthusiastic public attentions to the delegation.

They Asked for Ben Butler.

The climax of the address of the seventy radical Union men was the prayer that Ben Butler be sent to succeed Schofield at St. Louis to restore peace and order in Missouri.

"We ask, further, Mr. President, that in the place of General Schofield a department commander be assigned to the department of Missouri whose sympathies will be with Missouri's loyal and suffering people, and not with slavery and proslavery men. General Schofield has disappointed our just expectations by identifying himself with our state administration, and his policy as department commander has been, as we believe, shaped to conform to Governor Gamble's proslavery and conservative views. He has subordinated Federal authority in Missouri to state rule. He has become a party to the enforcement of conscription into the state service. He has countenanced, if not sustained, the orders issued from the state headquarters, prohibiting enlistments from the enrolled militia into the volunteer service of the United States. Officers acting under him have arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned loyal citizens, without assigned cause, or for daring to censure Governor Gamble's policy and acts. Other such officers have ordered loyal men to be disarmed, and in some instances the order has been executed, while, under the pretense of preventing an invasion of Missouri from Kansas, notorious and avowed disloyalists have been armed. He has issued a military order prohibiting the liberty of speech and of the press. An officer in charge of negro recruits that had been enlisted under lawful authority, as we are informed and believe, was on the 20th inst. arrested in Missouri by Brigadier General Guitar, acting under General Schofield's orders, his commission, side-arms and recruits taken from him, and he imprisoned and sent out of the State. And, finally, we declare to you, Mr. President, that from the day of General Schofield's accession to the command of that department, matters have grown worse and worse in Missouri, till now they are in a more terrible condition than they have been at any time since the outbreak of the rebellion. This could not be if General Schofield had administered the affairs of that department with proper vigor and with a resolute purpose to sustain loyalty and suppress disloyalty. We, therefore, respectfully pray you to send another general to command that department; and, if we do not overstep the bounds of propriety, we ask that the commander sent there be Major General Benjamin F. Butler. We believe that his presence there would restore order and peace to Missouri in less than sixty days."

The Concluding Appeal.

The closing paragraph of the address was well calculated to impress Mr. Lincoln with the intensity of feeling inspiring the delegation. Perhaps in the history of White House conferences such strong language was never before used by a delegation in declaring the personal responsibility of the chief executive. The conclusion was in these words:

"Whether the loyal hearts of Missouri shall be crushed is for you to say. If you refuse our requests, we return to our homes only to witness, in consequence of that refusal, a more active and relentless persecution of Union men, and to feel that while Maryland can

rejoice in the protection of the government of the Union, Missouri is still to be a victim of proslavery conservatism, which blasts wherever it reigns. Does Missouri deserve such a fate? What border slave State confronted the rebellion in its first spring as she did? Remember, we pray you, who it was that in May, 1861, captured Camp Jackson and saved the arsenal at St. Louis from the hands of traitors, and the Union cause in the Valley of the Mississippi from incalculable disaster. Remember the Home Guards, who sprung to arms in Missouri when the government was without troops or means to defend itself there. Remember the more than 50,000 volunteers that Missouri has sent forth to battle for the Union. Remember that, although always a slave State, her unconditional loyalty to the Union shines lustrously before the whole nation. Recall to memory these things, Mr. President, and let them exert their just influence upon your mind. We ask only justice and protection to our suffering people. If they are to suffer hereafter, as now, and in time past, the world will remember that they are not responsible for the gloomy page in Missouri's history, which may have to record the independent efforts of her harassed but still loyal men to defend themselves, their families and their homes against their disloyal and murderous assailants."

Recollections of Enos Clarke.

The names of the seventy radical Union men of Missouri were signed to this remarkable document. The signature of Charles D. Drake of St. Louis, afterwards Senator from Missouri, and still later chief justice of the Court of Claims at Washington, came first as chairman. Two Missouri Congressmen, Ben Loan and J. W. McClurg, the latter afterwards governor, signed as vice chairmen of the delegation. One of the secretaries was the late Emil Preetorius of the St. Louis Westliche Post. Three of the seventy signers were Enos Clarke, Charles P. Johnson and David Murphy. They were among the youngest members of the delegation. One of them, Charles P. Johnson, was chosen to speak at the Cooper Institute demonstration given to indorse this Missouri movement for universal emancipation, and was introduced to the great audience by the poet and editor, William Cullen Bryant. The fifty years gone by have not dimmed the recollection of that journey to Washington and of the scene in the east room of the White House, although time long ago tempered the sentiment and dissipated the bitterness. With some reluctance Enos Clarke spoke of this historic occasion, explaining that it is difficult for those who did not live through those trying times in St. Louis, or Missouri, to comprehend the conditions which prevailed:

"The feeling over our grievances had become intense. We represented the extreme anti-slavery sentiment. We were the republicans who had been in accord with Fremont's position. Both sides to the controversy in Missouri had repeatedly presented their views to President Lincoln, but this delegation of seventy was the most imposing and most formal protest which had been made to the Gamble state administration and the national administration's policy in Missouri. The attention of the whole country, it seemed, had been drawn to Missouri. Our delegation met with a series of ovations. When we reached Washington we were informed that Secretary Chase proposed to tender us a reception. We were entertained by him the evening of the day we were received at the White House."

"Who was the author of the address, Mr. Clarke?"

"The address was the result of several meetings we held after we reached Washington. We were there nearly a week. Arriving on Saturday, we did not have our conference at the White House until Wednesday. Every day we met in Willard's Hall, on F street, and considered the address. Mr. Drake would

read over a few paragraphs, and we would discuss them. At the close of the meeting Mr. Drake would say, 'I will call you together tomorrow to further consider this matter.' In that way the address progressed to the finish."

"How did the President receive you?"

"There was no special greeting. We went to the White House a few minutes before nine, in accordance with the appointment which had been made, and took seats in the east room. Promptly at nine the president came in, unattended save by one of his secretaries. He did not shake hands, but sat down in such a position that he faced us. He seemed a great ungainly, almost uncouth man. He walked with a kind of ambling gait. His face bore the look of depression, of deep anxiety. Mr. Drake stepped forward as soon as the President had taken his seat and began to read the address. He had a deep, sonorous voice and he read slowly and in a most impressive manner. The reading occupied half an hour. At the conclusion Mr. Drake said this statement of our grievances had been prepared and signed by all of those present."

"Did the President seem to be much affected by the reading?"

"No. And at the conclusion he began to discuss the address in a manner that was very disappointing to us. He took up one phrase after another and talked about them without showing much interest. In fact, he seemed inclined to treat many of the matters contained in the paper as of little importance. The things which we had felt to be so serious Mr. Lincoln treated as really unworthy of much consideration. That was the tone in which he talked at first. He minimized what seemed to us most important."

"Did he indulge in any story telling or humorous comment?"

"No. There was nothing that seemed like levity at that stage of the conference. On the contrary, the President was almost impatient, as if he wished to get through with something disagreeable. When he had expressed the opinion that things were not so serious as we thought he began to ask questions, many of them. He elicited answers from different members of the delegation. He started argument, parrying some of the opinions expressed by us and advancing opinions contrary to the conclusions of our Committee of Seventy. This treatment of our grievances was carried so far that most of us felt a sense of deep chagrin. But after continuing in this line for some time the President's whole manner underwent change. It seemed as if he had been intent upon drawing us out. When satisfied that he fully understood us and had measured the strength of our purpose, the depth of our feeling, he took up the address as if new. He handled the various grievances in a most serious manner. He gave us the impression that he was disposed to regard them with as much concern as we did. After a while the conversation became colloquial between the President and the members of the delegation—more informal and more sympathetic. The change of tone made us feel that we were going to get consideration."

"Did the President make any reference to that part of the address about the 'factional quarrel'?"

"Yes, he did. And it was about the only thing he said that had a touch of humor in that long conversation. In the course of his reply to us he took up that grievance. 'Why,' he said, 'you are a long way behind the times in complaining of what I said upon that point. Governor Gamble was ahead of you. There came to me some time ago a letter complaining because I had said that

he was a party to a factional quarrel, and I answered that letter without reading it.' The features of the president took on a whimsical look as he continued: 'Maybe you would like to know how I could answer it without reading it. Well, I'll tell you. My private secretary told me such a letter had been received and I sat down and wrote to Governor Gamble in about these words: I understand that a letter has been received from you complaining that I said you were a party to a factional quarrel in Missouri. I have not read that letter, and, what is more, I never will.' With that Mr. Lincoln dismissed our grievance about having been called parties to a factional quarrel. He left us to draw our own inference from what he said, as he had left Governor Gamble to construe the letter without help."

"Did the conference progress to satisfactory conclusions after the President's manner changed?"

"We did not receive specific promises, but I think we felt much better toward the close than we had felt in the first hour. The President spoke generally of his purpose rather than with reference to conditions in Missouri. Toward the close of the conference he went on to speak of his great office, of its burdens, of its responsibilities and duties. Among other things he said that in the administration of the government he wanted to be the President of the whole people and no section. He thought we, possibly, failed to comprehend the enormous stress that rested upon him. 'It is my ambition and desire,' he said with considerable feeling, 'to so administer the affairs of the government while I remain President that if at the end I shall have lost every other friend on earth I shall at least have one friend remaining and that one shall be down inside of me.' "

"How long did the conference continue?"

"Three hours. It was nearing noon when the President said what I have just quoted. That seemed to be the signal to end the conference. Mr. Drake stepped forward and addressing the President, who was standing, said, with deliberation and emphasis: 'The hour has come when we can no longer trespass upon your attention. Having submitted to you in a formal way a statement of our grievances, we will take leave of you, asking privilege that each member of the delegation may take you by the hand. But, in taking leave of you, Mr. President, let me say to you many of these gentlemen return to a border State filled with disloyal sentiment. If upon their return there the military policies of your administration shall subject them to risk of life in the defense of the government and their blood shall be shed—let me tell you, Mr. President, that their blood shall be upon your garments and not upon ours.' "

"How did the President receive that?"

"With great emotion. Tears trickled down his face, as we filed by shaking his hand."

Mr. Lincoln's Long Letter on Missouri.

Abraham Lincoln sized up the Missouri situation. His analysis of the conditions and causes was written October 5, 1863, in reply to the delegation which called upon him. It showed clear comprehension of the troubles and suggested common-sense remedy. It was elaborate. There are few Lincoln letters of such length. There is nothing in print that tells so well what was the matter with Missouri when the war was half over:

"The things demanded are—

"First. That General Schofield shall be relieved, and General Butler be appointed commander of the Military Department of Missouri;

"Second. That the system of Enrolled Militia in Missouri may be broken up, and national forces substituted for it; and

"Third. That at elections, persons may not be allowed to vote who are not entitled by law to do so.

"Among the reasons given, enough of suffering and wrong to Union men is certainly, and I suppose truly, stated. Yet the whole case as presented fails to convince me that General Schofield, or the Enrolled Militia, is responsible for that suffering and wrong. The whole can be explained on a more charitable, and, as I think, a more rational hypothesis.

"We are in civil war. In such cases there always is a main question; but in this case that question is a perplexing compound—Union and slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely, but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus those who are for the Union with but not without slavery, those for it without but not with, those for it with or without but prefer it with, those for it with or without but prefer it without. Among these, again, is a subdivision of those who are for gradual but not for immediate, and those who are for immediate but not for gradual extinction of slavery.

"It is easy to conceive that all these shades of opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet all being for the Union, by reason of these differences each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. At once sincerity is questioned and motives assailed. Actual war coming, blood grows hot and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies, and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor lest he be killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be among honest men only. But this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad and every dirty reptile rises up. These add crime to confusion. Strong measures, deemed indispensable but harsh at best, such men make worse by maladministration. Murder for old grudges and murders for pelf proceed under any cloak that will best cover for the occasion. These causes amply account for what has occurred in Missouri, without ascribing it to the weakness or wickedness of any general.

"The newspaper files, those chroniclers of current events, will show the evils now complained of were quite as prevalent under Fremont, Hunter, Halleck, and Curtis, as under Schofield. If the former had greater force opposed to them, they also had greater force with which to meet it. When the organized army left the State, the main Federal force had to go also, leaving the department commander at home, relatively no stronger than before. Without disparaging any, I affirm with confidence, that no commander of that department has, in proportion to his means, done better than General Schofield.

"The first specific charge against General Schofield is, that the Enrolled Militia was placed under his command, whereas it had not been placed under the command of General Curtis. The fact I believe is true; but you do not point out, nor can I conceive, how that did or could injure loyal men, or the Union cause.

"You charge that upon General Curtis being superseded by General Schofield, Franklin A. Dick was superseded by James O. Broadhead as provost marshal general. No very specific showing is made as to how this did or could injure the Union cause. It recalls, however, the condition of things, as presented to me, which led to a change of commander for that department.

"To restrain contraband intelligence and trade, a system of searches, seizures, permits and passes had been introduced, I think, by General Fremont. When General Halleck came he found and continued this system, and added an order, applicable to some parts of the State, to levy and collect contributions from noted rebels to compensate losses, and relieve destitution caused by the rebellion. The action of General Fremont and General Halleck, as stated, constituted a sort of system, which General Curtis found in full operation when he took command of the department. That there was a necessity for something of the sort was clear; but that it could only be justified by stern necessity, and that it was liable to great abuse in administration, was equally clear. Agents to execute it, contrary to the great Prayer, were led into temptation. Some might, while others would not, resist that temptation. It was not possible to hold any to a very strict accountability; and those yielding to the temptation would sell permits and passes to those who would pay most, and most readily for them; and would seize property, and collect levies in the aptest way to fill their own pockets. Money being the object, the man having money, whether loyal or disloyal, would be a victim. This practice doubtless existed to some extent, and it was a real additional evil that it could be, and was plausibly, charged to exist in greater extent than it did.

"When General Curtis took command of the department, Mr. Dick, against whom I never knew anything to allege, had general charge of this system. A controversy in regard to it rapidly grew into almost unmanageable proportions. One side ignored the necessity and magnified the evils of the system, while the other ignored the evils and magnified the necessity; and each bitterly assailed the motives of the other.

"I could not fail to see that the controversy enlarged in the same proportion as the professed Union men there distinctly took sides in two opposing political parties. I exhausted my wits, and very nearly my patience, also, in efforts to convince both that the evils they charged on each other were inherent in the case, and could not be cured by giving either party a victory over the other.

"Plainly the irritating system was not to be perpetual; and it was plausibly urged that it could be modified at once with advantage. The case could scarcely be worse and whether it could be made better could only be determined by a trial. In this view, and not to ban or brand General Curtis or to give a victory to any party, I made the change of commander for the department. I now learn that soon after this change Mr. Dick was removed, and that Mr. Broadhead, a gentleman of no less good character, was put in the place. The mere fact of this change is more distinctly complained of than is any conduct of the new officer, or other consequences of the change.

"I gave the new commander no instructions as to the administration of the system mentioned beyond what is contained in the private letter, afterwards surreptitiously published, in which I directed him to act solely for the public good, and independently of both parties. Neither anything you have presented me,

nor anything I have otherwise learned, has convinced me that he has been unfaithful to this charge.

"Imbecility is urged as one cause for removing General Schofield, and the late massacre at Lawrence, Kansas, is passed as evidence of that imbecility. To my mind, that fact scarcely tends to prove the proposition. That massacre is only an example of what Grierson, John Morgan and many others might have repeatedly done on their respective raids had they chosen to incur the personal hazard, and possessed the fiendish heart to do it.

"The charge is made that General Schofield, on purpose to protect the Lawrence murderers, would not allow them to be pursued into Missouri. While no punishment could be too sudden or too severe for those murderers, I am well satisfied that the preventing of the threatened remedial raid into Missouri was the only safe way to avoid an indiscriminate massacre there, including probably more innocent than guilty. Instead of condemning, I therefore approve what I understand General Schofield did in that respect.

"The charges that General Schofield has purposely withheld protection from loyal people and purposely facilitated the objects of the disloyal are altogether beyond my power of belief. I do not arraign the veracity of gentlemen as to the facts complained of; but I do more than question the judgment which would infer that those facts occurred in accordance with the purpose of General Schofield.

"With my present views, I must decline to remove General Schofield. In this I decide nothing against General Butler. I sincerely wish it were convenient to assign him a suitable command.

"In order to meet some existing evils, I have addressed a letter of instruction to General Schofield, a copy of which I enclose to you. As to the Enrolled Militia, I shall endeavor to ascertain, better than I now know, what is its exact value. Let me say now, however, that your proposal to substitute national force for the Enrolled Militia, implies that in your judgment the latter is doing something which needs to be done; and, if so, the proposition to throw that force away and to supply its place by bringing other forces from the field where they are urgently needed, seems to me very extraordinary; whence shall they come? Shall they be drawn from Banks, or Grant, or Steele, or Rosecrans?

"Few things have been so grateful to my anxious feelings as when, in June last, the local force in Missouri aided General Schofield to so promptly send a large general force to the relief of General Grant, then investing Vicksburg, and menaced from without by General Johnston. Was this all wrong? Should the Enrolled Militia then have been broken up, and General Heron kept from Grant, to police Missouri? So far from finding cause to object, I confess to a sympathy for whatever relieves our general force in Missouri, and allows it to serve elsewhere.

"I therefore, as at present advised, cannot attempt the destruction of the Enrolled Militia of Missouri. I may add, that the force being under the national military control, it is also within the proclamation with regard to the habeas corpus.

"I concur in the propriety of your request in regard to elections, and have, as you see, directed General Schofield accordingly. I do not feel justified to enter upon the broad field you present in regard to the political differences

between Radicals and Conservatives. From time to time I have done and said what appeared to me proper to do and say. The public knows it well. It obliges nobody to follow me, and I trust it obliges me to follow nobody.

"The Radicals and Conservatives each agree with me in some things and disagree in others. I could wish both to agree with me in all things; for then they would agree with each other, and would be too strong for any foe from any quarter. They, however, choose to do otherwise, and I do not question their rights. I hold whoever commands in Missouri or elsewhere responsible to me, and not to either Radicals or Conservatives. It is my duty to hear all; but, at last, I must, within my sphere, judge what to do and what to forbear.

"Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN."

Blair on the Permit System.

President Lincoln spoke of the evils and abuses of the permit system which had been applied by successive commanders to Missouri. Blair, on the floor of Congress, illustrated the operation of the system. "Until within the last six months a man living in Missouri, twenty miles from St. Louis could not get a barrel of salt or flour from the city without paying for a permit. I am told that a judge of our supreme court living in the adjoining county of St. Charles paid for a permit in St. Louis to take a picture of General Washington to his home as a Christmas present to his child. This thing has been continued to within the last twenty days; and for the last six months no organized force of the enemy has penetrated north of the Arkansas River. The permit system has finally been abandoned in Missouri, but the agents and the officials who formerly spread this network over our desolated State and pinched its ruined inhabitants still remain."

To leave St. Louis by train or boat or by other vehicle or afoot, during the continuance of martial law, a passport was necessary. Between August 14 and November 20, 1861, there were issued 85,000 of these passes. On the back of the first issues was: "It is understood that the within named subscriber accepts this pass on his word of honor that he is and will ever be loyal to the United States; and if hereafter found in arms against the Union, or in any way aiding the enemy, the penalty will be death." When Capt. George E. Leighton succeeded Gen. Justus McKinstry as provost marshal he changed this form to a pledge and omitted the death penalty.

Charcoals Gain Control.

The Radicals, as the Charcoals had come to be more commonly called, carried Missouri in the general election of 1864. The vote was not large. Not only were thousands away fighting in the South, but many more who were living quietly and peaceably at their homes could not or would not take the oath of allegiance required of voters. The Radicals elected their state ticket, of which Thomas C. Fletcher was the head. They controlled the legislature by a large majority. They carried eight of the nine Congressional districts and eighty of the counties. Lincoln had about 40,000 majority and the state ticket nearly as much. Many Conservatives or Claybanks remained away from the polls because, while they could truthfully have taken the strict oath of allegiance, they resented the practice of the Charcoals in challenging and rigidly questioning any one with whom they disagreed.

Thomas K. Skinker, in a very interesting address before the Missouri Historical Society on February 20, 1914, gave this origin of the names applied to the two factions: "To the dominant element in Missouri all Democrats were rebels, and they were commonly called by that name, or something worse. The other party was at first called the Union, or Unconditional Union party; but that soon split into wings, or branches, the Conservatives and the Radicals. These were commonly called, respectively, the Claybanks and the Charcoals. The Republicans had long been called by their political adversaries 'Black Republicans.' This was easily converted into 'Charcoals'; and these latter gave their conservative fellow-unionists the name of 'Claybanks,' as denoting a colorless sort of politics, which did not much distinguish them from out-and-out Rebels; or else Copperheads, after the deadly snake of that name, which strikes without warning. It was meant to be a synonym of hidden danger and secret hostility to the Union cause."

The Ousting Ordinance.

Delegates to the constitutional convention were chosen at this election of 1864. The Radicals had won over the legislature. The act providing for the convention conferred extraordinary powers upon the delegates. The convention passed an ordinance for immediate emancipation and framed a new constitution containing a test oath, or as it was called an "oath of loyalty." The constitution not only limited the franchise and the holding of public office of any kind to those who could take this oath, but it required preachers and lawyers as well as teachers to take the oath before they were allowed to practice their professions. There was provision for repentance and forgiveness of those who could not immediately subscribe to the oath. The twenty-fifth section said that the general assembly might repeal the oath so far as it related to voters after 1871. But the test oath must apply to lawyers, preachers and teachers until after 1876, when the legislature might extend amnesty to these classes if it saw proper.

In order that the work of the convention might not be undone by the courts the delegates proceeded to enact what was called the "ousting ordinance." The title declared that the purpose of the ordinance was "to vacate certain civil offices, to harmonize the workings of the government, and to protect citizens from injury and harassment from persecution for acts done by them in support of the government." A committee headed by Henry A. Clover of St. Louis reported this ousting ordinance and made a long report in support of it.

"The committee is of opinion that, to harmonize the working of the state government in all its departments, it is necessary to vacate throughout, and in detail, all the judicial offices of the State. The convention has already enacted an ordinance emancipating slaves. Should the judicial department of the state government be held at liberty to impeach the entire lawfulness of this act? Property in man exists and has always heretofore been recognized in this State, and if rightfully existing at one time, it may always rightfully exist. The convention, or the majority of the people, have no right or lawful authority to deprive a citizen of property without compensation, not even pretended to be taken for public use. The right or authority so to do is denied in the very nature of the social contract. Upon this plea the lawfulness of this act of the convention may be denied by the judges. Should it be permitted, if it can be prevented?

"Again, the convention has considered a measure for preserving in purity the elective franchise, and, in so doing, to disfranchise the rebel and rebel sympathizer. Shall the

effect of this measure be allowed to be frittered away by unfavorable and hostile construction and interpretation of term and phrase?"

This ousting ordinance was suggested to the convention in a resolution offered by Mr. Green of Marion County, which declared that to carry out the progressive spirit of the people of Missouri it was necessary to reorganize the judicial system and to vacate all judicial offices from the supreme bench down.

One Thousand Offices Vacated.

The ordinance applied to about 1,000 office holders. It included the judges and clerks of all courts in the State, the county recorders, the circuit attorneys and their assistants and all sheriffs. These offices were to be vacated on May 1, 1865. The governor was to appoint successors.

"It is plain from the report," said Mr. Skinker in his address, "Judge Clover and his committee fully realized that in declaring the abolition of slavery they were committing an act of revolution and confiscation. Property in negro slaves had always been recognized by the law of the land; there was not a single State in the Union in which this was not true at some time in its history. In Missouri it was distinctly recognized at that very time, and the very constitution, which the convention was then submitting to the people for adoption, contained a provision, the same as in the earlier constitution, and in all the constitutions of all the States in this country, both before and since that time, declaring that no private property ought to be taken by the State without just compensation to the owners. In violation of this accepted principle, this convention was undertaking to take away from their owners this kind of property without making compensation. At the time this was denounced by a large element of the people as the extreme of lawlessness. Today it is, to socialists and communists, the supreme precedent in favor of their theory that the State may do as it will with all private property.

"Fully realizing all of this, as their report candidly shows, Mr. Clover and his committee also knew that no lawyer could be trusted to depart from this fundamental principle, who was not schooled or pledged in advance to overthrow it. Hence they were determined to reorganize the judiciary, as they called it, by putting into the courts men who could be depended upon to approve the action of the convention, at all cost, and in spite of all principle. That is what the committee meant when it spoke of 'harmonizing the government.'"

The ousting ordinance had easy going in the convention. It was passed after some debate. Isidor Bush tried to put through an amendment by which the governor would be authorized to vacate any of the 1,000 offices when it was proven to him that the holder was disloyal. He obtained only four votes for his proposition. He tried another amendment which provided that no member of the convention should be eligible to any one of the offices to be vacated. That suggestion received only five votes. The ordinance was carried by a vote of forty-three to five,

Supreme Court Judges Removed by Force.

The application of the ousting ordinance reached its revolutionary climax when the judges of the supreme court were removed from the bench by force

and taken before a police justice. This was done with the street full of soldiers to suppress any riotous demonstration. Governor Fletcher, acting under the ordinance, appointed David Wagner and Walter L. Lovelace to take the places of William V. N. Bay and John D. S. Dryden. Mr. Skinker's account of the proceedings and description of the scenes constitutes a very valuable contribution to the history of Missouri:

"On the 13th of June, Messrs. Wagner and Lovelace met and made an order requiring Andrew W. Mead, then clerk of the supreme court, to surrender the records of the court to their clerk, Mr. Bowman. Mr. Mead declined to comply, and immediately applied to the circuit court for an injunction against Wagner, Lovelace and their associates to prevent them from meddling with the records of the court. Circuit Judge Moodey, an original Republican, was of the opinion that the ousting ordinance was void, and accordingly issued the injunction. He had already decided the identical question in the case of Alfred C. Bernoudy, whose office of recorder of deeds fell within the same ordinance, and was claimed by Mr. Conrad, an appointee of Governor Fletcher. On the next day, June 14th, the governor issued an order to Gen. David C. Coleman of the state militia, to be served by him upon Judges Bay and Dryden, warning them that they were usurpers and that he would deal with them summarily if they failed to vacate. The general went to the court house in St. Louis, found Judges Bay and Dryden holding court, and presented this order. They declined to yield to the governor's threat, declaring that he had no authority of law for interrupting them in the discharge of their duties. They claimed that, as they had been elected pursuant to the constitution and laws of the State, they had a right to remain in office until their terms expired. They denied that the convention had power to pass the ousting ordinance, because it was not one of the matters named as a subject of legislation in the act of the legislature calling the convention. They denied its validity because it had not been submitted to a vote of the people. They insisted that it was in effect an abolishment, as far as it went, of the old constitution, without the consent of the people; that it was the business of the courts to pass on the constitutionality of laws, and not of the governor, that it therefore belonged to the old court, and not to the appointees of the governor, constituting the new court, to decide the question; else the whole theory of liberty based on a constitutional judiciary was at an end. The argument of Messrs. Bay and Dryden was undoubtedly strong in point of law, but in practice it was weak because it had no bayonets to back it.

"After the refusal of the judges to submit to the governor's order, General Coleman withdrew, but shortly returned with another order from the governor, again declaring Bay and Dryden to be usurpers, directing Coleman to put the new appointees in possession of the supreme court room, with all the records, seals, furniture, books and papers of the court, and also directing him to use such force as he might deem necessary, and to arrest all persons who might oppose him. The judges refused to recognize the authority of this order also, and again protested against any interruption of the business of the court. General Coleman then informed them that as an officer he must obey the orders of his superior, and asked them to consider themselves removed by force. They declined this. He then proceeded to lay his hands upon them and asked that they should consider this an arrest. This was also declined, and he was told

that they would only yield to the presence and command of a force which they could not successfully resist. Coleman then called in a detachment of police who were held in readiness, and at his order the judges were taken from their seats by the police and were escorted as prisoners to the office of Recorder Wolff, a police justice. A complaint was there lodged against them as having disturbed the peace by interfering with the supreme court. Fletcher, Wagner, Lovelace, Holmes and Bowman were named as witnesses. The case was set for trial next morning, but nobody appeared to prosecute, and so the complaint was dismissed.

Bayonets in the Street.

"After the judges were removed from the court room the police remained in and about the room for several hours. A military force also was stationed outside the court house, consisting of the 48th Regiment of Missouri Infantry, some 600 or 700 men. These were posted in Chestnut street, from Tenth street eastward, and were under the command of our genial friend, Col. Wells H. Blodgett, then a young warrior, but now and for many years last past known to us all as the bland, wise and efficient general counsel of the Wabash Railroad Company.

"It also appears from the Republican of June 13th and 15th that a company of the Seventh Regiment of Enrolled Militia was called out and stationed at their armory on Walnut street on the 12th, and that Company A of the Third Ward Militia relieved the other company after two days' service. It would seem that the authorities either expected forcible opposition to their measures or were determined to forestall and prevent opposition. The Democrat of June 15th mentioned that a large military force was held in readiness 'in case of an outbreak.'

"Judge Dryden promptly sued Governor Fletcher for $50,000 damages. His attorneys were Thomas T. Gantt and Samuel T. Glover. These had been among the staunchest and promptest supporters of the Union from the beginning. But they had not kept pace with the growth of Radical sentiment, and so they had been sent to the back seat, next to the out-and-out rebels. As might have been expected with such lawyers for his counsel, the petition in Judge Dryden's suit was a model of good pleading. But the cards were stacked; the judges before whom the case was to come owed their positions to the very ordinance whose validity the petition attacked. The case lingered for a while in court and was then dismissed.

"The Radicals had the military power under their control, and they had used it—with the skill of experts, as they thought; with the brutality of bandits, as their adversaries thought."

CHAPTER XVIII.

MISSOURI AND THE CONFEDERACY.

Secrets of State—The Unpublished Memoirs of Thomas C. Reynolds—Missouri "A Sovereign, Free and Independent Republic"—Democratic Differences at Jefferson City—The Lieutenant-Governor's Animus—Price's Hesitation to Take Command—The Secret Plan of Campaign—Reynolds Starts for Richmond—The Harney-Price Agreement—Major Cabell Commissioned by Governor Jackson—The First Interview with Jefferson Davis—Refusal to Send an Army to Missouri—Price's Call for 50,000 Men—McElroy's Analysis of Price's Leadership—A Great Name to Conjure With—Admission of Missouri into the Confederacy—The Meeting at Neosho—First Congressional Delegation—The Movement against Davis—A Proposed Northwest Confederacy—Price's Disclaimer—The Alleged Quarrel with Davis—Shelby's Promotion—Quantrell and Lawrence—Recollections of a Participant in the Attack—The Palmyra Affair—An Account Written at the Time—Jefferson Davis' Demand for the Surrender of McNeil—Execution of Ten Federal Officers Threatened—Gen. Curtis' Reply—Narrow Escape of General Cockrell—A Letter from John B. Clark—The Days of Rapid Reconciliation—Shelby and the United States Marshalship—Frost and Davis on the Confederate Policy.

The acts of President Lincoln having been indorsed by Congress and the people of the Northern States, the war thus commenced by him has been made the act of the government and nation over which he ruled; therefore, by the acts of the people and government of the United States, the political connection heretofore existing between said States and the people and government of Missouri is and ought to be totally dissolved; and the State of Missouri, as a sovereign, free and independent republic, has full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliance, establish commerce, and to do all other acts which independent States may of right do.—*Proclamation of Claiborne F. Jackson, August, 1861.*

In midsummer of 1861 the addresses and proclamations to the people of Missouri came in rapid succession. The convention which, on the 30th of July, set up a provisional state government issued an address. About the same time Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds issued at New Madrid a proclamation in which he said: "I return to the State to accompany in my official capacity one of the armies which the warrior, whose genius now presides over one-half of the Union, has prepared to advance against the common foe."

He said that the authority of Missouri as a sovereign and independent State would be exercised with a view to "her speedy regular union with her southern sisters." He announced that a Confederate army under command of General Pillow had entered Missouri "to aid in expelling the enemies from the State."

Immediately following the proclamation of Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds, Brigadier-General Jefferson Thompson issued a proclamation, also "to the people of Missouri." The picturesque personality among the brigadiers of the Missouri State Guard was Jeff Thompson. He was called the "Missouri swamp fox." His division of the State was the southeast corner. The fox was a writer of poetry and of proclamations. At the same time he had courage and did some

good fighting. He is said to have been "a tall, lank, wiry man, at least six feet high, about thirty-five years old, with a long sharp face and a prominent nose, blue eyes and a mane of yellow hair which he combed back behind his ears. His uniform was a white, soft hat with a feather, a short coat or jacket, short trousers and high boots. On all occasions the swamp fox wore a white-handled bowie-knife stuck through his belt at the middle of his back."

The proclamation of "the swamp fox" appeared on the 1st of August. About the same time Provisional Governor Gamble sent out from Jefferson City a proclamation notifying citizens that the so-called "military law" passed by the legislature a few weeks previously had been abrogated, the troops disbanded and the commissions to officers annulled. The proclamation further warned Confederate troops to depart at once from the State.

Two days later Governor Claiborne Jackson returned from Richmond to the southern part of the State and issued a proclamation declaring Missouri independent of the United States, "a sovereign, free and independent republic."

The Memoir of Thomas C. Reynolds.

In what he called a "Memoir," Thomas C. Reynolds wrote certain "secrets of state" in the relations of Missouri to the Confederacy. The manuscript of this Memoir was found among the papers of Governor Reynolds after his death. It passed into the possession of his nephew, George Savage, of Baltimore, and was sent to the Missouri Historical Society in 1898 "for preservation."

John McElroy, the writer of "The Struggle for Missouri," said: "Next to Governor Jackson—surpassing him in intellectual acuteness and fertile energy—was Lieutenant-Governor Thomas C. Reynolds, then in his 40th year, a short full-bodied man, with jet-black hair and eyes shaded with gold-rimmed glasses. He boasted of being born of Virginia parents in South Carolina. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, and had accomplishments quite unusual in that day. He spoke French, German and Spanish fluently, wrote profusely and with considerable force, and prided himself on being a diplomat. He had seen some service as secretary of legation and charge d'affaires at Madrid. He had been elected as a Douglas Democrat, but was an outspoken secessionist, and as he was ex-officio president of the senate, he had much power in forming committees and shaping legislation."

The Memoir is a revelation of the efforts to take Missouri into the Confederacy. At the same time it shows the wide divergence in sentiment on the subject of secession that prevailed among the Democratic officials and leaders in the State, especially at Jefferson City that winter of 1861. Many of those who subsequently went into the Confederate army were still clinging to the hope that the Union would be preserved. Reynolds had no patience with them. He worked incessantly to have Missouri declare for the South. When Mr. Russell came from Mississippi as a commissioner to urge secession, the lieutenant-governor gave a dinner to him having General Sterling Price, Governor Claiborne F. Jackson and Speaker McAfee present to heard the commissioner's views. To the great disappointment of Mr. Reynolds and those who were with him in advocating secession before Lincoln's inauguration, the convention called by act of the legislature and presided over by General Sterling Price, voted in March, 1861, in favor of the Union. Price was bank commissioner, a state office at the time.

Reynolds had counted on him as favorable to the secession movement. He is bitter in his comments on Price. He says in his Memoir: "The high officer, who alone had it in his power to exercise any control over the vast power of the banks of the State, had on the very battlefield conspicuously gone over to the enemy. The 'money power,' now perfectly secure, was exercised against the southern rights party."

Not until the Camp Jackson affair did Reynolds find his opportunity. Up to that time, his Memoir shows, the secession following was too small to be effective in any radical step proposed.

"After the civil war begun, the Missouri legislature met in special session May 1, 1861. On Friday, May 10th, the Camp Jackson affair took place. The tone of the press of Missouri and all accounts of the feeling throughout the State, on account of that high-handed move, placed it beyond all doubt, that for the moment fully four-fifths of the population were ready to take up arms against the United States. On the afternoon of Saturday, May 11th, or Sunday, May 12th, I visited Governor Jackson at his office adjoining that of the secretary of state in the capitol, and, to my surprise and gratification, met General Price in conference with him. General Price had been in St. Louis on May 10th, and had just arrived from there in the train of that morning. An interchange of a few words between us indicated that he had determined to come back to the southern rights party. I at once advised Governor Jackson to give him supreme military command, especially as armed volunteers were pouring into Jefferson City, and a commander of experience and reputation was indispensable. Governor Jackson was evidently reluctant, and urged that the military bill giving him power to organize the militia and appoint general officers had not yet become a law. I answered that the 'rebellion act,' which I had drafted and which had been passed on May 10th immediately after receipt of news of the Camp Jackson affair, gave him discretionary powers; that under it he could commission General Price merely to command troops, and, on the passage of the military bill, give him definite rank under it; that I would agree to be 'military secretary' under General Price and aid him to the extent of my ability. After some further persuasion, I pointed out the advantage of having General Price publicly and irrevocably with us, the prestige of his position as president of the state convention, his reputation in the Mexican war. Governor Jackson authorized me to draw up a commission in accordance with my views and said that he would sign it. I accordingly at once drew up a commission under the 'rebellion act' appointing General Price to command in chief all the forces to be called out to suppress the rebellion begun by Lyon and Blair at St. Louis."

After preparing the commission, Mr. Reynolds had considerable difficulty in getting it signed, Governor Jackson showing much hesitation about "so important a step." With the commission in hand Reynolds sought General Price.

"I had arranged with General Price to meet me at the office of the secretary of state and I immediately proceeded thither. Ascending the steps of the capitol, I encountered General Robert Wilson, state senator from Andrew county, a member of the state convention, and a public man of deservedly great weight in Missouri. I told him about the commission and asked him to accompany me to present it to General Price. He promptly consented and remarked: 'I am glad Price is to take command. If these hot-headed boys who are now com-

manding are left to themselves, they will carry us all to the devil.' He alluded to Parsons, Peyton, Colton Green and others who were taking charge of the volunteers arriving. We entered the office of the secretary of state and found General Price there. The great seal was attached to the commission and on behalf of Governor Jackson, I tendered it to General Price.

"As he had previously promised me to accept, I was somewhat taken aback by his remaining silent and seeming to be in a deep study. I thereupon stated to him that as his personal and political friend, and as lieutenant-governor of Missouri, I urged his acceptance of the commission. Turning to General Robert Wilson, I requested him as a senator and member of the convention, and a leading public man to express his opinion. General Wilson in a few words said that he considered it General Price's duty to the State to accept the commission. After a pause of a few moments, General Price said, in a tone as if he had come to a sudden decision: 'Well, gentlemen, I accept and rely on your support to the best of my ability.' General Wilson and I each responded: 'You can count on our support.'"

A Call to Arms.

Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds' next step was to prepare an address, or proclamation, to the people of Missouri. This was to be signed by Governor Jackson, and, Mr. Reynolds says, was prepared at the governor's request. This address, according to the Memoir, raised no question of secession but called on the entire people of the State to form military organizations and arm themselves, and then await further orders of the state government. General Price was with Governor Jackson when the lieutenant-governor read the draft of the address to them:

"I explained that its policy was to impress the universal indignation about the Camp Jackson outrage, and have every neighborhood commit itself to sustain by arms the state government; that the universal ferment we could reasonably expect would probably confine Lyon, who could not count on over eight thousand men, to St. Louis, and counterbalance the unionist excitement in Central Illinois, as well as encourage the southern proclivities of Southern Illinois; that if Lyon should venture to leave St. Louis to advance on Jefferson City, we could make the country swarm in insurrection around him, until, if he ventured too far, he would be lost; and that we could also make St. Louis rise in his rear; that if compelled to leave Jefferson City, we should retreat along the valley of the Osage, drawing him towards the southwest and setting the populous secession counties on the upper Missouri to rise in his rear; that on the extent of the response to the call in the proclamation, our future course should depend; that if as general as everything indicated it would be, we could hold nearly the entire State and perhaps even St. Louis, call together the convention and have the State secede. An additional reason was that if we should at once begin war, I did not believe Lyon had enough troops to do us harm, and that one certain result at least would be to produce a most powerful diversion to gain time for the defense of Virginia, and possibly determine Kentucky to abandon her 'neutrality.'"

Mr. Reynolds left the draft of the address, under the impression that it was approved by the governor and by General Price, and that it would be issued at

once. But several days passed without the appearance of the proclamation. Mr. Reynolds conferred with General Price:

"I stated my apprehension that Governor Jackson was inclined to temporize and gain time, and even adopt the neutrality system of his native state, Kentucky; that I considered delay fatal and leading to transactions and compromises which would end in giving the Federals possession of the State; that for that reason I intended to proceed at once to the Confederate States and, treating the governor as morally under duress, ask as lieutenant-governor from Mr. Davis the entry of Confederate troops into Missouri to protect the government."

The Appeal to Richmond.

Mr. Reynolds says his proposition met with the approval of General Price and that he left Jefferson City on this errand to Richmond, not telling Governor Jackson of the application to be made. He went by way of Arkansas. En route he saw in the press dispatches that General Harney and General Price had entered into an agreement "which was so astonishing that I doubted the accuracy of the telegram." When he reached Memphis, Mr. Reynolds learned of the removal of Harney, the reinstatement of Lyon, and the practical abrogation of the Harney-Price agreement. He wrote to President Davis asking that Confederate troops be sent to Missouri and later, receiving no answer, went to Richmond, where he joined Major E. C. Cabell, who had come from Missouri as Governor Jackson's commissioner to the Confederate States with a request that Confederate troops be sent:

"In June, 1861, I saw Governor Jackson's proclamation announcing the breaking out of hostilities between the United States authorities and those of the State of Missouri. Soon after Major E. C. Cabell telegraphed me from Richmond to come there at once. I arrived there and from Major Cabell's reports and my own conversation with Mr. Toombs, secretary of state; Mr. Benjamin, attorney-general, and Mr. Memminger, secretary of the treasury of the Confederate States, discovered a marked indisposition to grant the aid asked by the authorities of Missouri, although in addition to the application of General Price and myself, one had been made for troops by the governor through Major Cabell, his commissioner to the Confederate States, with full power under the great seal of the State and by authority of the 'rebellion act.'

"Finally Mr. Davis gave an audience to Major Cabell and myself, Mr. Toombs and Mr. Walker, Confederate secretary of war, being the only other persons present. After hearing the reasons urged by Major Cabell and myself in favor of intervention of the Confederacy in Missouri and combating them by arguments drawn from the armory of straight-laced state sovereignty doctrines (as in the subsequent official answer to our applications), he finally, with the air of a man conscious of the weakness of those arguments, and suddenly resolving to give his ruling reasons at whatever risk of offending, drew himself up in his chair, and compressing his lips, said to us: 'I find, gentlemen, by your governor's proclamation of June —, which I have in my hand, that in the conference between General Price and himself and General Lyon at St. Louis, he offered to use his state troops to drive out of Missouri any Confederate troops entering it. Now at the very moment when he made this offer you, Mr. Cabell, were here with a commission from him to me, and presenting his request for

these Confederate troops to be sent into Missouri. So that, had I assented to the request, those troops, even though with your lieutenant-governor at the head of them, might have had to fight against, instead of with General Price's army. Now I think General Lyon acted very unwisely in not accepting Governor Jackson's proposals, and Mr. Lincoln may send him orders to accept them. Governor Jackson, in his proclamation, makes a merit of having proposed them. Now, if I agree to send Confederate troops into Missouri at your request, can you give me any guarantee that Mr. Lincoln may not propose and Governor Jackson assent to the agreement rejected by General Lyon and compel those troops to retire before their joint forces?'

"Of course no answer could be made to this, especially as the President's whole tone and manner showed a fixed resolution and great disgust at what he evidently considered double dealing and an insult to his dignity in setting a trap for Confederate troops to be used or opposed, according as the Missouri authorities might succeed or fail in making terms with the United States. Major Cabell and I remained silent, or at best contented ourselves with arguing feebly that whatever the previous vacillation, Governor Jackson and General Price had taken the final leap into the secession camp and could be trusted accordingly. But President Davis' mind was evidently made up and the audience soon ended. A day or two afterwards, Major Cabell and I received the official answer to our respective applications rejecting them on the mere technicality (and an erroneous one) that only a convention representing the sovereignty of the State could be treated with by the Confederate States."

Sterling Price, the Leader.

About this time General Price issued a proclamation from Marshall, appealing to those Missourians who sympathized with the South:

"Leave your property at home. What if it be taken—all taken? We have $200,000,000 worth of Northern means in Missouri which cannot be removed. When we are once free the State will indemnify every citizen who may have lost a dollar by adhesion to the cause of his country. We shall have our property, or its value, with interest.

"But, in the name of God and the attributes of manhood, let me appeal to you by considerations infinitely higher than money! Are we a generation of driveling, sniveling, degraded slaves? Or are we men who dare assert and maintain the rights which cannot be surrendered, and defend those principles of everlasting rectitude, pure and high and sacred, like God, their author? Be yours the office to choose between the glory of a free country and a just government, and the bondage of your children! I will never see the chains fastened upon my country. I will ask for six and one-half feet of Missouri soil in which to repose, but will not live to see my people enslaved.

"Do I hear your shouts? Is that your war-cry which echoes through the land? Are you coming? Fifty thousand men! Missouri shall move to victory with the tread of a giant! Come on, my brave boys, 50,000 heroic, gallant, unconquerable Southern men! We await your coming.

STERLING PRICE,
"Major-General Commanding."

John McElroy, in "The Struggle for Missouri," said of Sterling Price: "He was a man of the finest physique and presence, six feet two inches high, with small hands and feet and unusually large body and limbs; a superb horseman; with a broad, bland, kindly face framed in snow-white hair and beard. His name would indicate Welsh origin, but his face, figure and mental habits

GENERAL STERLING PRICE

seemed rather Teutonic. He had a voice of much sweetness and strength, and a paternal way of addressing his men, who speedily gave him the sobriquet of 'Pap Price.' He appeared on the field in a straw hat and linen duster in summer, and with a blanket thrown over his shoulders and a tall hat in winter. These became standards which the Missourians followed into the thick of the fight, as the French did the white plume of Henry of Navarre.

"General Price was a remarkable instance of the indefinable quality of leadership. This is something that does not seem to depend upon intellectual superiority, upon greater courage or devotion, or even upon clearer insight. A man leads his fellows—many of whom are his superiors in most namable qualities—simply because of something unnamable in him that makes him assume the leadership, and they accept it. There was hardly a prominent man in Missouri that was not Price's superior in some quality usually regarded as essential. For example, he was a pleasing and popular speaker, but Missouri abounded in men much more attractive to public assemblages. He was a fair politician, but rarely got more than the second prize. He had distinguished himself in the Mexican war, but Claiborne Jackson made more capital out of his few weeks of inconsequential service in the Black Hawk war than Price did out of the conquest of New Mexico and the capture of Chihuahua.

"He served one term in Congress, but failed to secure a renomination. He had been elected governor of Missouri while his Mexican laurels were yet green, but when he tried to enter the Senate he was easily defeated by that able politician and orator, James S. Green.

"Though he belonged to the dominant anti-Benton faction of the Missouri Democracy and the Stephen A. Douglas wing, he never was admitted to the select inner council, or secured any of its higher rewards, except one term as governor.

"At the outbreak of the war he was holding the comparatively unimportant place of bank commissioner. For all that he was to become and remain throughout the struggle the central figure of secession in the trans-Mississippi country.

"Officers of high rank and brilliant reputation like Ben McCulloch, Earl Van Dorn, Richard Taylor and E. Kirby Smith were to be put over him, yet his fame and influence outshone them all. Unquestionably able soldiers, such as Marmaduke, Shelby, Bowen, Jeff Thompson, Parsons, M. L. Clark and Little, were to serve him with unfaltering loyalty as subordinates.

"Yet from first to last his was a name to conjure with. No other than his in the South had the spell in it for Missourians and the people west of the Mississippi. They flocked to his standard wherever it was raised, and after three years of failures they followed him with as much eager hope in his last disastrous campaign as in the first, and when he died in St. Louis, two years after the war, his death was regarded as a calamity to the State, and he had the largest funeral of any man in the history of Missouri."

Missouri Admitted into the Confederacy.

The first appeal for a Confederate army to be sent having failed, E. C. Cabell and Thomas L. Snead were made commissioners by Governor Jackson to go to Richmond and negotiate for the admission of Missouri into the Confederacy. They were acting for the "executive power of the State." On the 31st of

October they signed an agreement with R. M. T. Hunter, the Confederate secretary of state, by which Missouri was to be admitted into the Confederacy. A call was sent out to members of the legislature which had been abolished by the convention in July. On the 2d of November those who responded to the call met at Neosho. They ratified the agreement with Secretary Hunter. Thus Missouri secured her recognition as one of the Confederate States. The Neosho body elected John B. Clark and R. S. T. Peyton, Senators, and Thomas A. Harris, Casper W. Ball, A. H. Conrad, George G. Vest, Dr. Hyer, Thomas Freeman and William M. Cooke, Representatives of Missouri in the Confederate Congress.

In his Memoir, Reynolds tells of the next negotiations at Richmond:

"About the beginning of December, 1861, the newly elected Missouri delegation to the Confederate Provisional Congress arrived in Richmond, bringing a letter from Governor (Claib.) Jackson to President Davis, suggesting the union of the troops in Arkansas and Missouri under one commander, expressing a preference for General Price for the position. The governor also wrote me a letter asking me to see the President and urge the appointment of General Price to the command.

"Before I saw the delegates, or received Governor Jackson's letter, they had had an interview with Mr. Davis, in which according to their own accounts to me, they had with importunity amounting almost to overbearingness demanded, as a mark of proper respect to the popular wish, the assignment of General Price to command all of the troops in Arkansas and Missouri. The President finally ended the conference by drawing himself up haughtily and saying, 'Gentlemen, I am not to be dictated to.' They promptly declared they had no wish to dictate, but they soon left.

"During the siege of Richmond by McClellan, General Price had come on there with his staff, Major Snead and others, and had not made a favorable impression. The object of his visit was to get himself assigned to command an expedition to Missouri, and on this being postponed rather than denied, his chief of staff, Major Snead, publicly in front of the Spottiswood Hotel, made a great fuss over it, tore from his uniform the insignia of his Confederate rank, and declared that General Price would go to Missouri anyhow, and fight again under the 'bear flag' (of Missouri). The accuracy of the statement was subsequently admitted to me by Major Snead, who regretted his excitement. But the notoriety of the occurrence and Major Snead remaining in his confidential position near General Price, as well as the frequent intimations, by way of threats, by his friends, that General Price would resign unless his demands should be complied with occasioned the general to be regarded as tacitly approving that turbulent escapade of his chief of staff.

The Movement to Make Price President.

"During the dark period of the siege of Richmond a scheme was formed, though I do not know that it ever ripened into a regular plot, to displace Mr. Davis by a popular movement or pronunciamento and proclaim General Price President or generalissimo. I had heard some whisperings of it when in Richmond the previous winter; but according to the accounts I received in January, 1863, from Major Cabell and Mr. Vest, Congressman from Missouri,

the movement had assumed formidable dimensions, and but for our success at the battle of Seven Pines would probably have broken out. They described Senator Clark of Missouri as one of the most forward in it, Major Cabell relating to me a conversation he had with that Senator to combat, though without success, his intention to join so wild a project. Mr. Davis, in a conversation, also in January, 1863, spoke of Mr. William M. Cooke, Congressman from Missouri, as one of the most active in it, 'going around in the streets and talking for it while the enemy was in front of Richmond.' General Price, leaving his command in the West and coming to Richmond at the time when this project was on foot, excited remark. Col. William Preston Johnston, an aid of President Davis, also mentioned to me some turbulent remarks of General Price in a speech to a crowd from a balcony of the Spottiswood Hotel, but I forget the precise tenor of them, except like General Price's speeches usually, that they indicated a disposition to plan and act for himself, not very subordinate towards his official superiors, nor very respectful towards the President. It was also stated and generally believed that he had had a high quarrel with Mr. Davis at the latter's house after dining together.

"Another matter also had great effect on Gen. Sterling Price's position. In the preceding year (1862) began the so-called 'Copperhead' movement in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Its precise object and extent was a mystery to the Confederate government and people. It appeared sometimes as a 'reconstruction' movement to restore the old Union, and at other times as one looking to a 'North West Confederacy' to include Missouri, and to remain independent and allied with, or to be united to the Southern Confederacy. On one point, however, all reports agreed, viz., that General Price had some connection with it and was to be its military leader. The tone, if not direct statements, of General Price's organ, the Jackson (Miss.) Argus and Crisis, edited by his confidential friend, Mr. J. W. Tucker (sometimes called Deacon Tucker) of St. Louis, and some articles in it on that subject by a Methodist clergyman, Dr. B. T. Kavanagh, also confidentially connected with General Price, tended to confirm these reports. But nothing was known from General Price himself by the Confederate government.

"Soon after my reaching Richmond in January, 1863, General Price telegraphed to me a request to await his arrival there. I answered that I would do so. He soon came on, accompanied by Major Snead, and I had a very cordial meeting with both. I explained to General Price in the course of our various conversations, my desire that the Confederate States should as soon as practicable send an army into Missouri, and that he should command it, but that there were many obstacles in the way, including, as far as delicacy permitted my mentioning them to him, the matters heretofore mentioned as having impaired his influence.

"With regard to the movement in 1862 for a pronunciamento against Mr. Davis, he assured me that he had not even heard of it, still less of any suggestion of himself as the leader in whose favor the movement was begun. He expressed surprise at it, and condemnation of it, but remarked that it explained an incident which had somewhat surprised him, and which he related. On Mr. Davis' visit to Mississippi in 1862, he (General Price) had had an agreeable interview with him, but in it the President, after remarking on the gigantic

efforts of the United States, very pointedly inquired about as follows: 'Under such circumstances, General Price, would it not be folly for us to have divisions among ourselves?' General Price answered: 'Most assuredly, Mr. President.' And thereupon Mr. Davis, with an air of relief, said markedly: 'I am delighted to hear you say so.' General Price remarked to me that after learning from me the existence of the pronunciamento project, he understood what had puzzled him at the time in that conversation, and now thought it designed to sound him as to that project. Soon afterwards I took occasion to assure Mr. Davis of General Price's disclaimer, and related the above incident. Mr. Davis had forgotten it, but supposed he may have made, as he frequently did in his conversations on his visits to the country, some general remarks on the necessity of union and harmony. He smiled at General Price's imagining that he designed sounding him on his intentions of 'pronouncing as a revolutionary President;' indeed in all his remarks, which were not many, about that movement, Mr. Davis spoke of it more as an insult and a silly attempt to create internal divisions of feeling, than as a serious project to displace him from authority. Yet such it was.

The North West Confederacy.

"In regard to the 'North West' revolutionary scheme, I stated to General Price that the connection of his name, as a leader, with it had done him harm; that no executive, especially one leading a revolution, could look without jealousy on a military officer connecting himself while in its service with another revolution to occur within the enemy's lines; that it was not only a species of military insubordination, but an interference with the foreign policy of the Confederate government; and that opinion at the South was much divided as to the real nature of the North West movement (whether for joining us, for separate independence, or for reconstruction of the Union), as to the expediency of our encouraging it if disguised reunion, and even as to the extent to which we could trust its good faith, many considering it a mere political manoeuvre designed solely to affect Northern elections. At the very opening of my conversation and before my presenting the foregoing considerations (in which he fully concurred), General Price disclaimed any direct connection with the North West movement and said: 'I really know no more of it than what I learn from the newspapers and from common talk in the Confederacy.' I alluded to the statement in the Richmond papers of those days that a lady had come through the Federal lines to his camp with communications for him from the North West revolutionists, and was at Richmond at the Spottiswood, his hotel. He stated as an illustration of his proper respect to the Confederate government in the matter that he had merely heard from the lady her statement on her coming to him in Mississippi in January, 1863, and had merely referred her to the President and facilitated her journey to Richmond. I decidedly applauded that course and advised his leaving that whole North West business to the President; he agreed with me in the propriety of that course.

"As Major Snead was inclined to promote harmony between the President and Missourians generally, I did not bring up his escapade at the Spottiswood in 1862, in my conversation with General Price. But I pointed out to him the disturbing influence of Mr. J. W. Tucker in his journal, the Argus and Crisis,

published at Jackson, Mississippi, and universally regarded as the 'organ' of General Price; that its blind hostility to the President and its interlarding that hostility with advocacy of so-called 'justice to General Price' placed him in the seeming attitude of factious opposition to the President. General Price warmly protested his disapproval of Mr. Tucker's tone, and said he had written him, urging him to drop or change it; Mr. Tucker had answered rather truculently that he would edit his journal according to his own notions. General Price disclaimed it being his organ.

The Alleged Quarrel with Mr. Davis.

"In regard to his alleged quarrel with Mr. Davis at the latter's house in Richmond, General Price explained to me as follows: After dinner he stated at some length to Mr. Davis his project of a campaign in Missouri and his grounds for asking the command of the forces employed in it; mentioning, among others, that he had fought forty battles and lost none of them; that he could raise an army of 50,000 men, etc., etc. The President listened very patiently and at the conclusion of his remarks, instead of entering into the question of a military campaign, abruptly asked General Price: 'Is it true, General, that in 1861, on some one's reporting to you that I intended to offer you a commission of Confederate brigadier, you said that you would trample it under your feet?' General Price denied having made such a remark; but, continued he in his relation of the matter to me: 'I had been gravely, earnestly giving him my reasons, which my experiences in Missouri entitled me to consider not unworthy of respectful consideration, for a campaign in that State. His contemptuously dismissing them in silence and questioning me about a stale slander thoroughly incensed me and I then skinned him.' I could not get from General Price the precise particulars of what he himself called his 'skinning' Mr. Davis further than that he gave very free vent to his feelings and opinions. General Price added that during Mr. Davis' subsequent visit in 1862 to Mississippi cordial relations were entirely restored between them.

"But fearful that some ill feeling remained in Mr. Davis on account of this 'skinning' of the commander-in-chief in his own parlor by a military subordinate, I cautiously sounded him on the subject, without giving General Price's version, but only stating that he was said to have been rather discourteous on the occasion. The President, who did not enter into particulars and evidently attached no importance to the incident, said he remembered nothing discourteous in General Price's conversation or deportment; but that they made on him the impression that he was the 'vainest man he ever met.'"

Shelby and His Men.

The day that Shelby was promoted he issued this address to his command:

"Soldiers of Shelby's Brigade: You march in four hours to attack the enemy. He is strong, well equipped and not deficient in courage, but I intend that you shall ride down his infantry and scatter his battalions by the splendor of your charge. You have just four hours in which to say your prayers, make your needful preparations and nerve your hearts for the onset. It will be desperate, because you are brave; bloody, because you are reckless and tenacious; because I am today a brigadier-general. I have told you often about our homes,

our country and our glorious cause. Today I simply appeal to your ambition, your fame, your spotless reputation and your eternal renown."

When Price made his 1864 expedition into Missouri, Marmaduke's cavalry was on the right, nearest the Mississippi; Fagan, with five brigades, held the center; Shelby, with three brigades, was on the left. The army moved at the rate of fifteen miles a day, which was not half fast enough for Shelby. The campaign which Shelby urged was a forced march upon St. Louis. He thought the city could be taken. Thence he proposed that the army cross the Mississippi and march through Southern Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, and by way of Eastern Kentucky to the relief of Richmond. After getting into Southeastern Missouri, Price decided to turn westward and march through Missouri.

The Raid on Lawrence.

Between the sessions of a Republican Congressional convention in Missouri Capt. William H. Gregg told the story of Quantrell's raid upon Lawrence. The presence in the Republican convention of J. C. Horton, a wholesale merchant, of Kansas City, who in 1863 was one of the Lawrence business men marked for death and who escaped by being overlooked in the hurry of the raid, was the occasion of the revival of the memories. Captain Gregg and Mr. Horton were quietly sharing reminiscences when the former was led to tell how it all came about. When Quantrell formed his band to operate on the Kansas border, Gregg was the eighth man to join it. He became the first lieutenant, the officer closest to the leader. He was the first of Quantrell's men into Lawrence and the last out of it, named by Quantrell to lead the van and later to command the rear in the retreat back to Missouri.

"There were just 294 in the force which Quantrell led to Lawrence," Capt. Gregg said. "We crossed the border between the States of Missouri and Kansas near Aubrey. It was well understood that the purpose of the raid was to attack Lawrence. But the first intention was to capture Gen. Jim Lane. We had sent a spy into Lawrence, a negro named John Lobb, to come back and report how he found things. Lobb did not get back before we had started. He met us on the way and told us that Lane had left town. That was a fact, but Lane had returned later in the evening. We, however, did not learn this until afterwards. We went to Lawrence with the understanding that we would not find Lane, and therefore, we did not look for him. Lane, we were told afterwards, was in Lawrence, but escaped by going out to a pond and getting under water, all but the tip of his nose."

As an illustration of the discrepancies between the truth and the way the history of the Lawrence affair has been preserved, Capt. Gregg recalls what happened as the raiders crossed into Kansas near Aubrey.

"If you look in the war records published by the government," he said, "you will find the official report of the Federal officer who was stationed, with 200 soldiers, at Aubrey. In that report the officer states that he heard a command had crossed the line, going from Missouri into Kansas, somewhere near his post. Now, the fact is, that officer saw us enter Kansas on our way to Lawrence. He got out his 200 men and formed them on the prairie as if to give battle. We marched by them in full view not over half a mile away. Quantrell's order was:

" 'Make no attack unless fired upon.'

"The Federals did not fire, and we did not. We rode along, leaving them drawn up in line looking at us."

The surprise of Lawrence was complete. Capt. Gregg tells how the entrance was made.

"Five miles to the southeast of Lawrence is a little town called Franklin. When we went through there it was just light enough in the morning to tell the difference between a soldier and a citizen on the streets. We did not stop. There was no fighting. As we passed out of Franklin Quantrell said to me:

" 'Gregg, take five men and go ahead to see if there is anything in the way.'

"I did so, and as we moved in advance Quantrell put the command in column of fours and followed on a gallop. At that gait we went all of the way to Lawrence. The main body followed so closely that we five men were only 250 or 300 yards in advance most of the time. We rode into the town from the south by the main street, Massachusetts. Just before we came to the business portion there was a large open space with about forty large tents. I don't know how many soldiers were in them. The five men with me halted there for the main body to come up. As we sat on our horses we saw soldiers sleeping on the porches of the nearest houses, and opened fire on them with our revolvers. As soon as Quantrell reached me—he was riding at the head of the column—I pointed to the forty tents arranged in the open space. Without a word of command being given, and without a halt being made, the command divided and charged through that camp. Men and horses were wrought up to a pitch of frenzy by the all-night riding and by the final gallop. The horses made no effort to go between the tents. They plunged right through them. In three minutes there wasn't a man alive or a tent standing in the camp. We could see the tents flying as the command went through. I had fallen in on the right of Quantrell, who had remained in the road when the command charged the tents. We started on without waiting for the command to reform, and rode down Massachusetts street into the business part of the town. As we went along he fired to the left and I to the right. We didn't stop until we came to the river bank. When we came to the end of the street we were entirely alone."

The lieutenant of the guerrillas checked his narration and mused a moment. As if recalling some statements that passed for history to the massacre, he said:

"The raid was soon over. We waged no war on women and children. If any women or children were ever hurt by Quantrell's men it was accidental. I have always believed that most of the men killed at Lawrence were soldiers. As we rode away, Quantrell told me to take sixty men and hold the rear. The news had spread rapidly. Federal troops began to close in on us, and we had steady skirmishing all of the way back to the border. Once my rear guard was driven right in upon the main body. I told Quantrell that if he would overlook it that time it shouldn't happen again, and it didn't. We lost just one man in Lawrence—Milt Scaggs."

Not a semblance of the feeling which made such things possible was in the tones or the manner of Capt. Gregg as he talked. He was moved to speak because of the presence of men who had participated in the events. One who heard him was Col. R. H. Hunt, who served with Blunt and with the other Union generals in the fierce campaigning in those times in the Southwest. Col. Hunt was the officer sent to Lawrence to batter down the walls of the Eldridge House, left

standing in a dangerous condition after the burning by Quantrell's men. He was one of the foremost Republicans of Kansas City, and was conspicuous in the convention which brought Capt. Gregg to Fairmount.

"I can say this for Capt. Gregg," said Col. Hunt, "that in so far as his memory serves him his statements can be depended upon absolutely. He is a man who would not willfully misrepresent."

Quantrell's Band.

Quantrell, who organized these lads of Western Missouri into rough riders of the Civil war, was not to the border born. Capt. Gregg knew him more intimately, perhaps, than any other of the young Missourians who flocked to him.

"The first we knew of Quantrell," said Capt. Gregg, "was when he came into Missouri with five other Kansans to rob Morgan Walker's house. As we learned afterward, Quantrell came from Ohio. He was raised in Canal Dover. I have been told of recent years that when he left Canal Dover he was an abolitionist, his people being so known. He moved to Kansas, took up a claim and taught school. He came out with the Ohio people who were going to make Kansas a free soil State. Something of Quantrell's history in Kansas I have had from ex-Senator Johnson Clark, of Kansas, who afterward moved to Kansas City. Mr. Clark once told me that he assisted Quantrell to perfect his land claim. I think the claim was near Osawatomie, where John Brown lived. Quantrell, as we got the story after he came among us, had a difficulty with some of his associates in Kansas and was shot and wounded. He joined the five Kansans who came over to rob Morgan Walker, and when he got into Missouri he gave away his companions because of what he had suffered in Kansas. After that he remained here. What drew attention to him first was a good piece of work he did in recovering several head of fine breeding stock. The animals had been run off from the owner in this county. Quantrell followed the parties who took them, located them in another Missouri County and brought them back. The owner offered him a handsome reward, but he refused to accept more than $2 a head. He said that was all the work was worth. After that some trouble was made over the manner in which Quantrell had recovered and returned the property. There were threats that he was to be arrested and taken to the place where he had found the stock. When he heard of them he said that he would try to make things interesting if it was proposed to punish him for returning stolen property. He went into the brush and began to organize a company. I was the eighth man to join him. I took three others into the camp, making eleven in all. Quantrell made me lieutenant. That was the beginning of the organization."

What was the secret of Quantrell's success as a leader? Captain Gregg remembered him as a man of about 5 feet 9 inches, having light blue eyes and very light hair. His mustache and small imperial, for that was the way he wore what hair he permitted on his face, were red. There was nothing striking about the appearance of this man of 24 as his lieutenant remembered. His aspect had nothing of fierceness or magnetism about it. He was a man of few words. He usually restrained the ardor of his followers, and never sacrificed a man needlessly. He had no black flag with "Quantrell" in red silk in the center. "We never carried a black flag," said Captain Gregg.

All through this Missouri border country was an intense desire for revenge upon Kansas. Quantrell, with a grievance of his own, furnished the opportunity to feed it. Captain Gregg told how the organization grew upon this basis. A single incident will illustrate:

"On one occasion," he said, "the Kansans came into Jackson County and visited the houses of Mr. Crawford and Mr. Sanders. They took the two men prisoners, robbed the houses and then burned them. When they did so they refused to let any of the women folks put on so much as a bonnet, although it was in the winter. After making the destruction as complete as they could they took Mr. Crawford and Mr. Sanders to Blue Springs and killed them. Not long after that Mrs. Crawford came to Quantrell's camp, bringing three boys. The youngest was not more than 14.

"'Here are all I have left,' she said to Quantrell. 'I want you to take them and make soldiers of them.'

"That was the way Quantrell's men were recruited. Most of them were scarcely boys. All of them had family wrongs to avenge."

The Palmyra Affair.

Shortly after the execution at Palmyra, President Davis sent the following letter threatening retaliation:

"Executive Office, Richmond, November 17, 1862.

"Lieut. Gen. T. H. Holmes,

"Commanding Trans-Mississippi Department.

"General:—Inclosed you will find a slip from the Memphis Daily Appeal of the 3d instant containing an account, purporting to be derived from the Palmyra (Mo.) Courier, a Federal journal, of the murder of ten Confederate citizens of Missouri, by order of General McNeil, of the United States army.

"You will communicate, by flag of truce, with the Federal officer commanding that department, and ascertain if the facts are as stated. If they be so, you will demand the immediate surrender of General McNeil to the Confederate authorities, and if this demand is not complied with, you will inform said commanding officer that you are ordered to execute the first ten United States officers who may be captured and fall into your hands.

"Very respectfully yours,

"Jefferson Davis."

The Newspaper Account.

The article from the Palmyra Courier, which Mr. Davis enclosed, read:

"Saturday last, the 18th inst., witnessed the performance of a tragedy in this once quiet and beautiful city of Palmyra which, in ordinary and peaceful times, would have created a profound sensation throughout the entire country, but which now scarcely produces a distinct ripple upon the surface of our turbulent social tide.

"It will be remembered by our readers that on the occasion of Porter's descent upon Palmyra, he captured, among other persons, an old and highly respected citizen of this city, named Andrew Allsman. This person formerly belonged to the 3d Missouri Cavalry, though too old to endure all the hardships of very active duty. He was, therefore, detailed as a kind of special or extra provost

marshal's guard cicerone, making himself generally useful in a variety of ways to the military of the place. Being an old resident, and widely acquainted with the people of the place and vicinity, he was frequently called upon for information touching the loyalty of men, which he always gave to the extent of his ability, though acting, we believe, in all such cases with great candor, and actuated solely by a conscientious desire to discharge his whole duty to his government. His knowledge of the surrounding country was the reason he was frequently called upon to act as a guide to scouting parties sent out to arrest disloyal persons. So efficiently and successfully did he act in these various capacities, that he won the bitter hatred of all the rebels in this city and vicinity, and they only waited the coming of a favorable opportunity to gratify their desire for revenge. The opportunity came at last, when Porter took Palmyra.

"That the villains, with Porter's assent, satiated their thirst for his blood by the deliberate and predetermined murder of their helpless victim no truly loyal man doubts. When they killed him, or how, or where, are items of the act not yet revealed to the public. Whether he was stabbed at midnight by the dagger of the assassin, or shot at midday by the rifle of the guerrilla; whether he was hung and his body hidden beneath the scanty soil of some oak thicket, or left as food for hogs to fatten upon, or whether, like the ill-fated Wheat, his throat was severed from ear to ear, and his body sunk beneath the wave, we know not. But that he was causelessly murdered it is useless to attempt to deny.

"When McNeil returned to Palmyra, after that event, and ascertained the circumstances under which Allsman had been abducted, he caused to be issued, after due deliberation, the following notice:

"'Palmyra, Mo., October 8, 1862.—John C. Porter: Sir—Andrew Allsman, an aged citizen of Palmyra, and a non-combatant, having been carried from his home by a band of persons unlawfully arrayed against the peace and good order of the State of Missouri, and which band was under your control, this is to notify you that unless said Andrew Allsman is returned, unharmed, to his family within ten days from date, ten men, who have belonged to your band, and unlawfully sworn by you to carry arms against the government of the United States, and who are now in custody, will be shot as a meet reward for their crimes, among which is the illegal restraining of said Allsman of his liberty and, if not returned, presumptively aiding in his murder.

"'Your prompt attention to this will save much suffering. Yours, etc.,

"'W. R. STRACHAN,

"'Provost Marshal General, District of Northeastern Missouri.

"'Per order of Brigadier General commanding McNeil's column.'

"A written duplicate of this notice he caused to be placed in the hands of the wife of Joseph C. Porter, at her residence in Lewis County, who it was well known was in frequent communication with her husband. The notice was published widely, and as Porter was in Northern Missouri during the whole of the ten days subsequent to the date of this notice, it is impossible that, with all his varied channels of information, he remained unapprised of General McNeil's determination in the premises.

"Many rebels believed the whole thing was simply intended as a scare, declaring that McNeil did not dare (?) to carry out the threat. The ten days elapsed, and no tidings came of the murdered Allsman. It is not our intention to dwell at length upon the details of this transaction. The tenth day expired

with last Friday. On that day ten rebel prisoners, already in custody, were selected to pay with their lives the penalty demanded. The names of the men so selected were as follows: Willis Baker, Lewis County; Thomas Humston, Lewis County; Morgan Bixler, Lewis County; Herbert Hudson, Ralls County; Marion Lair, Ralls County; Capt. Thomas A. Sidner, Monroe County; Eleazer Lake, Scotland County, and Hiram Smith, Knox County. These parties were informed on Friday evening that unless Mr. Allsman was returned to his family by 1 o'clock on the following day they would all be shot at that hour.

"Most of them received the announcement with composure or indifference. The Rev. James S. Green, of this city, remained with them during that night, as their spiritual adviser, endeavoring to prepare them for their sudden entrance into the presence of their Maker. A little after 11 a. m. the next day three government wagons drove to the jail. One contained four and each of the others three rough board coffins. The condemned men were conducted from the prison and seated on the wagons, one upon each coffin. A sufficient guard of soldiers accompanied them, and the cavalcade started for the fatal grounds. Proceeding east to Main street, the cortege turned and moved slowly southward as far as Malone's livery stable; thence turning east, it entered the Hannibal road, pursuing it nearly to the residence of Col. James Culbertson; there, throwing down the fences, they turned northward, entering the Fair Grounds, on the west side, and driving within the circular amphitheatrical ring, paused for the final consummation of the scene.

"The ten coffins were removed from the wagons and placed in a row 6 or 8 feet apart, forming a line north and south, about fifteen paces east of the central pagoda or music stand in the center of the ring. Each coffin was placed upon the ground, with its foot west and head east. Thirty soldiers of the 2d Missouri State Militia were drawn up in a single line, extending north and south, facing the row of coffins. This line of executioners ran immediately at the east base of the pagoda, leaving a space between them and the coffins of twelve or thirteen paces. Reserves were drawn up in line upon either flank of these executioners.

"The arrangements completed, the doomed men knelt upon the grass between their coffins and the soldiers, while the Rev. R. M. Rhodes offered up a prayer. At the conclusion of this, each prisoner took his seat upon the foot of his coffin, facing the muskets which in a few moments were to launch them into eternity. They were nearly all firm and undaunted, two or three only showing signs of trepidation.

"The most noted of the ten was Capt. Thomas A. Sidner, of Monroe County, whose capture at Shelbyville, in the disguise of a woman, we related several weeks since. He was now elegantly attired in a suit of black broadcloth, with a white vest. A luxurious growth of beautiful hair rolled down upon his shoulders, which, with his fine personal appearance, could not but bring to mind the handsome but vicious Absalom. There was nothing especially worthy of note in the appearance of the others. One of them, Willis Baker, of Lewis County, was proven to be the man who last year shot and killed Mr. Ezekiel Pratt, his Union neighbor, near Williamstown, in that county. All of the others were rebels of lesser note, the particulars of whose crimes we are not familiar with.

"A few minutes after 1 o'clock, Colonel Strachan, provost marshal general, and Reverend Rhodes shook hands with the prisoners, two of them accepting bandages for their eyes. All the rest refused. A hundred spectators had gathered about the amphitheater to witness the impressive scene. The stillness of death pervaded the place. The officer in command now stepped forward, and gave the words of command: 'Ready—aim—fire.' The discharges, however, were not made simultaneously, probably through want of a previous understanding of the orders and of the time at which to fire.

"Two of the rebels fell backward upon their coffins and died instantly. Captain Sidner sprang forward, and fell with his head toward the soldiers, his face upward, his hands clasped upon his breast and the left leg drawn halfway up. He did not move again, but died immediately. He had requested the soldiers to aim at his heart, and they obeyed but too implicitly. The other soldiers were not killed outright, so the reserves were called in, who dispatched them with their revolvers.

"It seems hard that ten men should die for one. Under ordinary circumstances it would hardly be justified, but severe diseases demand severe remedies. The safety of the people is the supreme law. It overrides all other considerations. The madness of rebellion has become so deep-seated that ordinary methods of cure are inadequate. To take life for life would be little intimidation to men seeking the heart's blood of an obnoxious enemy. They could well afford to make even exchanges under many circumstances. It is only by striking the deepest terror in them, causing them to thoroughly respect the lives of loyal men, that they can be taught to observe the obligation of humanity and of law."

Gen. Curtis' Reply.

General Curtis wrote two letters in reply to General Holmes' request for information. One was a letter of considerable length, and was dated December 24th. This was never sent. Three days later General Curtis wrote a second and a shorter letter, and sent it. General Holmes never replied. Indeed, it is difficult to see how he could have replied. General Curtis' short letter left no room for controversy. It was as follows:

"Headquarters Department of the Missouri, St. Louis, December 27, 1852. —Maj. Gen. T. H. Holmes, Commanding Trans-Mississippi Department, C. S. Army: General—Yours of the 7th inst., containing a slip from the Memphis Daily Appeal, of the 3d of November, concerning what you denominate 'an account of the murder of ten Confederate citizens of Missouri, by order of General McNeil, of the United States Army,' and asking full information in regard to the 'circumstances related,' is duly received.

"The matters of correspondence between us must be confined to the operations of belligerents and the exchange of prisoners.

"The idea of 'Confederate citizens of Missouri' in Missouri, is inconsistent with a state of war between opposing sections, and utterly repugnant to the attitude heretofore allowed you as a belligerent, which I have cordially approved for the sake of preserving the immunities recognized by civilized warfare. You have no military power in Missouri, and have had none in Northern Missouri for a year past, much less a civil organization which would induce any man to call himself a 'Confederate citizen.' There is but one class of 'citizens of

Missouri;' they are Federal citizens, not Confederate. They universally acknowledge allegiance to Federal and state authority. The rights of such citizens cannot be adjudicated by appeal through the military authorities of the so-called Confederate States.

"I have no disposition to overlook the conduct of any officer in my command or shift any responsibility which it may attach to me; but while the State of Missouri can guard her own citizens, through the regularly constituted authorities, I cannot, even by implication, justify any interference by you with what, by your own showing, relates to her 'citizens in Missouri.'

"I have the honor to be, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"Samuel R. Curtis, Major General."

The Narrow Escape of General Cockrell.

A very narrow escape of General Cockrell occurred when Fort Blakely was taken on almost the last day of the war. Capt. P. H. Pentzer, of the 97th Illinois Volunteers, told of the incident:

"By the chance of battle, after a most bloody and obstinate contest at the rebel works, I came upon General Cockrell, who surrendered to me as a prisoner of war, handing me his headquarter colors himself. Here I may state that I saved his life by snatching a musket from Private Nathaniel Bull, of my own company, just as he was in the act of shooting the general. I had command of the skirmish line on forlorn hope on the extreme right of the line of white troops and joined the left of General Hawkins' line of colored troops. We met a terrific fire; ran over torpedoes, one of which took off a leg for Captain Wisner, of my regiment. We had a hand-to-hand fight on the rebel works where my color-bearer and a number of my line were killed, and when I came upon General Cockrell the men were very much exasperated and ready to kill on sight the commander of these troops and the author of the torpedo business.

"By direction of General Steele, I kept General Cockrell some two or three days, and when ordered away I sent him in charge of Corporal George Bull, of my company, to the headquarters of Gen. E. R. S. Canby."

John B. Clark on Reynolds' Charges.

In General Cockrell's possession was a letter from Gen. John B. Clark, then in the Confederate Congress. This letter is of extraordinary interest when read in connection with the Reynolds Memoir:

"House of Representatives, February 13, 1865.—Gen. F. Cockrell: My Dear Sir—I understand that you are at Columbus, Miss., and that you are fast recovering from your wounds received in Tennessee. I am, in common with your numerous friends, greatly rejoiced at the intelligence. Our first information was that you were killed, and the next we heard was that you were mortally wounded. From the list of casualties published of the battle of Franklin, the Missouri Brigade suffered most severely. It appears that in all the hard-fought battles during the campaign under Hood your command has suffered more than any other of the same size. While such a result speaks well for the boldness and daring of the Missourians, it, nevertheless, shows that the daring and hard work is placed upon them. I suppose it is because they are regarded most reliable. If so, it is a high compliment, but a very costly one.

"I would like to know how Colonel Gates is doing. I understand that he fell into the hands of the enemy badly, if not mortally, wounded.

"Who are the field officers now left in your brigade, and how many rank and file are now in the brigade fit for duty in the field? I would like to know, and also where they are located.

"It is thought that Congress will adjourn about the first of next month. I wish to visit the brigade soon after the adjournment, if my health will permit.

"Since our peace commissioners failed to open negotiations with Mr. Lincoln for peace upon any honorable terms, our people everywhere seem more resolute and determined to resist to the bitter end, if need be, until our independence is acknowledged. All sections of the Confederacy seem to think now, as I always thought, that the surest and quickest way to obtain peace was to beat back the enemy, or at least show a resolute will and united effort to resent his advance. This we are certain to do ere long, if we remain united and true to ourselves. We have had heavy reverses, it is true, but we have also had some brilliant successes, and are destined to have more if we will but act with spirit and in harmony of purpose. Just at this time we are in gloom here in consequence of Sherman's repeated successes in Georgia and South Carolina, but we still hope that his end is near.

"There is no material change in the armies of Lee and Grant for the last several weeks. You have doubtless seen that Lee has been appointed general-in-chief of all the Confederate armies in the field and that General Breckinridge is now Secretary of War.

"What is going on west of the river? I perceive that Reynolds has published a long and very abusive piece against General Price, charging the general with general incompetency, drunkenness and neglect of his army, etc. He even charges him with being timid and over-cautious, which I believe in military parlance means cowardice. I would like to know how this matter is, whether the general after a long life of sobriety has turned *drunkard*, and whether he has turned *coward* at this late day.

"I would like for you to write me frequently and fully. No part of my constituency feels nearer to me than your command, and their martial deeds and heroic achievements place them, not only in my mind, but in that of all who know them, in the highest niche of fame. I love to honor them and feel proud to be honored by them.

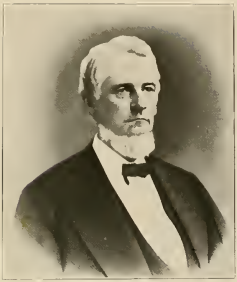
"Please give my regards to friends and accept yourself my highest regards.

(Signed) "JOHN B. CLARK."

A Speech by Cockrell in War Time.

Another of the possessions of General Cockrell was the manuscript of an address by him in accepting the gift of a flag to the Missourians:

"With no ordinary feelings in behalf of the Missouri brigade, of which I am the unworthy commander, I accept from the hands of the fair donor, through you, Lieutenant Brevard, this most beautiful and tastefully wrought flag, the emblem of our young and loved Confederacy's sovereignty, in peace, in glory, in war. And through you we return to her the grateful tribute of our hearts—the soldier's noblest offering—with the assurance vouched for by the conduct of this brigade in the past upon so many ensanguined fields and by the sacred remembrance of our many fallen comrades in arms—our precious slain—that in the face of the foe it shall be borne to victory or crimsoned with the gushing, richest treasures of our pierced hearts. Assure her that it affords us peculiar pleasure and satisfaction, situated as we have been for the past two years, and now are—battling on the soil of sister Confederate States for one common cause and country, and far distant from the sacred scenes and endearing associations of our loved Missouri—our own home—and deprived of all communication with and reception of material aid and expressions of kindly sympathy and love from fathers, mothers, sisters, wives and loved ones, who have been and now are harassed and tortured in mind and body in a manner unprecedented in the annals of civilized warfare by the fanatical Northmen, the real Goths and Vandals of America—clad in the livery of the United States soldiery—to accept this color, made and presented by her, now in many respects similarly situated. As long as time itself shall breathe on earth and bear witness of the actors in this revolution to future generations, even so long will the sublime patriotism of the daughters of the South, their fidelity and constancy to and sacrifices for our common cause and country, their smiles and tears, their sympathy and love for the



TRUSTEN POLK

GEN. DAVID M. FROST
Picture taken just before the capture of Camp Jackson

GEN. EMMETT McDONALD

care and war-worn veterans of our armies, be impressed in gilded letters on the bosom of time, and known, admired, honored and sung by all who may live.

"Was anything aside from a sense of duty and a consciousness in our bosoms of the sacredness and justness of our cause and its approbation by our Father in Heaven, necessary to nerve our hearts and strengthen our arms and to lead us to endure with cheerfulness greater and more numerous sacrifices, hardships and deprivations, and to court the passage at arms, and then and there to move into activity within us that peculiar, indescribable feeling—the battle-field's inspiration—which lulls to sleep the sense of fear, surely the noble, praiseworthy actions and patriotic, heaven-inspired bearing of the ladies amid all the vicissitudes of this protracted war and amid our victories and our reverses, at all times and places and under all circumstances, would be more than sufficient."

A Talk with John B. Clark.

What the war meant to Gen. John B. Clark, he told in a conversation at Fayette twenty years after the close:

"When the question of secession was up, I came back here from Washington and the courthouse yard wouldn't hold the people who came to hear the issue discussed. We took a vote for or against the Union. I declared myself in favor of standing by the Union. I opened the gates, the people took sides. There were ten thousand of them assembled and I carried the vote for the Union by several hundred majority. The very day I did that, up here in Howard County, the massacre at St. Louis,—the Camp Jackson affair,—occurred. I went to my home in the country that night and found a commission as brigadier-general from Governor Jackson awaiting me. I sat down and wrote my affidavit on the commission accepting it. My wife had left home on a visit. I wrote her a note saying the war had come at last and I must go. While insisting that the best course was to stand by the Union, I had, nevertheless, always said that when war did come I would go with the South. After writing that letter to my wife, I got on my horse, and with only a negro boy I rode away that night for Boonville. It was five years from that time before I saw my wife again. That spring I had paid taxes on property in Howard County assessed at $365,000. I was worth a million. On my place there were 160 slaves, seventy of them men. My law practice was worth $10,000 to $15,000 a year. When I came back after the war was over, I hadn't a bed to sleep on. My wife had been forced to find a temporary home with friends."

There wasn't a tremor in the old general's voice. No appeal for sympathy was impressed by his manner. Not a word of regret was added. The simple summary of what the war had cost him was given in the most concise form and with unimpassioned tone. He ceased speaking a few moments and then took up the narrative again:

"I went into the rebellion and was badly wounded at Springfield. They sent me to the Confederate Senate in Richmond, and there I remained until the surrender. When the war came to an end, the United States Government offered a reward of $10,000 for my capture. I never knew why they had picked me out unless it was because I had been thoroughly in earnest in my course. There were four of us on whom this price was put—Hunter of Virginia, Watson of Georgia, Oldham of Texas and myself. Hunter and Watson surrendered; Oldham and I determined to escape if it was possible. I had my whiskers cut off, dyed my hair red and took my mother's name, that for which the middle letter of my name stands—Bullock. With some papers prepared, letters

and documents forged to show that I was known by that name, I started out and made my way successfully through the Federal lines about Richmond. My intention was to get to Cuba, but I failed in that, and went to Mexico, where I remained until the Federal authorities rescinded the offer of reward for me. Thinking there was no further danger, I came across into Texas. Andrew Johnson was a personal friend of mine. I was arrested by United States soldiers under the old order, and heard that the government actually paid the reward. The arrest was made at the instance of Stanton, who was bitterly hostile to me. They took me to Galveston and then to New Orleans. Sheridan was in command and telegraphed to Stanton to know what should be done. The answer came back to send me to Fort Jackson, at the mouth of the river. Sheridan said it was an outrage, but he could do nothing but obey orders. At the fort I found myself guarded by negro soldiers, among them some who had been my slaves. After a good deal of trouble I persuaded a surgeon to smuggle out a letter for me addressed to Andrew Johnson. That gave the President the first knowledge he had of my imprisonment. He telegraphed Sheridan to have me placed on a vessel and sent North. When I got to Washington I wanted Johnson to remove Stanton, but he said he daren't do it; they would assassinate him if he did. I told him if I was President I'd do what I wanted to, and if they assassinated me I couldn't help it. He thought it was better to be prudent and save his life. He gave me a full pardon, and after more than five years' absence I got back to Missouri."

A Family Division.

Pathetic was the division in the family of Maj. Gen. Philip St. George Cooke. For a considerable period of his army career General Cooke lived in Missouri. He was stationed at Jefferson Barracks and left an entertaining pen picture of life there in the early days. When the Civil war came General Cooke, although a Virginian by birth, was loyal and became one of the most conspicuous cavalry generals. His son, John D. Cooke, born in Missouri, joined the Confederate army and was made a general. Another son, T. Esten Cooke, went with his brother. A daughter of General Cooke was the wife of General Jeb Stuart, the Confederate cavalry leader. In 1862, while McClellan was conducting the Peninsula campaign, Gen. Philip St. George Cooke commanded the Federal cavalry. At the same time General Stuart was at the head of the Confederate cavalry. In one of the cavalry charges General Cooke narrowly escaped capture by his son-in-law, much to the amusement of the latter. From his two sons and a daughter on the Confederate side, Major General Cooke became estranged. Reconciliation did not take place until long after the war.

The Confederate Policy Toward Missouri.

Before the Southern Historical Society in 1886, Gen. D. M. Frost read a paper regarding the relations between the Confederacy and Missouri in 1861. He told of his call upon Confederate generals just at the time of Sterling Price's great success—the battle of Lexington. His purpose was to present the opportunity for the Confederates to send an army to Missouri.

"These arguments seemed to produce a decided effect upon both General Johnston and General Polk; and after a little consideration the former remarked

that the State of Missouri had not seceded, and therefore was not entitled to the aid of Confederate troops. To this it was replied that Missouri and the Confederate troops were fighting a common enemy, and that the success of one was necessarily equally beneficial to the other; that the longer the fighting could be kept on the soil of Missouri the better for the Confederacy. This statement of the case seemed to be unanswerable, and then it was that General Johnston said that although he had full powers to order as he chose, yet he felt himself bound to respect the policy of the government, and that it did not accord with that policy to so complicate itself with Missouri, as to make it a *sine qua non* that she should insist upon an impossible boundary line when the time should come for her to make peace. This statement was made with the understanding that for obvious reasons it should not be repeated and then I gave up all hope of seeing Confederate troops ordered into Missouri, at least until she had gone through some form of secession—and acknowledged the propriety of General Johnston's course, whilst regretting its necessity."

To Return I. Holcombe, then living in Chillicothe, Jefferson Davis wrote from Beauvoir, a letter respecting his relations with the Missourians in 1861. His attention had been called to the paper of General Frost.

"Accustomed to much misrepresentation and misapprehension, I was not prepared for the existence of a report that I was opposed to receiving Missouri into the Confederacy. The story would be absurd; even if there was no evidence to disprove it; but my efforts to aid Missouri before she had entered the Confederacy and before her troops would agree to be mustered into the Confederate service were so well known that I could not suppose anyone would at this day assert that I had anything else than the most friendly feeling for the people of the State.

"While I desired both Missouri and Kentucky, to whom we had every bond of affinity, to join us in the organization of a separate government, I deemed that a matter entirely for their own decision and took no measures to influence their action. I then believed, and still believe, that if the people of those states had been left to the free exercise of their sovereign will, they would, with great unanimity have placed Missouri and Kentucky by the side of their sisters of the South, and in that belief I did ardently desire the cooperation of both.

"When all my acts and utterances are on one side, it is hard to comprehend the circulation of a story so utterly opposed to what I did, said and thought.

"Very respectfully yours,

"Jefferson Davis."

Rapid Reconciliation.

Major William Warner, afterwards Representative in Congress and United States Senator, performed his part in the policy of reconstruction and reconciliation immediately following the war. This tribute was paid him by an ex-Confederate:

"When we straggled home some time after the war closed and began to settle down there was a very bitter feeling in Western Missouri. Tutt was on the bench in that circuit. Warner was prosecuting attorney. The grand jury brought in a lot of indictments against ex-Confederates. They revived charges of horse stealing and other offenses based on what had taken place during the

war. I think there were at least 150 of these indictments, and I am not sure but one of them was against Jo Shelby himself. I was not indicted, but some of the boys in my command were. John Ryland, Henry Wallace and several of the old lawyers volunteered to defend the cases. It was agreed that all of them should be tried at once. When the day came Major Warner got up in court and said the war was over and these men had come home to settle down in good faith. He did not believe in raking up the old troubles. He considered the surrender as wiping out the offenses that had preceded it, and, therefore, he moved that the cases be dismissed. And that was the end of them. It was the only sensible thing to do."

United States Marshal Shelby.

Some of the Eastern newspapers had a good deal to say of the appointment of General Shelby for the United States Marshal in Missouri. They seemed to think that he belonged to those whose course in the war was unpardonable. One Republican Senator was quoted as saying:

"Nearly thirty years have elapsed since the termination of the war. All that one can ask—even the most loyal Unionist—is that the government shall not be confided to men who, during that awful time, represented not fair battle, but rapine, cruelty and chaos. We, or most of us, believe that Jo Shelby belonged to the latter class. Still, we can do nothing to prevent the consummation of the outrage involved in making such a man the representative of law and order. All we can do is to enter our solemn protest."

This was only interesting as going to show how little the rest of the country even yet appreciated the fierceness and savagery of the warfare of the border, and particularly that which was waged within the limits of Missouri. Perhaps there never was a country so divided against itself and so continuously drenched in blood as was the State of Missouri. Certainly no other State came out with such scars. Virginia was fought over, but the Virginians were on one side. To the other horrors the Old Dominion did not have to add fratricidal strife and neighborhood contention.

As far as General Shelby was personally concerned sufficient answer to what was printed about him was found in the fact that ex-Commander-in-Chief William Warner, of the Grand Army, wrote a letter indorsing him for this appointment, and then tendered hearty congratulations on success, while ex-Gov. Thomas C. Fletcher, the war governor of Missouri, went in person to the attorney general to say that no mistake would be made in the selection of General Shelby. Union veterans vied with ex-Confederates in their manifestation of good will to Shelby.

CHAPTER XIX.

STATE ADMINISTRATION.

Missouri's Governors—First General Assembly—McNair's Distinction—Low Cost of Living at St. Charles—Palmer's Experience—Miller's Record Breaking Service—Direct Election of President Recommended—First Capitol at Jefferson City—Jackson's Veto—Lottery Charters—The Plank Road Myth—United States Bank—An Overshadowing Issue—John O'Fallon's Record—Bank of Missouri Established—One-Third of Stock Taken by the State—Sound Money Policies—Missouri Flooded with "Shinplasters" from Outside—Panic of 1837—State Bank Notes Above Gold—Mysterious Robbery—Banking Legislation of 1857—The State's Stock Sold—Liquidation of the "Old State Bank"—Governor Reynolds on Abolitionists—The Atchison Issue—Hard Money the Issue in 1844—Governor Edwards' Sarcastic Account of Expenditures—"Hoss" Allen—Deadlock on Senatorship—Trusten Polk's Brief Term—The Stewart-Rollins Campaign—A Curious Application of Clemency—"Bob" Stewart's Patriotism—Negro Suffrage—Fletcher's Opportunity to Profit—B. Gratz Brown on Prison Reform—Governor Hardin's Pardon Record—Prophecy by Waldo P. Johnson—War Records in State Politics—Hatch, Cockrell and Vest—The State's Finances—How Missouri Bonds Became Gilt-Edged—Certificates of the School Fund—Diplomacy of Francis—Stone's Conservative Forcefulness.

Missouri is a grand State and deserves to be grandly governed.—*B. Gratz Brown.*

Missouri has had thirty-three governors in ninety-four years. Terms have varied widely. John Miller held office seven years, a longer period than any other governor has served. He was re-elected, the only governor to have that distinction. The constitution of 1875 lengthened the term to four years without the privilege of re-election. Miller was the fourth governor, counting Williams, who was acting governor a few months after the death of Governor Bates. He was in the war of 1812. According to Walter Williams, John Miller was the young officer who said when Gen. William Henry Harrison asked him if he could take a British battery, "I'll try, sir." The incident occurred in connection with the Fort Meigs affair. Some historians credit the saying to another officer named Miller and give the occasion as the battle of Lundy's Lane several months later.

The first general assembly was composed of fourteen senators and forty-three representatives. Most of them wore home-spun clothing and home-made shoes. Several came in buckskin leggings and fringed hunting shirts with Indian moccasins. Very few of these pioneer lawmakers had wool hats. The prevailing fashion for head covering in Missouri, even with the public men, was the fur cap made of wildcat or coon.

Board was reasonable in St. Charles. Most of the members found accommodations in private houses. Those who went to the taverns were charged not

more than $2.50 a week for the best. At that time market prices in St. Charles were: Pork, 1½ cents a pound; venison hams, 25 cents each; eggs, 5 cents a dozen; honey, 5 cents a gallon; coffee, $1 a pound.

The legislature passed stay laws to help out those settlers who had gone into debt. It issued certificates ranging from 50 cents to $10—$200,000 in all—to be loaned by commissioners to citizens of the "loan districts," as they were called. These certificates passed into circulation and then were decided by the courts to be unconstitutional.

Governor McNair, Lieutenant Governor Ashley and many members of the legislature rode horseback to the new capitol at St. Charles. In the front of the building which was turned into a capitol was a large opening; in the rear was a lot where the horses were hitched when the legislators arrived. Some who remained in St. Charles for the session turned over their horses to Archibald Watson, who had a farm at the "Point," where the Missouri and Mississippi rivers came together some miles below the capitol. According to the tradition Governor McNair was the only state officer who wore a cloth coat cut swallow tail, the most fashionable style of 1821. The governor was also distinguished by a beaver hat.

At the close of that session of the legislature in the temporary capitol at St. Charles some one took a black coal from the fireplace and scrawled upon the whitewashed wall back of the speaker's chair: "Lord forgive them. They know not what they do."

A Shipwrecked Statesman.

On his way to attend a session of the legislature, Representative Palmer, or Parmer as his name was sometimes spelled, loaded a small keel boat with salt and other products of the Grand River country, expecting to float down the Missouri River to St. Charles. He was accompanied by his boy and a slave. The boy stood at the prow to give warning of snags and sawyers. The negro was the crew. The legislator occupied the stern, to do the steering. He had an old newspaper and by way of preparation for his public duties was slowly spelling out the sentences. The newspaper engaged his attention. Palmer held the tiller of the boat between his legs. Suddenly the boy called out, "A sawyer ahead." This meant a tree which had fallen into the river and lay with its roots on the bottom and its branches showing just above the surface, rising and falling with the eddying current.

"Wait a minute," said Palmer, "until I spell out this other crack jaw. Its longer than the barrel of my rifle gun." Just then the boat struck the bobbing sawyer and turned bottom upwards. The slave swam ashore. Palmer and his son climbed on the keel of the boat, took off their clothes to be ready to swim if it became necessary, and floated down with the current until they came to Franklin. There they landed and borrowed some clothes. Palmer was treated with the consideration that was due a member of the legislature. The lady at whose house he was received expressed sympathy and, while Palmer was drinking the coffee she offered, asked if the little boy had not been badly frightened.

"No, madam," said Palmer, "I am a real ring-tail painter, and I feed all my children on rattlesnake hearts fried in painter's grease."

Then he went on with the narrative of his recent experience.

"There ar a heap of people that I would not wear crape for if they was to die before their time. But your husband, marm, I allow, has a soul as big as a court house. When we war floating bottom uppermost past Hardeman's garden, we raised a yell, like a whole team of bar dogs on a wildcat's trail. And the black rascals on shore, instead of coming to our assistance, only grinned up the nearest saplin, as if a buck possum had treed.

"The river, marm," continued Mr. Palmer, "I find, is no respecter of persons; for I was cast away with as little ceremony, notwithstanding I am the people's representative, as a stray bar dog would be turned out of a city church. And upon this principle of democratic liberty and equality it was that I told McNair when I collared him and backed him out of the gathering at a shooting match where he was likely to spoil the prettiest sort of a fight. 'A governor,' said I, 'is no more in a fight than any other man.' I slept with Mac once, just to have it to say to my friends on Fishing River that I had slept with the governor."

Executives in Quick Succession.

In 1824 McNair declined to run for a second term. The candidates were Frederick Bates and William Ashley. Bates had been secretary and several times acting governor in territorial days. Ashley had made a fortune and a fine reputation as the successful head of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. The contest was spirited, the old residents supporting Bates while the newcomers rallied to the bold fur trader. Bates won but he did not live out his term. He died of pleurisy in August, 1825. It was during Bates' term that Lafayette visited St. Louis.

The third governor of Missouri was a one-legged man. He was making boots in Columbia when he ran for the state senate and was elected. His name was Abraham J. Williams. Upon the organization of the senate Williams was chosen president pro-tem. The lieutenant-governor, who was Benjamin H. Reeves of Howard County, resigned. That made Williams the acting lieutenant-governor. Upon the death of Governor Bates the one-legged boot maker became the governor. He filled the office only five months, until the special election placed John Miller of Cooper in the chair. Four candidates offered themselves for the vacancy. The campaign was made largely on personal popularity. Party lines were not drawn. The result was the election of John Miller who received 2,380 votes. William C. Carr received 1,470 and David Todd 1,113. In 1828 Governor Miller was a candidate for reelection and had no opposition. There was a lively contest, however, for lieutenant governor with Samuel Perry, Felix Scott, Alexander Stewart, Daniel Dunklin and Alexander Buckner as candidates. Dunklin won.

Miller held the executive office for seven years. Subsequently he was sent to Congress from Missouri serving six years. In early life Miller was a newspaper editor in Steubenville, Ohio. During the war of 1812 he was a colonel in the United States army. He was a native of Albemarle County, Virginia, and was reared on a farm.

Presidential Election by Direct Vote Suggested.

With the recollection of Congressman John Scott's course in the last Presidential election fresh in mind, Governor Miller sent a message to the legislature in 1828, proposing that Missouri take the initiative in the movement to amend the Constitution of the United States. He urged that the will of the people should control in national elections; that it should be made impossible for that will to be thwarted as it had been by the election in the House of Representatives at Washington: "It is therefore your prerogative, as guardians of the public liberty, to urge on Congress and the legislatures of our sister States, such amendments to the Constitution of the United States on this subject, as you in your wisdom may deem requisite and proper; providing for a uniform mode of electing the President and Vice-President by the people, and prevent in any event an election being made by the House of Representatives."

The governor of Missouri had the power to appoint the secretary as well as other executive officers. When Governor Miller was elected to fill out the term of Frederick Bates he gave Spencer Pettis the appointment of secretary, although the young Virginian had resided in St. Louis only about two years. Pettis made out and forwarded commissions to justices, county judges and some other officials. When he sent a commisison he wrote a letter in which he said, "Please say that I am a candidate for Congress." This canvass by letter was effective. In 1828 Pettis ran as a democrat and was elected, defeating Edward Bates.

The First Capitol at Jefferson.

A very plain brick building two stories high was the first capitol at Jefferson City. It was called the state house. The legislature met there for the first time in November, 1826. A representative-elect presented himself in the senate chamber on the second story and offered his credentials to the secretary of the senate. The latter handed back the papers saying:

"This belongs to the lower house."

"Where is that?" asked the representative.

"Down stairs."

"Why, I saw those fellows there but I thought that was a grocery."

The first capitol burned in 1837, destroying records and other valuable papers. It stood on the present location of the governor's mansion. The next session of the legislature was held in the Cole County court house. In 1840 the new capitol built on the next bluff west of the old one was occupied. It was subsequently enlarged.

At the earlier sessions of the legislature many laws were passed to encourage the "killing of wolves, panthers and wild cats." As early as 1837 the legislature was attempting to regulate the tolls at the grist mills. This had the effect to discourage the building of mills and the use of water power. There was such vigorous protesting that Wetmore's Gazetteer predicted: "It is, however, believed that law givers will cease to interfere with the contracts that millers and their customers may choose to make, and allow the farmer to fix the rate of toll according to the interest of the contracting parties. Notwithstanding the prohibitory enactments now in force, it is the practice of some millers to take one bushel of grain for grinding two; but the bag is generally sent home with

the grist. Competition in milling will eventually make the terms of grinding easier to the farmers—but legislation never."

Lottery Charters.

The present generation can hardly realize that there was a time when the legislature of Missouri granted lottery charters. The motive was to raise money for some public purpose. About 1831 the legislature authorized a lottery to raise $10,000 toward the building of a hospital in St. Louis for the Sisters of Charity.. The commissioner provided for in the act sold the privilege of conducting the lottery to James S. Thomas. Charges were made in the newspapers that the management of this lottery meant great gains to the purchaser and comparatively small revenue for the hospital. A committee was chosen to look into the methods Mr. Thomas proposed to adopt. On the committee were such well known citizens as N. H. Ridgely, David H. Hill, Geo. K. McGunnegle, D. Hough, Augustus Kerr, John F. Darby and Bernard Pratte, Sr. They made an elaborate report, the conclusion of which was:

"Your committee then, after an attentive review of the subject, are of the opinion that the charge made against this scheme, that it affords the manager an opportunity of realizing a great and unusual proportion of profit, is not sustained."

Sentiment against the grant of lottery privileges by the legislature grew so strong that the passage of such acts ceased. But lotteries continued to operate openly under old charters. The business was gradually consolidated into what was known as the Missouri State lottery. This institution had many offices. Drawings were held regularly in a public hall. The winning numbers were advertised in St. Louis papers.

The business was based on an old act of the legislature authorizing a lottery to build a plank road from the town of New Franklin to the Missouri River. New Franklin was near Boonville. It had passed almost out of existence. The plank road, a considerable part of it, had slipped into the Missouri River. The Missouri Republican opened war on the Missouri State lottery. It exposed the plank-road myth. It kept up the opposition until by legal and by legislative action the end came not only to the Missouri State lottery but to all open lottery business in this State. The fight was not one of days or weeks, but of years. It required the making of public sentiment, for in 1871 not only lottery offices were conducted as openly as cigar stores are now, but faro and keno houses occupied the prominent locations on business streets and were places of common resort. Perhaps there has not been in all the history of Missouri a moral movement of such magnitude and complete success as this one against lotteries. It led up to the supplemental movement successfully conducted by Charles P. Johnson in the legislature against gambling. This moral reform was made effective in Missouri several years before the general government at Washington took up the movement and made it national by barring all lottery business from the United States mails.

Jackson's Veto the Issue.

There were three candidates for governor to succeed Miller at the August election of 1832. The issue was President Jackson and his veto of the United

States bank. The St. Louis branch of the bank, under the management of John O'Fallon, had given such satisfaction that anti-Jackson sentiment was strong in the city. Daniel Dunklin, the lieutenant-governor, ran as the Jackson candidate. The country vote saved him. Dunklin was elected by 9,121 votes; John Bull, the anti-Jackson candidate, receiving 8,035, and S. C. Davis 386.

Two months before the end of his term Governor Dunklin resigned to become surveyor general of the United States. Lieutenant-Governor Lilburn W. Boggs was acting governor until November when he became governor by virtue of the August election. In the days of Andrew Jackson it was the custom of Missouri Democrats to meet in Jefferson City on the 8th of January, the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, and make their nominations for the state ticket to be voted in the August following. Boggs was the Jackson candidate. He was opposed by William H. Ashley. The campaign was a close one, resulting: Boggs, 14,315; Ashley, 13,057.

The 24th of July, 1832, was a day of note in St. Louis. Andrew Jackson had smashed the United States bank with his veto. In the afternoon of that day, the friends of the bank met at the town hall. William Carr Lane presided. The resolutions were brought in by Edward Bates, Pierre Chouteau Jr., George Collier, Thornton Grimsley, Henry S. Geyer and Nathan Ranney. They expressed "deep mortification and regret" for the veto. They declared that the bank had been "highly beneficial to the nation at large and indispensably necessary to the commercial prosperity and individual comfort of the western people." They revealed apprehension that the consequences of the President's course would be that "one universal scene of distress and ruin will pervade the whole western country."

The sentiment of St. Louis was not one-sided upon the United States bank issue. In the evening of the same day that the supporters of the bank acted, the Andrew Jackson side was heard. A second meeting of citizens was held in the town hall. Dr. Samuel Merry presided. Dr. Merry and Dr. Lane had been partners in the practice of their profession. Now they headed the opposing political parties. Lane had held the office of mayor of St. Louis six years, retiring in 1829. Dr. Merry was to be a candidate for mayor at the coming city election. He was receiver of public moneys under President Jackson. It was quite natural that he should head the movement to indorse the Jackson veto.

If these resolution adopted at the afternoon meeting were strong, those which the Jackson people put forth were even more sweeping. The committee was composed of E. Dobyns, John Shade, James C. Lynch, L. Brown, B. W. Ayres, J. H. Baldwin and P. Taylor.

While the first meeting viewed the veto "with deep mortification and regret" the second body of citizens viewed "all banks and banking institutions possessing exclusive privileges and powers of monopoly as of dangerous tendency in a government of the people, calculated in their nature to draw distinctions in society and to build up family nobilities." The meeting furthermore viewed "the stand which General Jackson has taken against the monied powers of Europe and America as a mark of firmness and patriotism not surpassed by any patriot or statesman since the light of liberty first dawned upon our country."

The Overshadowing Issue in Missouri.

The bank question overshadowed all other issues in Missouri for some years after this. Senator Thomas H. Benton committed the Democrats to specie. He advocated a monetary system in which there should be no money other than the precious metals. Thereby he obtained the name of "Old Bullion." The Senator denounced the opposition. But strong as Benton was, the chamber of commerce of St. Louis, predecessor of the merchants' exchange, sent to Congress a petition "for the establishment of a national bank." That was in the summer of 1837. The petition bore the signature of nearly every prominent business man in St. Louis. The truth of history is that St. Louis had had an exceptional experience with the United States bank. The St. Louis branch of that institution was under the management of John O'Fallon throughout the period of its existence. And John O'Fallon was a born banker. The other efforts to establish and to conduct banks in St. Louis had been disastrous to stockholders. John O'Fallon managed the St. Louis branch of the Bank of the United States in such manner as to afford the banking facilities which the business of St. Louis so much needed. At the same time he protected the interests of the bank. When President Jackson destroyed the United States bank there followed considerable losses in all of the cities except St. Louis where branches had been established. John O'Fallon wound up the business of the St. Louis branch with a loss of $125. In that period, when the banking business of this country was passing through its crude and elementary stage, the conduct of the St. Louis branch of the United States bank laid the foundation of the financial repute of St. Louis. It taught that successful bank management calls for more than fine business qualifications. Temperament had its part in the make-up. In that measure men are born to be bankers. Ability to read human nature, to know character, is no small asset in the capital the bank manager puts into the business. It counts for far more than the stock he may hold in his own name. The lesson of John O'Fallon does not teach that the bank manager must be cold-blooded. It does prove that an extraordinary talent of discrimination is indispensable.

When all the affairs of the St. Louis branch were settled and it was known that the loss had been only $125, the sentiment in favor of a bank recognized by government was very strong. If the United States would not charter then the State should. Thus the sentiment crystallized. St. Louis had become a city of 6,000 population, with far-reaching business connections. Lines of steamboats carried the trade north and south, east and west. Confronted with the possibility of entire loss of banking facilities, the business men welcomed temporarily a branch of what was known as the Cincinnati Commercial agency. Mr. O'Fallon turned over such banking business as could be transferred. The government made the agency its depository. Fair service was given by the Cincinnati people. The situation which was in a way to become desperate was partially relieved by the agency. Very soon the St. Louis business men realized that the agency was making much money for Cincinnati capital. The movement for a home institution gained headway.

The Bank of the State of Missouri.

When the legislature met in 1837 the first bill introduced was to charter the Union Bank of Missouri. The name was changed by amendment to The Bank

of the State of Missouri. So great was the popular demand that within thirty days the bill became law.

In those days the establishment of a bank was attended with much formality. A bank was a semi-public institution. Subscriptions were received by commissioners. Everybody was interested. The management of the branch was still a pleasing reminiscence. Upon the commission was placed the man who had made the branch so successful, John O'Fallon. With him were associated Hugh O'Neill, Henry Walton, John B. Sarpy and George K. McGunnegle. The quickness of the responses proved the strength of sentiment behind the movement. The commissioners who took the subscriptions to the old Bank of St. Louis in 1815 and 1816 were two years or more in getting the capital together. John O'Fallon and his associates were but a few days beyond two months. The "State Bank," as it became known familiarly, opened for business the middle of April, 1837. Recognizing the force of public sentiment the Cincinnati Commercial agency turned over the St. Louis business to the new bank and withdrew from the State. Public interest in the Bank of Missouri was more than sentimental. The State held one-third of the stock. There were provisions for branches and eight of them were established. Two members of the board of directors were appointed by the governor. The limit on the capital stock was $5,000,000. John Brady Smith was made president. The location was on the west side of Main street in what was then the business center of the city.

The legislature which chartered the Bank of Missouri manifested a disposition to keep out of Missouri such institutions as the Cincinnati Commercial agency. Sentiment of the legislators was against foreign capital doing banking in the State. The house passed a bill to expel foreign banking agencies. In December, 1836, the business men of St. Louis were called together in town meeting. Dr. Hardage Lane was chosen chairman and Charles D. Drake was made secretary. John F. Darby talked. Ex-Mayor William Carr Lane offered the resolution expressive of the sense of the meeting and it was adopted: "That in the opinion of this meeting it will be highly inexpedient in the general assembly to remove or lessen the banking facilities now possessed by the manufacturing and commercial community by removing the bank agencies located amongst us, and that we deprecate any presentation in the general assembly on the subject as tending inevitably to the great injury of every class of our citizens."

In policy and in practice, the Bank of Missouri preserved the traditions of the management of the branch bank. John O'Fallon was a member of the board. Edward Walsh was another director. These two men, with John Brady Smith, the president, taught St. Louis safe banking. For twenty years the Bank of Missouri was the only bank of issue in St. Louis. Its notes circulated as far to the southwest as Chihuahua. They were better than gold and so esteemed. They were as good as gold in value and easier to carry. Times of inflation came when the management of the Bank of Missouri was counter to public sentiment. Regulations were adopted against which the business community protested strenuously. At one period, after a meeting of business men had so advised, many leading depositors withdrew their accounts from the Bank of Missouri and put their money with insurance companies and with the St. Louis Gaslight Company which was doing a banking business. This was in 1840. Between that time and 1843 the country passed through a period of depression which wiped

out $600,000,000 in debts through actual bankruptcy proceedings, and in which the decline of values was estimated at $2,000,000,000. The Bank of Missouri pursued its policy of safety and weathered the storm.

The Flood of "Dog" Currency from Other States.

In that period St. Louis was flooded with paper currency from other States. The name of "shinplaster" for such currency was born of the conditions. These bills, as they depreciated in value, were contemptuously known as "white dog," "blue dog," "blue pup," according to the color. The conflict between the business men and the Bank of Missouri started with the refusal to accept the paper currency of certain outside banks in settlement of loans. On the 12th of November, 1839, the directors of the Bank of Missouri resolved "that the bank will in future receive from and pay only to individuals her own notes and specie, or the notes of species paying banks."

This was prompted by the suspension of specie payments on the part of many eastern, southern and western banks. Thousands of dollars in bills of banks which had suspended specie payments were in the hands of St. Louis business men. The action of the Bank of Missouri caused great indignation. The Missouri Republican reported the conditions:

"The bank excitement continued very high yesterday. In fact, it is the only subject matter of conversation or consideration. The merchants, it might literally be said, have forsaken their counting rooms, and the mechanics their shops. Wherever two or three met, the action of the bank was the theme of conversation, and in every circle that we have fallen in with, whatever might be the politics of those composing it, the resolution of the directors was condemned without measure or reserve. In truth, there never has been in this community so universal and unanimous a condemnation of any measure as this. Execrations loud and deep are freely uttered in every quarter and by men of all parties."

The panic of 1837 followed a period of wild speculation in city and town real-estate. A great firm in New Orleans failed on account of the decline of cotton. In New York, house after house with southern connections failed. Banks in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore suspended. St. Louis suffered in paralysis of business. Two years of depression and of futile attempts to get back to specie basis in the east followed. The action of the Bank of Missouri was one of self-preservation but at the same time business men of the city felt bitterly about it. In November, 1839, a meeting was held at the courthouse. Edward Tracy was president. The meeting resolved that "as the sense of this meeting, it will be no discredit to any individual having paper maturing this day at the Bank of Missouri to allow said paper to go to protest if a tender is made at bank, or to the notary, of currency hitherto bankable and is refused."

The merchants appealed to the bank to accept payment on the discounted paper then in hand as in the past and to make the rule apply only on future business. This the bank declined, as it did also a proposition offering a bond of wealthy citizens against loss on the bank notes which it might receive if the specie rule was modified. Efforts of business men and bank to get together failed. The Bank of Missouri preserved its soundness but it lost a great deal of business. To merchants who were utterly unable to meet obligations in specie at the bank some concessions were made. But the result of the clash was to

give impetus to the establishment of private banks. The Bank of Missouri kept on in the even tenor of its way teaching St. Louis the lesson of absolute security.

A fact that is clear in the history of banking in St. Louis is that the city suffered from but did not contribute to the panic of 1837. If there was error in the banking methods of St. Louis it was error on the side of conservatism. Money was lost through depression in business. No money was lost by depreciation of currency put out by St. Louis. All of the confusion and trouble through which the community passed was forced upon it from the outside.

Missouri Money and Missouri Trade.

Up the Missouri to Westport landing, thence over the Santa Fe trail, even beyond the city of the Holy Faith into Chihuahua, merchants of St. Louis sent goods to supply the needs and luxurious desires of the wealthy owners of ranches and haciendas. This was long before the railroads. When days of settlement came, back over the trail and down the river was brought to St. Louis the actual cash. Exchange in that trade was not known. Paper money was often of uncertain reputation. The money to pay for goods to be bought or already received on credit was sent to St. Louis in the form of silver dollars. The "cartwheels" were put up in stout wooden boxes. Sometimes the Mexican came with his remittance. Occasionally he reinforced the ordinary protection with a guard of his own. The shipments of coin ran from $10,000 to $100,000. A single remittance of $50,000 to the St. Louis merchant or banker was not unusual in the buying season. When the boat reached the St. Louis wharf a dray was called. The heavy boxes beside which the Mexican guard had watched and slept all the way down the Missouri were rolled over the gang plank and up the end of the dray. The dray was driven through the business streets, the Mexicans, with their queer, old-fashioned, wide-muzzled muskets on their shoulders, marching on either side of the dray. If the shipment was of unusual amount, the Mexican merchant, with his rifle in hand might accompany the dray. Sometimes as many as six of the guards came the long journey to insure safe delivery. When the dray, with its precious load, drew up in front of the store or bank where delivery was to be made there was most courteous reception accorded. The Mexican or Spanish merchant became an honored guest. His escort was taken care of. The deposit of silver dollars of Mexican minting was placed to the merchant's credit. In the traditions of trade this commerce with the Santa Fe and Chihuahua country is remembered as of great profit to St. Louis. These buyers from the northern Mexico territory were men of excellent business traits, reliable and honorable in their settlements.

Flush Days of 1849.

In 1849 came the gold excitement in California. The business of St. Louis expanded enormously. The Bank of Missouri pursued its conservative course, limiting its issues of notes and its lines of credit to keep always on the safe side. There wasn't currency to do the business which offered. The banking facilities offered by the chartered institution did not permit the merchants to take advantage of what appeared to them great opportunities. And so the private banks, one after another, came into the field. To meet the demands for a sufficient volume of money with which to do the business of the city these private banks

handled paper money freely. When the gold placers of California began to yield, St. Louis was almost the first trade center to realize the benefits. Overland freighting grew into large proportions. Purchases in the St. Louis stores and markets were on an unprecedented scale. Profits were fascinating. The flow of wealth into the city encouraged great enterprises.

A Legislative Investigation.

In 1852 a committee of the legislature examined the condition of the Bank of Missouri, at St. Louis, and the branches out in the State. The committee found the assets of the parent bank in St. Louis to be $3,983,131. The circulation issued and outstanding was $1,461,090. The net profits from May 8, 1837, to June 30, 1852, were $1,227,659. The profits were not excessive but the bank was sound and its notes were everywhere as good as gold. The "Old State Bank" had a good name as far as St. Louis was known. Two years after it began business the bank sustained a serious loss, the mystery of which was never solved. Coin to the amount of $120,000 disappeared from the vaults. The money was not recovered.

No over-speculation, no failure, no dishonest methods at home ever have precipitated panic in St. Louis. There have been local bank failures but they were not of such importance as to shake general confidence in the financial institutions of the city. There has been individual dishonesty but so rare and so exceptional as not to disturb faith in the honesty of the bankers of St. Louis. No wild wave of speculation ever swept over the city. Financial straits have had their beginning elsewhere and St. Louis has shared in them through sympathy or through circumstances beyond her control. So it was in 1855.

There were no wildcat banks in St. Louis but a flood of wildcat currency flowed into the city from outside of Missouri. From the east side of the river, whence had come population and civilization, came also the notes of banks established under laws with the minimum of restrictions. They operated under law which permitted the issue of bank notes on state bonds, on county bonds, on city bonds, on township bonds, on canal bonds, on railroad bonds. These notes came to St. Louis, a veritable deluge of currency. They passed into trade. They paid for goods, for machinery, for food supplies. They passed from par quickly to discount, dropping three, five, ten and more per cent until they were worth not over fifty cents on the dollar.

Banking Law of 1857.

The year 1857 saw the regeneration of banking in St. Louis. Then came into existence, with beginnings almost infantile compared with present strength, the great financial institutions of St. Louis' present. Back to 1857 the Mechanics-American, the Merchants-Laclede, the National Bank of Commerce and the Third National look for their birthdays. It is a record of fifty-seven years. Ten years earlier the St. Louis Boatmen's Savings Institution, in 1847, had been established. It was without capital. It was to be a bank "where boatmen and other industrious classes can safely deposit at interest their earnings." Profits were to be divided among the depositors who deposited $100 or more within the first six months and allowed the money to remain. The institution was managed by trustees. In 1856 the institution took a new charter and with a capital of $400,000 entered the regular banking field.

The regeneration of the banking business in 1857 came about through a general banking law passed by the legislature that year. This law provided for the organization of banks. It authorized the issue of two dollars in paper for each dollar of paid up capital. Banks were made subject to inspection by a state commissioner. Six banks were started in St. Louis under this law. Three of the six are today among the strongest institutions of the city. The Merchants then, is the Merchants-Laclede today. The Mechanics of 1857 is the Mechanics-American now. The Southern of that year took a national bank charter when the national banking law was enacted and is today the Third National.

The other three of the six banks organized under this state law of 1857 were the Exchange, Union and St. Louis. Two years before this banking law was passed, the State Savings Association, in 1855, was given a charter as a savings bank and went into operation. It became the State National.

The same year that the six banks started, the National Bank of Commerce had its beginning under the name of the St. Louis Building and Savings Association. It was organized under a charter which gave it banking privileges and was a bank from the beginning. In 1869 the name of Bank of Commerce was taken. Still later the St. Louis National Bank was absorbed by the Bank of Commerce, so that this institution may be said to have started in 1857 from two roots.

Exit the Old State Bank.

With the establishment of national banks, the legislature of Missouri decided that the time had come for the State to go out of the banking business. In 1866 the State sold its stock in the old State Bank of Missouri. That institution had stood for nineteen years as the financial Gibraltar of St. Louis. It had been anathematized for ultra-conservatism at times by the business men. But its management had been sane and safe. The first president was John Brady Smith. Afterwards Mr. Smith was the state and county collector, and still later the first surveyor of the port of St. Louis when the city attained that importance in foreign trade. With his strict sense of business honor and stern integrity, John Brady Smith was an ideal president for a bank such as the "old State" was intended to be. His appearance, serious, dignified, sturdy, with coat almost invariably buttoned to his chin, personified the man who could be firm when the question involving trust was presented to him. John Brady Smith came of fine stock. His father, William Smith, was from Culpeper County, Virginia. He came to St. Louis with his family in 1810. At that time John Brady Smith, who had been born in Lexington, Kentucky, while his father was in business there, was twelve years old. William Smith, the father, was a director in the first bank started in St. Louis. While holding that position and when he was counted one of the foremost citizens of St. Louis, William Smith fell a sacrifice to the intense feeling aroused in the city by the Benton-Lucas duel. On September 28, 1817, the day following the duel, a group of business men stood in front of the Washington Hotel, on Main and Pine streets, discussing the event of the previous day. William Thorp became angry at an expression of opinion by William Smith, drew his pistol and killed him.

The State's stock in the Bank of Missouri was purchased by a syndicate of capitalists headed by James B. Eads. The bank was made national. Through

PIERRE LACLEDE, THE FOUNDER OF ST. LOUIS, 1764

investments in enterprises like the bridge the capital of the bank became impaired. In 1876 the capital stock was reduced from $3,410,300 to $2,500,000. The next election of directors brought new blood into the board. A committee made an examination of the assets which had suffered in the general shrinkage of securities throughout the country. Upon the committee's report the directors decided to ask the comptroller of the currency for a receiver and to liquidate. The "old State Bank," which had weathered financial stress after stress, which had supplied paper money more highly esteemed than gold, passed out of existence.

After the panic of 1873, Missouri pioneered the way for other States in the way of laws to insure safe banking. The legislature acted. Bills were passed providing for the publication of bank statements periodically. Banks were compelled to stop doing business when the capital was impaired to the extent of more than twenty-five per cent. At least half of the subscribed capital must be paid up. Dividends were forbidden when capital had been impaired. These and other wholesome provisions went into effect the summer of 1877. Stringent penalties for mismanagement were imposed.

Suicide of Governor Reynolds.

The state election of 1840 was squarely between Democrats and Whigs. Thomas Reynolds was elected governor by a majority of 7,413 over John B. Clark. The vote was: Reynolds, 29,625; Clark, 22,212. In his inaugural message to the legislature Governor Reynolds denounced abolitionists. He recommended life imprisonment in the penitentiary for those persons who seduce slaves from their masters and aid them in escaping. Governor Reynolds was of Kentucky birth. He had been judge of the supreme court of Illinois before he came to Missouri. In this State he was a member of the legislature and a judge before his election as governor. On the 9th of February, 1844, he committed suicide at Jefferson City, shooting himself in the head. He gave as the reason the violence of political enemies. He had been in poor health. Lieutenant Governor M. M. Marmaduke was governor the remainder of the term.

William F. Switzler connected the suicide of Governor Reynolds with the selection of David R. Atchison to be United States Senator in place of Lewis F. Linn, who died at Ste. Genevieve, October 3, 1843. He said: "The governor appointed Atchison, which was unexpected and opposed by many of the governor's political friends. In fact, it was roundly denounced, and the governor severely criticised for making it. Although a man of large experience in official life and of recognized ability, Governor Reynolds was acutely sensitive to public criticism, and therefore possessed the weakness of being rendered very unhappy by it. It was the cankering plague spot of his existence. When therefore he committed suicide by a rifle shot in his office on February 9, 1844, many supposed that the chief, if not the only cause of the sad catastrophe was the abuse he had received, principally on account of the appointment of Atchison. The thirteenth general assembly met on November 18, 1844, Claiborne F. Jackson, speaker; M. M. Marmaduke, acting governor. On the next day the two houses met in joint session to elect a United States Senator to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. L. F. Linn and also a Senator to succeed Thomas H. Benton, whose term expired March 4, 1845. All objections and unfavorable environments to

the contrary, Atchison was elected for four years, the remainder of Dr. Linn's term."

The Hards and the Softs.

John Cummings Edwards, who was elected by the Benton Democrats in 1844, was the youngest of all Missouri's governors. He was not thirty-eight when he took office. Thomas C. Fletcher, elected in 1864, was a few months older. Edwards was of Kentucky birth, had served in the Missouri legislature and in Congress. Very soon after his term expired Governor Edwards joined the gold seekers and passed the rest of his life in California, living there until 1888. Charles H. Allen ran as an independent Democratic candidate against Edwards. He was commonly called "Hoss" Allen, a name he had bestowed upon himself while holding court. Two lawyers got into an argument, and one of them was so noisy that Judge Allen shouted from the bench: "Sit down, sir, and keep your mouth shut." The lawyer sat down with ill grace, saying, "Well, as you are judge of this court, I guess I will obey you this time." The judge roared back, "By ——, sir, I'll let you know that I am not only judge of this court, but I'm a hoss besides, and if you don't obey me I'll make you."

In the campaign of 1844 the Democrats of Missouri divided into factions called "the Hards" and "the Softs." The division was on the question of hard or soft money. Senator Benton headed the Hards. He was given the name of "Old Bullion." The Hards were in the majority when the state convention met. Both the Hards and the Softs nominated full tickets. As the candidate of the Hards, John C. Edwards was elected governor over Charles H. Allen by a vote of 36,978 to 31,357.

When he went out of office Governor Edwards sent a valedictory message to the legislature in which he said the governorship was a despicable office for any man to be condemned to hold. He said that two of his predecessors had resigned before their terms were out, that a third had committed suicide and that he had been compelled to go armed at the capitol to protect himself against assassins.

In the account of expenditures by Governor Edwards the legislature of 1846 concluded some explanation was necessary. By resolution the governor was asked to itemize. He replied: "In the next place, with due respect to the honorable mover, the answer is that the expenses of the executive were various. His breakfast, his dinner, or his tea, when he had time and appetite to eat it; an apple, or a sponge-cake, a piece of cheese, or a cracker, a glass of brandy or some old rye when from hard travel, much fatigue or great want of sleep, he was too unwell to take more substantial food, or else from rapid traveling had no time to stop and get it; the blacking of his boots, or the brushing of the dust out of his coat, or hiring a servant to hasten his dinner instead of forcing him to eat through a series of courses; hack hire and omnibus fare, porterage and drayage, stage fare, railroad fare, steamboat fare on the lakes, gulfs, rivers and bays; all these and various other items multiplied many times over, perhaps thousands, in the trips of six thousand miles, make up the items of expense to the executive—a long list hard to get and hard to give."

Senatorial Deadlock.

Missouri was the first State to be represented for a considerable period by only one Senator. Champ Clark's statement of this situation without precedent

is interesting: "By reason of the unrelenting warfare between the Bentonites and the anti-Bentonites the legislature chosen in 1854 never could and never did elect a Senator, as it was in duty bound to do, so that for two entire years Henry S. Geyer was Missouri's only Senator. What is more, the governor did not appoint or attempt to appoint anyone to fill the vacancy, nobody then dreaming that the governor had such power. But in these latter days several States have followed Missouri's example in failing to elect Senators; and, strange to say, divers governors have insisted on the right to fill vacancies by appointment under similar circumstances, until finally the Senate, after lengthy and ponderous debate, solemnly vindicated the wisdom and knowledge of constitutional law possessed by the governor of Missouri in 1855 and 1856, Sterling Price, by declaring that a governor has no right to make such ad interim appointment."

Governor Hancock Jackson by a Scratch.

Trusten Polk rendered the shortest service of any Missouri governor. He was elected by a considerable plurality in 1856, defeating Robert C. Ewing, the native American, and Thomas H. Benton, who ran independent. But soon after his inauguration Polk was elected United States Senator, the only governor of Missouri to go direct to the United States Senate. Lieutenant-Governor Hancock Jackson became governor under extraordinary circumstances, as narrated, by Walter Williams. The vote on lieutenant-governor reported by the secretary of state was: Hancock Jackson, 41,623; William Newland, 41,237; John W. Kelly, 17,766; Charles Sims, 1,508. The president of the senate announced that irregularities in certain counties had failed to be noticed by the secretary of state, and with these not counted William Newland was elected. The speaker of the house, however, immediately announced that in his opinion Jackson's majority of 386 should stand. There was confusion in the joint session, until finally the speaker of the house put a motion before the house declaring Hancock Jackson the nominee, which motion was carried by a vote of 84 to 37. Mr. Jackson thereupon ascended the stand and took the gavel from the president of the senate.

Nine days later Polk was elected Senator and Hancock Jackson became governor. In 1860 the Breckinridge Democrats put Hancock Jackson forward as their candidate against Claib Jackson, but could muster only about 11,000 votes for him.

Eccentric Governor "Bob" Stewart.

"The most exciting and brilliant canvass known to the history of Missouri politics," according to William F. Switzler, was that between Robert Morris Stewart and James S. Rollins in 1857. Switzler said that soon after Stewart's inauguration, "he met Major Rollins, his old opponent, at the Madison House, in Jefferson City, and, extending his hand and approaching him, said: 'How are you, Jim? Where's your trunk?' Being informed it was at the Madison, the governor said: 'You must be my guest while you are in the city, and I will send for your trunk.' And he did so, and Rollins became his guest, and very soon the acerbities and personal animosities of the recent canvass were drowned and consigned to oblivion in the water glass of Rollins and the wine glass of Stewart.

"Many characteristic anecdotes of Governor Stewart are told as occurring during his administration. I have not space for a tithe of them. Let one suffice. Stewart was not a teetotaler, but, proverbially, loved his enemy, the glass that exhilarates and cheers. It is said of him that on one occasion while under its influence he visited the penitentiary. Being governor and ex-officio a member of the prison inspectors, he had the freedom of the 'pen.' Curiosity prompted him to go from convict to convict and ask, 'What are you in here for? Are you guilty or innocent?' Perhaps as many as fifty were thus accosted, and all of them without exception protested they were innocent and victims of false swearing enemies. As he retired from the prison he encountered a squad of 'trusties' engaged in digging a cistern in the front yard of the warden. To those who were plying the windlass he propounded the same question: and all of them with one accord said they were innocent. Observing a man in the cistern filling the tub with earth with a spade, he called to him, 'You fellow down there! What are you doing with stripes on your clothes? Are you guilty or innocent?' The man answered: 'Well, Governor, to tell the truth, and I will not tell you a lie, I am guilty; I did break into a store in St. Louis and steal two suits of clothes and a watch, and they proved it on me.' Whereupon the governor said: 'Get into that tub, you rascal; pull him up; now come with me to the mansion, for I will pardon you and send you home, for no such rascal as you are shall stay here and corrupt the morals of the innocent convicts in this penitentiary.' And he did pardon him."

The first proclamation appointing a day of prayer and thanksgiving ever issued by a Missouri governor was by Governor Stewart in 1858. It was suggested to him by Rev. Dr. Prottsman, then a resident of Jefferson City. At the governor's request Dr. Prottsman wrote it.

Stewart probably owed his election to his energetic efforts to push through the Hannibal & St. Joe Railroad. Many Whigs in Marion, Macon and other counties along the railroad voted for Stewart, much more than enough to make up the majority of 334 which he had over the Whig candidate, Major Rollins. It was largely through the good work of "Bob" Stewart at Washington that Congress voted a grant of 600,000 acres of fine agricultural land and the railroad was assured. In recognition of these services hundreds of Whigs voted for Stewart.

Governor Stewart became a strong Union man. He returned to St. Joseph and edited the Journal. In 1863 he concluded that he wanted to see service in the field. Governor Gamble encouraged this ambition by giving a commission to recruit a brigade. Switzler said that Stewart "raised several companies, which he turned in to fill up regiments, not being able to withstand the importunities of his friends. After giving away his last company he concluded he would raise a regiment himself. Luckily, General James Craig, of St. Joseph, arrived in St. Louis and met Governor Stewart at the Planters' House. 'Jim,' said the governor, greeting the general, 'I want $20.'

"'What for, Bob?'

"'I have given away every soldier I had, and now I want to raise a regiment.'

"'What's the $20 got to do with that?'

"'I want to buy a drum.'

"The general concluded that the surest way for him to get the drum would be for him to buy it himself, and so he escorted the governor to a music store and purchased for him a bass drum. The governor put the strap over his shoulders, and, with a drumstick in either hand, started down the street, beating vigorously. In the evening the general, in passing a corner, saw a man sitting on the curbstone fast asleep, or something worse. In front of him was a bass drum with the head beaten in and his right hand holding to the handle of the stick, which was inside the drum. It was Bob, and the general had him taken care of, leaving on the train for military duty in the Northwest. The governor did not raise a regiment or any more men, and shortly returned to St. Joseph. He associated with him Col. Broaddus Thompson, a stanch Union man and brother of the late Confederate general, M. Jeff Thompson, and they got out a prospectus for a new Union paper to be called the Nucleus, but the paper never materialized."

Negro Suffrage.

In the 24th general assembly which met in January, 1867, the legislature voted to submit an amendment to the Drake constitution striking out the word "white." This amendment was submitted in November, 1868. Negro suffrage was defeated by a majority of 18,817. Two years later at an adjourned session of the 25th general assembly which met in January, 1870, the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States, granting negro suffrage was ratified by the Missouri senate and house.

Governor Fletcher's Opportunities.

Governor Thomas C. Fletcher died a poor man. During the war and at the close of it he had opportunities to make a great deal of money but ignored them. Looking backward upon these experiences, he said: "The State had large accounts with the government. On one occasion I came to Washington to adjust some of our claims, obtain their allowance and received a check from the Treasury Department for $1,800,000. That slip of paper I carried around in my vest pocket until the rest of my business was transacted and I was ready to leave. From Washington I went to New York. On the evening I arrived in New York a gentleman who dealt largely in financial transactions called on me at my hotel, and we chatted for some time about Missouri. I had the check for $1,800,000 in my pocket and knew what I was to do with it the next day, but never mentioned it. In the morning I walked down to the bank with which the State did business and deposited the check, to be paid on the coupons of Missouri state bonds. The bonds went up seven cents that day. They had been at forty-nine cents. I didn't make a dollar, although I could have made a small fortune by using the knowledge of what I was going to do with that check. The gentleman with whom I had been talking the night before came to me and wanted to know why I hadn't given him the information. Later on I collected $3,000,000 from the government and applied it on our bonds, which kept going up until they reached par, but I never made anything out of the advance."

Humanitarian Views of Governor Brown.

In the messages of the governors of Missouri are many expressions of high-minded, humanitarian views, some of them in advance of the times. Governor B.

Gratz Brown urged upon the State a different treatment of law breakers: "In criminal matters, as in other social appliances, property is but too apt to assert an undue elevation above labor, and forget that theft and conversion of others' possessions does not differ very widely from obtaining another's labor with intent to evade a payment. Yet the punishments are widely different. Imprisonment for debt has been abolished, and we are content to provide civil remedies for restitution. Might it be well to look in the same direction for a corrective to the other kind of criminality, and in cases of trivial larcenies, enforce restitution to the party aggrieved by asylums utilizing the labor of the party offending. Abandon the revenges of society, and teach its industries. The conscience of the condemned, instead of brooding over degradation, might thereafter stand in some measure acquitted of obligation and reproach. It is the thought of the ablest scientist of the age that the adoption of such measures, cutting off the supply of criminals by educational reform schools, and correcting minor offenses through industrial restitutions, would result in such large reduction of the numbers in state prisons, that they could be treated with greater regard to the offenses for which they are incriminated, and something like a moral hygiene brought to bear that would go far to work a reformation over them."

Governor Hardin on Pardons.

Charles H. Hardin made Missouri one of the most satisfactory of governors. He was honest and conservative. He attended strictly to the people's business. But he was the dryest campaign speaker that ever took the stump in Missouri. At the end of his term he decided to make a tour of the State, as he said, "to render an account of his stewardship." He had a prepared speech, and he went over the details of his administration in a statistical and prosy fashion. The people, out of respect for his high office, listened and tried to appear interested, but failed miserably. After he had gone over other ground, Gov. Hardin reached the penitentiary. He told how many convicts were on hand when he was inaugurated. He stated the number that was confined at noon of a recent date. He reported how many had been turned loose under the three-fourths rule. He continued:

"During my term of office I have granted so many of what are called square pardons. But, my fellow citizens——"

Here the governor would push his spectacles high on his forehead, look out over the audience, and impressively conclude,

"I never pardoned ary horsethief in the lot."

And that always brought down the house. It was the only thing the governor said that received a smile or a response of any kind.

Waldo P. Johnson on Confederate Disabilities.

Waldo P. Johnson, in the years immediately following the Civil war, was wont to say, "I doubt very much if any man who was in the Confederate army or whose father was in the Confederate army will ever be governor of Missouri." Judge Johnson sat in the United States Senate until after the Battle of Bull Run and until after his resolutions looking to peace were defeated in the summer of 1861. He then joined his fortunes with the Confederacy, was wounded in battle and went to Richmond as one of the two senators from Missouri. From personal

experience he knew political conditions at that time in the North perhaps better than any other Missourian. He would add to the remark just quoted, "I doubt this for the reason that just about the time the delegates assemble, and are about to nominate some man like Cockrell or Vest, the convention will be inundated by telegrams purporting to come from the eastern part of the United States, but in reality manufactured in the City of St. Louis, saying that this is a Presidential year, and the nomination of an ex-rebel for governor of Missouri may endanger the election of a Democratic President, as well as defeat some Democrat who is running for justice of the peace in Maine."

But even Judge Johnson did not realize the rapidity with which war differences would be healed in Missouri. He did not foresee how soon the time would come when Missourians would reject the dictation of politicians outside of the State.

In 1870 the Liberal Republican ticket, which carried as the result of the historic "possum" policy, elected six state officers who had been in the Federal army and three others who had been Union men. This election was effected by the action of the Democrats in making no nominations.

Governor—B. Gratz Brown, colonel of a Missouri regiment, United States volunteers.
Lieutenant Governor—John J. Gravelly, colonel of Eighth Missouri Militia, United States volunteers.
Secretary of State—Eugene F. Weigel, major of Second Illinois, United States volunteers.
State Treasurer—Samuel Hays, Union man.
State Auditor—Daniel M. Draper, in Federal army.
Attorney General—Andrew J. Baker, in Federal army.
Register of Lands—Frederick Salomon, colonel of volunteers, United States army.
Superintendent of Public Schools—Ira Divoll, Union man.
Judge of Supreme Court—David Wagner, Union man.

The Candidacy of Hatch.

In 1872 the Democrats and the Liberal Republicans held separate conventions and agreed on a ticket which gave both parties representation and which included two ex-Confederates. The Democrats desired to nominate William H. Hatch for governor. Colonel Hatch was an ex-Confederate and came very near receiving the nomination and would have done so but for representations that the effect outside of Missouri might be damaging to the Democrats. The nomination was given to Silas Woodson who had a record as a war Democrat and a Union man. The officers elected were:

Governor—Silas Woodson, war Democrat.
Lieutenant Governor—Charles P. Johnson, in Union army.
Secretary of State—Eugene F. Weigel, in Union army.
State Treasurer—Harvey W. Salmon, in Confederate service.
State Auditor—George B. Clark, in Confederate service.
Attorney General—H. Clay Ewing, Union man.
Register of Lands—Frederick Salomon, in Union army.
Superintendent of Public Schools—John Montieth, Union man.
Judges of Supreme Court—Henry M. Vories, Union man; Washington Adams, no record; Thomas A. Sherwood, Union man.

Cockrell's Narrow Escape.

Two years later, in 1874, General Francis M. Cockrell was apparently the leading candidate for governor. He was barely beaten by Charles H. Hardin on the argument that it would be bad politics to put an ex-Confederate at the head of the ticket. Hardin had attended a session of the Claib Jackson legislature at Neosho but had, after that, remained neutral in his home at Mexico, Missouri. Cockrell was given the United States Senatorship by the legislature in the following winter. The Democratic state ticket in 1874 had upon it three ex-Confederate soldiers and one Union veteran.

Governor—Charles H. Hardin, member of Governor Jackson's Neosho legislature and afterwards neutral.
Lieutenant Governor—Norman J. Colman, Union man.
Secretary of State—M. K. McGrath, in Kelly's regiment, C. S. A.
State Treasurer—Joseph W. Mercer, lost an arm in the Confederate service.
State Auditor—Thomas Holladay, no record.
Attorney General—John A. Hockaday, no record.
Register of Lands—George Deigel, in Federal army.
Superintendent of Public Schools—Richard D. Shannon, no record.
Judges Supreme Court—Edward A. Lewis, no record; Warwick Hough, staff officer under Lee, Polk and Taylor, C. S. A.; W. B. Napton, no record.

How Vest Was Beaten for Governor.

In 1876, the year of the Tilden-Hayes campaign, George G. Vest would have been nominated for governor but for the fact that telegrams were received and shown to delegates urging that a Union man be chosen to head the ticket in order to help the national ticket of the Democratic party. These telegrams appeared on the face to have come from New York. Vest's friends believed that they originated in St. Louis. The defeat of Cockrell and Vest for the nomination of governor seemed to carry out the prediction of Judge Waldo P. Johnson. The ticket elected in 1876 was headed by a Union man. It carried three ex-Confederates.

Governor—John S. Phelps, colonel of Phelps' Cavalry, U. S. A.
Lieutenant Colonel—Henry C. Brockmeyer, colonel of Enrolled Militia.
Secretary of State—M. K. McGrath, in Kelly's regiment, C. S. A.
State Treasurer—Elijah Gates, colonel of a Confederate regiment in Cockrell's brigade.
State Auditor—Thomas Holladay, no record.
Attorney General—Jackson L. Smith, Union man.
Register of Lands—James E. McHenry, no record.
Judges Supreme Court—Elijah H. Norton, Union man; John W. Henry, Union man.
Railroad Commissioners—John Walker, no record; John S. Marmaduke, Confederate general; James Harding, in Confederate army.

In 1876, under the new constitution, began the four-year terms of state officers. In 1878, the off year, the Democrats elected John McHenry register of lands and Richard D. Shannon superintendent of schools, neither having any war record.

A National Appeal to Missouri.

In 1880 Missouri Democrats received appeals from the national leaders to put forth a ticket which would help in the Hancock campaign. They again

nominated a Union officer for governor, and distributed the other nominations between Union men and Confederates.

Governor—Thomas T. Crittenden, lieutenant colonel Seventh Missouri Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, Federal.
Lieutenant Governor—Robert A. Campbell, Fifth Regiment, Missouri State Militia; adjutant Henderson's Brigade, Federal.
Secretary of State—M. K. McGrath, in Missouri State Guard, Kelly's Regiment, C. S. A.
State Treasurer—Philip E. Chappell, Union man.
State Auditor—John Walker, no record.
Attorney General—Daniel H. McIntyre, lieutenant, Tenth Missouri Cavalry, Marmaduke's Brigade; also, captain in Shelby's Brigade, C. S. A.
Register of Lands—Robert McCulloch; at the breaking out of war he raised a company and reported to Governor Jackson; was lieutenant colonel First Missouri Cavalry; also commanded McCulloch's Brigade, C. S. A.
Judge Supreme Court—Robert D. Ray, Union man.
Railroad Commissioner—George C. Pratt, Union man.

Disappearance of the War Record Issue.

In 1882 the successful Democratic ticket contained one Union man and two ex-Confederates.

Judge Supreme Court—Thomas A. Sherwood, Union man.
Superintendent of Public Schools—William E. Coleman, color sergeant, Second Missouri, First Brigade, C. S. A.; lost a leg at Allatoona, Ga.
Railroad Commissioners—James Harding, major in Price's army; major of artillery, C. S. A.; and Archibald M. Sevier, quartermaster sergeant, Eighth Missouri Cavalry, U. S. A.

The next quadrennial election gave the head of the ticket to an ex-Confederate, Missourians declining to be influenced again by the arguments in behalf of the national campaign. The successful ticket had upon it three ex-Confederates and two ex-Federal officers:

Governor—John S. Marmaduke, major general, C. S. A.
Lieutenant Governor—Albert P. Morehouse, Federal army.
Secretary of State—M. K. McGrath, in Kelly's regiment, C. S. A.
State Treasurer—J. M. Seibert, too young to enlist.
State Auditor—John Walker, no record.
Attorney General—B. G. Boone, no record.
Register of Lands—Robert McCulloch, a Confederate brigadier.
Railroad Commissioner—William G. Downing, a Union man.
Judge Supreme Court—Francis M. Black, in Federal army.

After this election of 1884 the war cut very little figure in the make-up of state tickets for Missouri.

Missouri's State Finances.

The management of Missouri, financially, after the war made a fine record. In 1865 Missouri had a debt of $36,094,908. On the 1st day of January, 1869, this indebtedness had been reduced to $21,675,000, a decrease of $14,419,908 within four years, beginning January 1, 1865, and ending December 31, 1868. Proceeds derived from sale of stock owned by the State in the Bank of the

State of Missouri, payments for railroads sold, together with interest and dues paid into the treasury by railroad companies and the collections by Gen. John B. Gray from the United States for reimbursement of war expenditures, contributed mainly to such an extraordinary reduction of the public debt within the period named.

The stock held by the State in the Bank of the State of Missouri amounted to $1,086,300. In 1866 this stock was sold to Capt. James B. Eads for $1,178,635.50, and as payments therefor were made in bonds and coupons the state debt was correspondingly reduced.

Payments made by purchases of railroads and interest and dues paid into the state treasury by railroad companies from January 1, 1865, to December 31, 1868, amounted to $6,006,038.

Under the act of Congress, approved April 17, 1866, Gen. John B. Gray collected the sum of $6,472,289.35 as indemnity to the State of Missouri for military expenses incurred during the rebellion.

Receipts into the state treasury from the sources named, and which were applied to the reduction of the state debt, amounted to $12,048,598.40.

Deducting the above amount, or $12,048,598.40 from $14,419,908, the aggregate indebtedness retired within the four years ending December 31, 1868, there remained to be accounted for a balance of $2,371,309.60. The amount withheld from the public schools in consequence of the suspension in 1865, 1866 and 1867, of 25 per cent of the state revenue; bonus paid into the state treasury by banks in lieu of all other taxes; surplus funds arising from the military taxes levied in 1865 and 1866, and from the interest tax of 40 cents on the $100 valuation levied in 1867 and 1868, together with miscellaneous receipts, accounted for this balance.

Advance of Missouri Bonds.

Missouri bonds advanced steadily from the war time ebb to the class of "gilt edged" and then disappeared from the market. In 1865 the highest price paid for Missouri bonds was 79, and the lowest 51 per cent. In 1866 the highest price paid was 93, and the lowest 71 per cent. In 1867 they sold as high as 95 per cent. All past due coupons went with the bonds that were sold in the years 1865, 1866 and 1867; thus a bond sold in 1867 had attached to it the coupon due July 1, 1861, and all subsequently matured coupons, for which the purchaser of the bond paid no additional consideration.

In 1870 Missouri bonds were worth 87 per cent of their face value. In 1871 they sold as high as 89½ per cent.

In 1873 the fund commissioners sold bonds at 92½ per cent. In 1875 the fund commissioners sold 3,687 state funding and state renewal funding bonds for $3,623,746.50, or at a fraction over 98.28 per cent. In 1876, 425 renewal funding bonds were sold for $441,951.31, or at a fraction over $1,039. The average price paid for 4,112 bonds sold in 1875 and 1876 was $988.73 per bond. In 1876 the highest price paid was $1,045.03 per bond, and in 1875 the lowest price paid was a fraction over $950 per bond.

In 1879 the market value of bonds having ten years to run was 103¾. In 1881 they were quoted at 110.

Since the early part of 1881 but few Missouri bonds have been on the market. They were picked up from time to time by savings banks and trust companies at such rates as would yield 3 or 3½ per cent on the investment.

In 1881 and 1882 a few bonds were sold on a basis of 3½ per cent, so that in 1882 a bond having ten years to run was worth 120.94. At no time during the years 1883 and 1884 could as many as fifty or one hundred Missouri bonds have been bought on the open market. From January 1, 1883, purchases were made on a basis of 3 per cent, consequently a Missouri bond having ten years to run was worth 125¾.

School Fund Certificates.

As the State prospered, bonds were cancelled and certificates in corresponding amounts were placed in the public school fund. The form of certificate was:

"The State of Missouri—To All Who Shall See These Presents, Greeting: Know ye that it is hereby certified that the State of Missouri is indebted to the State Board of Education of said State as trustees for the public school fund of said State in the sum of two million, nine hundred and nine thousand dollars, payable thirty years after date, upon which sum the State hereby promises to pay to the State Board of Education, as trustees as aforesaid, interest annually at the rate of 6 per centum per annum, out of any money in the state treasury not otherwise appropriated, payable on the first day of January of each year.

"This certificate of indebtedness is issued under and by virtue of an act entitled an act to consolidate the permanent school fund and the seminary fund in certificates of indebtedness of the State bearing 6 per centum interest, and to provide for canceling the state bonds and certificates of indebtedness now held in trust for said funds, approved March 23, 1881.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of the State of Missouri to be affixed.

"Done at office in the City of Jefferson this first day of July, 1881.

"Thomas T. Crittenden, Governor.

"Mich'l K. McGrath, Secretary of State."

A curious fact about the certificates is noted in the form. In the one given nothing is said about the character of the instrument. The language simply shows "the State of Missouri is indebted to the 'state board of education.'" A few years later the thought seems to have occurred to the state administration that somebody might cash or hypothecate one of these school fund assets. Into the body of the new form was printed: "This certificate is non-negotiable." Still later the description was further elaborated. These certificates bore the following: "This certificate of indebtedness is non-negotiable, non-convertible and non-transferable, and shall be sacredly held and preserved in the state treasury as part of the school fund of the State."

A Three Per Cent Proposition.

In 1897 New York capitalists made a proposition to fund the entire debt of Missouri in bonds bearing three per cent. This offer was made to Governor Lon V. Stephens, coming without inquiry or solicitation on his part. The state indebtedness was then $4,900,000. It was bearing three and one-half per cent, which had been considered very low.

"I have been thinking of the proposition," Governor Stephens said at the time. "It is certainly very flattering to the State. Acceptance would save us

one-half of 1 per cent on our interest account" (about $25,000 annually at the present indebtedness) "but I am not sure that it will be wise to make the change. We should, probably, have to make the new bonds run a stipulated time. The bonds, as they now stand, can be called in and paid at any time, thus saving the whole interest. We shall within sixty days take up at least $150,000, and possibly $200,000, of these bonds."

The governor inclined to the opinion that it would be better to continue paying 3½ per cent and to retain the privilege of canceling the debt in any amount and at any time.

Governor Francis' Diplomacy.

Within three months after Mr. Francis became governor he had established such personal relations with the lawmakers as enabled him to make his administration effective. He gave a series of receptions in the mansion. He dined the senators and representatives, twenty at a time. When he went to lunch he was accompanied by chairmen or whole committees to talk over pending legislation. With the needs before their eyes, the legislators passed appropriations to refurnish the mansion and to make it worthy of the State. To the credit of the Francis administration was placed this first appropriation since the Civil war. On the recommendations and personal arguments of the governor the first Australian ballot law, the schoolbook commission and uniform text-book law, the reduction of the tax rate, the appointment of a geological survey commission, and a long list of what properly may be termed as constructive laws of the State, the value of which the years have shown, were placed upon the books.

Distinguishing Characteristic of Governor Stone

Conservative forcefulness might be said to be a distinguishing characteristic of William J. Stone. One of the best illustrations of it was given at a convention of governors of Southern States held at Richmond in 1893. Missouri's chief executive became the strong personality in that gathering. Each governor had with him a staff of from two to ten gentlemen deeply interested in the subject of immigration. These gentlemen were prepared to talk. But speeches were tabooed from the beginning. The first rule which the governors adopted sent every proposition to a committee without debate. When this committee met it had before it a stack of suggestions a foot high. The entire collection was turned over to a subcommittee composed of Governors Stone of Missouri and Foster of Louisiana and Mr. George Armistead of Tennessee. The bulky mass was ignored. A brief pointed address, without reference to politics, congratulatory upon what the South had done in the way of development and hopeful as to increased immigration, was drafted. When the convention met again this address was read and adopted. Governor Brown immediately moved adjournment sine die. The whole thing was over. Some of the older men in the body, accustomed to the old southern style of much freedom of speech in convention, were a little dazed. As they went out of the convention and to their hotels they asked each other why it was necessary to come to Richmond if this was all that was intended.

The address was in the handwriting of Governor Stone, of Missouri. It was written after a frank discussion, in which the other members of the sub-committee, Governor Foster, of Louisiana, and Mr. Armistead, of Tennessee, agreed with the Missouri governor that something short and clean cut, without politics or rancor, was what the situation called for.

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